

STYLISTIC REPETITION IN THE VEDA

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I

INTRODUCTION

There have been times in which Sanskrit scholars were as a rule much interested in comparative linguistics. Whereas people who have not been able to keep pace with the development of the Indological sciences in the last century not rarely continue in believing Indologists to be practically speaking in the first place linguists, some students of linguistics seem to believe them to have become superfluous because the comparative study of the Indo-European languages is, at least in their opinion, a well-established branch of science, to which Sanskrit can no longer contribute any new facts or materials. We would be nearer the truth in maintaining that because of the enormous development and specialization of both linguistics and Indology, the bonds between these domains of scholarship have become looser and the cases of a personal union rarer. With the exceptions of Delbrück, Speyer and a few other scholars most of those who were linguistically interested in Indology were attracted towards morphology and etymology rather than syntax. The high standard of the work done by the authors of the 'Altindische Syntax' and the 'Sanskrit syntax' has no doubt largely contributed to the conviction — expressed by no less a savant than Wackernagel and recently endorsed by Debrunner¹⁾ — that even now, seventy years after these books were published no new comprehensive work on Sanskrit syntax would be needed.

There might however be some room for the observation that the study of syntax has in the last three quarters of a century largely developed on new lines and has markedly diverged from the strongly traditional lore of the functions of the word classes and of the connection of clauses of the Latin school grammar. The deepening of our insight into the character, origin and function of syntactic structures, the increasingly better understanding of the underlying motives and tendencies, the experience gained in studying primitive and semi-primitive languages on the one hand and dialects and colloquial usage on the other have not failed to extend the domain of syntax, to demand a radical revision of many more or less established rules and time-honoured interpretations, to call in question the validity of explications which had assumed almost the character of dogmata and seriously to affect even our views of the nature and aims of syntax itself.

¹⁾ See J. Wackernagel-A. Debrunner, *Altindische Grammatik* II, 2, Göttingen 1954, p. VI.

There is no reason why this modernized study of syntax should not embrace also the whole field of ancient Indo-European languages, especially those which like Sanskrit can boast of a rich and highly important literature. Why should we in interpreting these extensive collections of writings of acknowledged value and excellence reject the help of these modern tools? Why should we not attempt to apply the methods of modern syntactic research also to these vast bodies of literature and compare the outcome with the results obtained in other fields of linguistic research? Why should we not endeavour to build a modern superstructure on the foundations so solidly laid by Delbrück, or at least to continue restoring the building erected by our predecessors?

It is indeed the present author's conviction that a renewed examination of the ancient Indian literature from the point of view of modern syntax and stylistics will amply repay the trouble. It will render valuable help in interpreting the texts²⁾, in understanding the mentality of the men who wrote them and in extending our knowledge of the devices of oral and literal expression in pre- and protohistoric times.

Although the term syntax was in the course of time interpreted in various ways the central idea of "grammatical placing of words", already expressed in the title of a work written by Chrysippus (3rd cent. B. C.) has persisted and most authors rightly agree in considering the relation of words to each other as the main domain of this province of linguistics. Without entering into a discussion of the definition of the term³⁾, which came to include also the discipline of the meaning and function of the categories of words and word-forms by themselves, we must preface the following remarks and expositions by stating that, for convenience, the term syntax will be used in the rather limited sense of 'synthetic' syntax, i.e. that discipline which treats of the way in which words are put together into word groups and sentences. We shall, in this book, concern ourselves mainly with a number of problems in connection with the various ways of grouping words into such units as word groups, phrases, clauses, and sentences and with the factors determining these arrangements of elements. It is, however, a matter of course that an abundance of topics and problems which might be discussed in other chapters of grammar should also come

²⁾ Interpreting a text is more than translating it by means of a school grammar and a dictionary or making the gist and purport of the author's argument understandable to a modern public. This fundamental task of all philology also embraces giving account of the linguistic form — this term to be taken in a very large sense — in which the author has couched his thoughts. See e.g. also J. Marouzeau, *Pour mieux comprendre les textes latins*, *Revue de philologie* 45, Paris 1921, p. 149.

³⁾ See e.g. J. Ries, *Was ist Syntax*, 1894; J. Wackernagel, *Vorlesungen über Syntax*, I², 1926, p. 1 ff.; E. Schwyzer-A. Debrunner, *Griechische Grammatik*, II, 1950, p. 5 ff.; B. Delbrück, *Einleitung in das Studium der indogermanischen Sprachen*⁶, 1919, p. 20 ff.; R. Blümel, *Einführung in die Syntax*, Heidelberg 1914; M. Regula, *Grundlegung und Grundprobleme der Syntax*, Heidelberg 1951. Many authors on syntax omit defining the term.

up for consideration in any treatise on the structure of word groups and sentences.

The domain of this 'synthetic syntax' being very extensive and much preparatory work remaining to be done—the lore of word groups has up to now been treated in a stepmotherly fashion—the scope of these inquiries will be limited to a discussion of a few topics mainly connected with a number of 'constructions' i.e. syntactic arrangements of words, which may be considered as being of a universal character. We shall not aim at re-writing the relevant chapters of Delbrück's and Speyer's books on Indian syntax, not at duplicating the third volume of the former's *Vergleichende Syntax der indogermanischen Sprachen*. We shall only endeavour to study the effect of some 'universal tendencies' in the special province of Sanskrit, and the ways in which the ancient Indian authors have availed themselves of the opportunities presented to them for remodelling syntactic tendencies into stylistic devices. We shall however not neglect comparing the corresponding constructions and parallel or divergent developments in the cognate languages, not only with a view to demonstrate the 'universal' character of the constructions under discussion—for this reason also rather numerous references to non-Indo-European languages will be included in our argument—but mainly because we are writing in the conviction that a comparative treatment is essential in any discussion of syntactic norms and tendencies, which intends to emphasize the characteristic features of a special—i.e. in this case Indian—development. The inclusion of parallels in, and points of difference from, Greek, Latin, and other Indo-European languages may at the same time also help the specialists concerned with these languages to a similar comparative understanding of these domains of syntactic studies. It would indeed appear to the present author that classical scholars and other students of Indo-European languages are too often inclined to isolate their special 'syntax' from that of their neighbours and colleagues. The progress of specialization and increasing interest in literary, historical and sociological problems having already led to a state of complete ignorance of Greek and Sanskrit among almost any students of the so-called modern languages, it is not surprising that problems of historical syntax are often treated in a stepmotherly fashion.

It has already been intimated that scholars do not yet pay much attention to the study of word groups or syntagmata. Speyer's *Vedische und Sanskrit Syntax* contains a chapter on 'Satzteile' (Nomen, Verbum, Partikeln) and a chapter on 'Satzbau' (einfacher Satz etc.) and his *Sanskrit Syntax* likewise draws attention almost exclusively to the way in which the 'parts of speech' are used and to the connection of sentences. Delbrück's *Altindische Syntax* at least included a chapter on 'Gruppen im Satze' containing many valuable, but often too superficial descriptions of the relevant facts. In the recent voluminous Greek syntax by Schwyzler and Debrunner, which contains over 700 pages, the 'Wortgruppenlehre'

(which here also includes concord) is dispatched in 17 pages, or, without the chapter on 'Kongruenz und Inkongruenz', in 9 pages and the authors focus the attention almost entirely on those word groups which are exclusively 'Satzteile', that is to say part of those syntagmata which in other books are called 'Bestimmungsgruppe' ⁴).

This brings us to questions of terminology. The term word group has found various applications. It was, for instance, used by Jespersen in connection with his theory of 'the three ranks' ⁵. For the Danish scholar word groups, consisting of two or more words, the mutual relation of which may be of the most different character, are mainly those combinations of words which syntactically occupy the same rank as a single word: Sunday afternoon, the kind old Archbishop of York, man-of-war fashion etc. etc. For John Ries who devoted a monograph to this topic ⁶) the word group is a linguistic unity (or rather: language unity: 'Sprachliche Einheit') in the series: phoneme, word, word group, 'Satz' (clause and sentence). It can be defined in a negative way: a word group is neither a word nor a sentence. Ries refrained from giving a positive explanation of the precise meaning of the term. In spite of the importance of his remarks on the 'groupe syntaxique comme unité rythmique et syntaxique' in French ⁷) Charles Bally leaves us in doubt as to the definition of 'syntactic group' — a term which we shall use also. In another book ⁸) the same author had already enlarged on 'groupes de mots', understanding by this term, however, "des groupes médiaires appelés séries phraséologiques entre les cas extrêmes (groupements passagers et unités indécomposables)". Marouzeau ⁹) likewise limited the term 'groupes de mots' to phrases or locutions: "le mot peut se présenter dans le système dont il fait partie comme plus particulièrement rattaché à tel ou tel autre terme de façon à réaliser avec lui une sorte d'unité secondaire ou groupe de mot", distinguishing between 'groupes coordonnants' (*purus putus; instabat urgebat*) and 'groups subordonnants, formules et clichés' (*hors pair, par ouï-dire*). The Dutch scholar A. W. de Groot recently suggested defining word group as "a syntactic unity consisting of more than one element" ¹⁰).

It seems, in fact, necessary to adopt a well-defined term for all those syntactic structures or entities which are neither words, nor clauses or sentences. In English sentences e.g. *we have tried to make this booklet clear enough to be of service to anyone, regardless of his previous training, who is now engaged in the study of a foreign language* we usually, it is true, dis-

⁴) I refer to Schwyzer-Debrunner themselves, o.c., II, p. 612 f.

⁵) O. Jespersen, *The philosophy of grammar*, 1924, p. 102.

⁶) J. Ries, *Wortgruppenlehre*, Prague 1928.

⁷) Ch. Bally, *Linguistique générale et linguistique française*², 1944, p. 391.

⁸) Ch. Bally, *Traité de linguistique française*², p. 66 ff.

⁹) J. Marouzeau, *Traité de stylistique appliquée au latin*, 1935, p. 231.

¹⁰) A. W. de Groot, *Structurele Syntaxis*, 1949, p. 71.

tinguish nominal groups, prepositional groups, compound verb forms etc., but a thorough investigation into the characteristics which these special groups have in common, into their structure in general, is only possible if we form a clear idea of 'syntactic group'.¹¹⁾

In this book we shall understand by 'syntactic group' any group of words which forms part of a sentence even if it might constitute a complete clause, the term group implying the idea of an at least loosely connected unity, but not necessarily including the idea of coherence. Our researches will, however, not be limited to these groups, the syntactic behaviour of single words being also within their scope. We shall, on the other hand, not try to give an account of the structure and characteristics of the syntactic group or of the clause or sentence in general, but rather focus our attention especially on the above-mentioned universal tendencies.

Without detracting from the merits of those scholars who have written on Ancient Indian and Indo-European syntax it may be maintained that certain domains of this branch of grammatical studies have hitherto been seriously neglected. However, what now may appear to be serious shortcoming was in the days of our grandfathers completely in harmony with the common views of the science of syntax and the task of those who cultivated it. Miklosich's well-known Slavonian Syntax¹²⁾ may be quoted as a representative instance: it contains two chapters, one on word classes and one on word forms: no attention was paid to so-called synthetic syntax. Those works which at a later period drew, to some extent, attention to those problems which will form the main subject of this book were in the relevant chapters mainly descriptive and comparative in character, collecting material from the chief ancient I.-E. languages, classifying it and endeavouring to form a picture of some of the outstanding features of prehistoric I.-E. syntax¹³⁾. Such problems as to why, for instance, a construction which is common in 'poetry' appears only seldom in prose texts; how deviations from the most usual constructions must be explained; what was the difference between two possibilities of formulating the same thought, were however as a rule left un-

¹¹⁾ It is difficult to adopt the felicitous term used in English grammar, phrase "group of words which forms a part of a sentence, but does not constitute a complete sentence", because it is often also used to denote "a combination of words which taken together constitute or correspond to a single part of speech" and even "an idiomatic expression or pointed saying".

¹²⁾ F. Miklosich, *Vergleichende Grammatik der slavischen Sprachen*, IV Syntax, 1874 (2nd impression Heidelberg, 1926). Compare also O. Erdmann's *Grundzüge der deutschen Syntax*, Stuttgart 1886-1898.

¹³⁾ Cf. e.g. K. Brugmann, *Kurze vergleichende Grammatik*, Straszburg 1904, p. 623 ff., (p. 630 ff. on word groups). A. Meillet and J. Vendryes, *Traité de grammaire comparée des langues classiques*², Paris 1948 contains three comparatively long and comprehensive chapters on the elements and the structure of clauses and sentences and on the interrelations between them.

discussed, and the peculiarities of metrical texts were much neglected¹⁴).

There is another extensive domain of Sanskrit philology which has been disregarded by western scholars: stylistics. Whereas Indian linguistic science was deficient in its treatment of syntax, the discipline of literary composition was, it is true, intensively cultivated. The term *alaṃkāraśāstra* which was, in the course of time, often replaced by *sāhityaśāstra* embraces the theory of poetry in general, the origin, form, variety, faults and merits of good literature, and a description of the characteristics which distinguish literary from pedestrian compositions¹⁵). In a more restricted sense *alaṃkāraśāstra*, however, is the lore of figurative style, the theory and prescriptions concerning the 'embellishments' which make a composition attractive, "l'enseignement des ornements (poétiques)"¹⁶. This discipline was founded on facts and phenomena which existed beforehand and really great poets continued setting the models on which the theory was to develop. There is, on the other hand, no denying that its influence on literary production gradually came to be of great importance. These 'Mirrors of composition' and 'Summaries of the essence of figurative speech' claimed to be prescriptive guides and authorities for everyone who wished to write a good work of art. "How can a man ignorant of Science distinguish between excellences and blemishes", Daṇḍin, a great authority on poetics, exclaims¹⁷), "has ever a blind man the power to comprehend distinctions in colours? That is why the experts with a view to secure people's proficiency-in-letters, have laid down, in the case of compositions of diverse styles, the methods for their making". In so doing they laid much emphasis on those qualities which produce charm in a literary work, i.e. to the *alaṃkāras*, because these so-called "ornaments" were considered to be of fundamental importance¹⁸). They make a literary work what it is, and they are based, the founder of the early school of poetics held¹⁹), on *vakrokti*-, a term which is often translated by "indirect mode of expression, use of evasive speech etc.", although a more correct equivalent would be "unnatural, uncommon mode of expression; a mode of speech differing from the plain, matter-of-fact and ordinary usage"²⁰). According to this authority the *vakrokti*, which must be present in all 'figures of speech', sets off to advantage all figures of speech, that is to say:

¹⁴) For a short history of syntactic studies see also A. W. de Groot, *Structurele syntaxis*, Den Haag 1949, p. 7 ff.

¹⁵) The reader may be referred to A. Berriedale Keith, *A history of Sanskrit literature*, 1920, repr. 1948, ch. 18; M. Krishnamachariar, *History of classical Sanskrit literature*, Madras 1937, p. 709 ff.; P. V. Kane, *History of Sanskrit poetics*, Bombay 1951.

¹⁶) I here adopt translations given by my predecessors.

¹⁷) Daṇḍin, *Kāvyādarśa* 1, 8 ff.

¹⁸) For the *alaṃkāras* see also H. Jacobi, in 'Gottingische Gelehrte Nachrichten', 1908, p. 2 ff.

¹⁹) See Bhāmaha, *Kāvyālaṃkāra* 2, 85.

²⁰) See also Kane, *o.c.*, p. 367 f.

although poetry necessarily borrows its words and grammar from ordinary speech, its diction, choice of words, combinations — in short its 'style' — is different from daily usage and beyond the reach of ordinary matter-of-fact men.

Indian poetics were, in spite of their historical importance and intrinsic value, in the main a classifying lore indulging in schemata and prescriptions and often characterized by a certain pedantry and sterility. It is therefore understandable, though not excusable, that this chapter of Indian cultural history has long been neglected in the West ²¹). Although this Indian theory of literary style may be supposed to reach back to much earlier times than the oldest relevant texts which we possess ²²), there can be no reasonable doubt that it did not come into being before the post-Vedic era. Vedic literature, chronologically preceding the so-called *kāvya* or 'formvollendete Dichtkunst', was no concern of these theorists. The *Rāmāyaṇa* was considered to be just on the border-line: it has often been called the *ādikāvya*, the first poem characterized by a certain refinement of style and conscious embellishment differing from a plain and matter-of-fact narrative style. In this famous work, it is held ²³), the first signs can be discerned of those stilistic peculiarities which were to become so characteristic of the literary production of the classical period: *alaṃkāras* such as similes, so-called puns, poetic embellishments, figures of style etc. It was however conceded that the *Mahābhārata* and parts of the ancient literature of the Buddhists, e.g. the *Therīgāthā*, were not altogether devoid of these characteristics.

However, the style of the literary legacy of the oldest period did not fail to attract the attention of Sanskrit scholars. In contradistinction to some German authors who liked to regard the *Rgveda* as a collection of "einfache rührende Naturpoesie" ²⁴), the French scholar Bergaigne ²⁵) fell into the opposite error: in his opinion this body of literature was a mere string of rhetorical subtleties and delicacies originating in milieus of priests, in short the *Rgveda* was a product of rhetoric, and even of bizarre or eccentric rhetoric. Although a certain poetic licence in the order and grouping of words could not but provoke his curiosity ²⁶), he felt especially attracted to what he would call comparisons, metaphors, allusions to mythical con-

²¹) See e.g. Paul Regnaud, *La rhétorique sanskrite, exposée dans son développement historique et ses rapports avec la rhétorique classique, etc.*, Thesis Paris 1884; bibliography: M. Winternitz, *Geschichte der indischen Literatur* III, Leipzig 1922, p. 4 ff.; Keith, o.c., p. 372 ff.

²²) See also H. R. Diwekar, *Les fleurs de rhétorique dans l'Inde*, Paris 1930, ch. III.

²³) Cf. e.g. Winternitz, o.c., I, p. 404; 393; II, 85.

²⁴) The reader may be referred to H. Oldenberg, *Vedaforschung*, Stuttgart 1905, p. 11 ff.

²⁵) A. Bergaigne, *Quelques observations sur les figures de rhétorique dans le Rig-Véda*, MSL. 4 (1881), p. 96.

²⁶) Bergaigne, in *Mélanges-Rénier*, Bibl. de l'École des Hautes-Études, 73 (1886), p. 75.

cepts and correspondences between rites and celestial phenomena²⁷). His compatriot Guérinot even wrote — significantly enough, in Latin — a book with the suggestive title “De rhetorica vedica”²⁸) in which he dealt with personarum inductiones (‘personifications’), comparationes, iterationes, antitheta, amplificationes, paromoea and other ‘figures’ which form part and parcel of the traditional classical theory of the art of oratory. It is however clear that the often high-flown and in any case elegant and persuasive style in speaking and writing which came into being in the political assemblies, courts of justice and places of public dispute of the ancient democracies of Greece and Rome and which was, during a long succession of centuries, studied and developed in the schools of France and other European countries, and put into practice by bar and chair, by pulpit and platform —, it is clear that such a rhetoric cannot have existed in Vedic India. These French authors, brought up in schools where this traditional rhetoric was not only taught, but also regarded as the central chapter of stylistics, i. e. of the art of composition, wrote under the delusion that the R̥gveda has been composed under the influence of similar theories, that the categories to which they were accustomed in studying classical rhetoric could be found and distinguished in that corpus.

Pischel and Geldner, the editors of the ‘Vedische Studien’, did not consider the R̥gveda an independent body of literature, an opinion to which Bergaigne was much inclined. Their attention was attracted by ambiguities, parallelisms (*parallelismus membrorum*), ‘slang’, by the “im R̥gveda überaus beliebte Alliteration” and the significance of this phenomenon with regard to the order of words²⁹). This alliteration had also provoked Hillebrandt’s curiosity³⁰), the ‘puns’ or plays on words, homoioteleuta and other stylistic devices Kaegi’s³¹). Aufrecht³²) ascertained the occurrence of rhyme, Oldenberg³³) noticed cases of assonance and double meaning (Gleichklang und Doppelsinn), and the British scholar Macdonell³⁴) was not behindhand in collecting valuable stylistic data: in the general index to his Vedic Reader cases of antithesis, anaphoric repetition, juxta-

²⁷) Bergaigne, MSL. 4, p. 137.

²⁸) A. Guérinot, *De rhetorica vedica*, Thesis Lyon 1900; in chapter I the opinions of Bergaigne, Barth, Henry, Whitney, Hirzel and other scholars have been collected and discussed. — The term “rhétorique” was for instance also used by A. Meillet, *Introduction à l’étude comparative des langues indo-européennes*, Paris 1937, p. 365.

²⁹) R. Pischel and K. F. Geldner, *Vedische Studien*, II, Stuttgart 1897, Register and p. 214; 237; III 1901, p. 90, n.

³⁰) A. Hillebrandt, *Über die Göttin Aditi*, Breslau 1876, p. 12.

³¹) A. Kaegi, *Der Rigveda*, Leipzig 1878 f., p. 33; n. 83 a.

³²) Th. Aufrecht, in ZDMG. 60, p. 57.

³³) Compare the indices to his *R̥gveda*, *Noten*, Berlin 1909 and 1912, s.v. ‘Syntax und Stilistik’, and his book ‘*Die Literatur des alten Indiens*’, Stuttgart 1903, p. 208 (on ornaments in Vedic poetry).

³⁴) A. A. Macdonell, *A Vedic reader for students*, Oxford 1917.

position of similar forms etc. were amply collected³⁵). It was the Indian scholar Kane who in his succinct, but copious article 'Outlines of the history of Alamkāra literature'³⁶) observed: "Figures of speech are of rare occurrence in the most ancient writings", but, he added, they are not wanting, "because without similes and metaphors no language can far advance". "The simple figures of speech are met with even in the Vedic literature: R.V. 1, 124, 7 (four similes); 1, 164, 20 (a rūpaka); 4, 58, 3 (a case of *atiśayokti*) etc.", but they are not yet applied on a large scale; what we find is "a rare and rather unconscious employment of figures of speech". It would appear to him that "in the centuries preceding and immediately following the Christian era a vast mass of poetical material had been accumulated in Sanskrit for the cultivation of the science of poetics". Whereas Geldner³⁷) interpreted passages such as R.V. 3, 34, 5 *ācetayad dhīya imā jaritrē prēmām vārṇam atirac chukrām āsām* ("er gab dem Sänger diese Gedanken ein und erhöhte deren reine Form") and 1, 143, 7 *śukrāvārṇām ūd u no yaṃsate dhīyam* ("möge er unser lichtfarbenes Gedicht emporheben"³⁸)) so as to refer to beautiful speech and artificial poetry ("schöne, glänzende Rede, also . . . Kunstpoesie"), Hillebrandt³⁹) — who as far as I am able to see penetrated the nature of the phenomena under discussion to a greater extent than his predecessors and contemporaries — speaks of "sprachliche Hilfsmittel, wie die Alliteration", which were already applied by the "Sänger der Vedazeit" in their "songs", of "poetische Technik der Lautmalerei", "Spiel mit anlautenden Konsonanten", "Freude an dem Gleichklang von Silben"⁴⁰).

It may therefore by way of recapitulation be said that scholars, while limiting themselves exclusively to the R̥gveda, were not completely unaware of part of the "stylistic peculiarities" of that corpus — which were sometimes described as something curious, as something unexpected; it was observed that the Veda had these features in common with the kāvya literature of the classical period; these features were characterized as "rhetoric", "figures of speech", "Lautmalerei". Incidentally some remarks were made with a view to explaining their use and occurrence, but no description and thorough investigation of the relevant facts was given⁴¹).

³⁵) Ch. R. Lanman (JAOS. 20, p. 12) and W. Porzig (Festschrift—E. Sievers p. 646) discussed the influence of 'Sondersprachen'.

³⁶) Published in the Indian Antiquary 41 (1912), p. 124 ff. and 204 ff. Cf. p. 124 and 126.

³⁷) Geldner, Vedische Studien, III, p. 99, n. 5.

³⁸) The translations are borrowed from Geldner's R̥g-veda . . . übersetzt, I, Harvard 1951, p. 375 and 202.

³⁹) Hillebrandt, Ritualliteratur (Grundriss), Straszburg 1907, p. 169 ff.

⁴⁰) Hillebrandt, Kalidasa, Breslau 1921, p. 106 f. and n. 151.

⁴¹) The treatise by W. Krause, Altindische und altnordische Kunstpoesie, ein Vergleich ihres Sprachstils (KZ. 53, p. 213 ff.), who has disengaged himself from the leading strings of the traditional Indian doctrine, can be left unmentioned here. W. Wüst's Stilgeschichte und Chronologie des R̥gveda, Abh. Kunde Morgenl. 17, 4,

In a Paris thesis published in 1930 the Indian scholar Diwekar⁴²⁾, after having stated that the study of the handbooks of 'rhetoric' does by itself teach us nothing with regard to the origin and the development of the language of poetry in general and the *alaṃkāras* of *kāvya* in particular⁴³⁾, based his investigations and conclusions on the *kāvya* works themselves — which were as yet only incidentally subjected to stylistic research — rather than the "schemes of the codifiers". In so doing he was well aware that he did not exhaust his subject in any respect. This method is correct. His collections, however incomplete, are useful, his observations with regard to details are often to the point, and his book may be regarded as a good introduction to the study of some of the main *alaṃkāras*. There are however serious disadvantages to his way of viewing and presenting the relevant facts. Diwekar, like the other scholars who occupied themselves with the study of the *alaṃkāras*⁴⁴⁾, considered any stylistic peculiarity to be an ornament — the very title of his book is significant — ; any element of a literary work which does not serve the matter-of-fact, intellectual exposition of the subject-matter is, in his opinion, a poetical adornment, a redundancy, or even a sort of luxury: they may serve to intellectual or emotional enjoyment, but they are no essential necessities of a narrative or argument. Like many other scholars he regards similar phenomena as identical without asking himself why they occur in a given context, what is their function, in what way they differ from other occurrences of the same 'figure'. He too loses sight of the fact that classifying, giving names, and labelling does not mean explaining and understanding, that a real insight into the nature of the Indian poetical devices can only be gained by means of a method which is at the same time philological, linguistic and comparative, that peculiarities of the 'poetical' tradition can only be thrown into relief by comparing them with the other styles of ancient Indian writing. He also limits his researches in the domain of the Veda to the *R̥cas*.⁴⁵⁾

It seems therefore possible to quote Diwekar's words in illustration of the views which are rather generally held on this subject: The Vedic poets⁴⁶⁾ adorned their hymns. The devices used might be natural or artificial. As long as a poet describes an object or occurrence as it might be described by anybody his work may be called natural. But as soon as he pursues

Leipzig 1928 touches, it is true, upon some points which will be discussed further on, but makes it his only subject to establish the chronological relations between the component texts of the *R̥gveda*.

⁴²⁾ H. R. Diwekar, *Les fleurs de rhétorique dans l'Inde. Etude sur l'évolution des "alaṃkāra" ou ornements stylistiques dans la littérature sanskrite*, Thesis Paris 1930.

⁴³⁾ See the avant-propos of Diwekar's book.

⁴⁴⁾ Curiously enough Diwekar does not mention the above articles by Kane.

⁴⁵⁾ The titles of the first and second chapters are: *La notion d'alaṃkāra dans le R̥gveda*; *Les alaṃkāra dans le R̥gveda*.

⁴⁶⁾ id est: those of the *R̥gveda*.

special effects his work becomes artificial and the devices used may be called stylistic ornaments. These ornaments are more frequent in poetry than in prose, because poetry is an artificiality in itself ⁴⁷⁾. These ornaments, i.e. the *alamkāras*, are the so-called "fleurs de rhétorique". It is however highly uncertain whether *alamkāra* should always be translated by "ornament". In my opinion ⁴⁸⁾ this term originally expressed the idea of "something which gives the strength required for an undertaking or occurrence or for meeting the requirements of a situation, hence an object which bestows a consecrated condition upon a person, amulets etc."; as amulets often were at the same time ornaments in our sense of the word, the word came also to express this idea. There is no need for the tacit assumption that this same term when it was applied to stylistic devices conveyed the sense of "ornament" rather than "that which made the product of the author's genius fit to meet certain requirements, whether these were of a 'religious' or aesthetic order". Intending to revert to this point on one of the following pages we conclude this pericope with the remark that Diwekar, like others, in following the traditional views of the *alamkāra* laid too much emphasis on their outward form, omitting even to translate the examples quoted to illustrate his argument because "tous ces procédés portent sur la forme des mots et ne se préoccupent pas de mettre le sens en relief" ⁴⁹⁾.

It may however be asked whether the ancient authors valued the devices mentioned on the foregoing pages only on account of their outward form. Is it not a conceivable idea that a poet chose these alliterations, repetitions, homoioteleuta etc. etc. in order to give utterance to a certain sense which to his mind could best be expressed by this particular outward form of the words used in the poem? Is any poetic 'licence' or rather peculiarity an indication of the author's straining after effects of mere sound combinations and redundant iterations? Is any effort to produce a certain effect artificial? Is any means of obtaining an effect or impressing the hearers or readers an ornament? Are not many uneducated speakers of Dutch or English masters of impressive speech? Is a 'figure' of speech

⁴⁷⁾ Diwekar, o.c., p. 7: "... les poètes védiques ornaient leurs hymnes ... Il faut d'abord distinguer les cas où un procédé peut être considéré comme naturel et ceux où il devient artificiel et peut être appelé un ornement de style. Tant qu'un poète décrit une chose comme elle serait décrite par tout le monde, ou tant qu'il ne fait pas sentir aux lecteurs les efforts de son art, son œuvre poétique peut être dite naturelle. Mais quand on perçoit les moyens qu'il a employés en vue de produire un certain effet, son œuvre devient artificielle et ses procédés sont appelés des ornements stylistiques. On trouve ces ornements plus fréquemment en vers qu'en prose. La versification étant elle-même un procédé artificiel, elle offre au poète maintes occasions d'employer toutes sortes d'artifices, qu'elle contribue ensuite à mettre en lumière".

⁴⁸⁾ The reader may be referred to my article 'The meaning of the word *alamkāra*', *New Indian Antiquary* I (F. W. Thomas Comm. Vol.) p. 97 ff., Bombay 1939.

⁴⁹⁾ Diwekar, o.c., p. 7.

which is used as an ornament in a particular context, necessarily a superfluity, a mere embellishment in other passages or in other products of poetic inspiration? Is the absence of loftiness and high-flown style always a mark of natural simplicity? Are there no works of art of a considerable degree of plainness? Can simplicity not be due to a conscious effort to produce a work of special refinement? Are we, moreover, not under the obligation to form for ourselves a clear idea of 'natural speech', of matter-of-fact style, of artless modes of expression before we proceed to discuss the points of difference between these and the artificial embellishments?

It may be conceded that the Vedic poets already used a considerable number of those devices on which the *alaṃkāras* of the classical period were based⁵⁰). It is however incorrect to have an eye only for those devices which were the object of the studies of the Indian experts in poetics. It is no good method not even to pose the question whether a 'figure of speech' which was to become an 'ornament' at the classical period, has always and everywhere been a mere embellishment; it is no good method to take for granted that a stylistic element or phenomenon which in particular cases must be valued as a poetical and aesthetical feature has appeared, as such, from nowhere. Inadequate indeed are from a modern point of view the outlook and methods of both the traditional *alaṃkāraśāstra* and the classical European poetics and "rhétorique". We will always have every right — and if we are convinced of the correctness of our standpoint it will be our duty — to study the style of the Indian poems and prose works in our own way, applying new methods and pursuing other objects than our predecessors. In so doing we shall not permit ourselves to neglect the Indian theory, especially when we are concerned with those works of art which have been produced under its influence. We also shall have to collect material, classifying it and drawing our conclusions from it. But our point of view must be not onesidedly aesthetic, and our ultimate aim not the establishment of a normative doctrine. Our collections and classifications must be subservient to the sincere effort to understand the essence of these stylistic devices and their historical development, to obtain an insight into the history of Indian style and to penetrate its very character. We should not view the style of Vedic literature through the coloured spectacles of European poetics or Indian *alaṃkāraśāstra*, nor apply the standards of our old-fashioned schoolbooks or those of the Indian theorists of a later period, we should not consider any deviation from the requirements of our modern Western logic or our classical ideal a defect in an Indian literary product or a logical shortcoming, we should not regard as identical phenomena those which at first sight have a strong resemblance to one another.

We shall, in this book, try to view ancient Indian stylistic phenomena

⁵⁰) Diwekar, o.c., p. 7: "Les poètes védiques employaient déjà les procédés sur lesquels cette science (viz. that of the *alaṃkāras*) s'est fondée".

through the spectacles of a modernized stylistic science⁵¹). It may first be remembered that the first half of this century has been an era especially concerned with the ways in which human thought may be conditioned by its own instruments. The nature of language and its mode of working have received much attention. The ancient point of view that only works of the highest excellence, in particular the classics — a choice of written language worth imitating — could be the object of stylistic investigations, in short the idea of an 'art of composition' with absolute norms, was gradually given up in scientific circles. So was the view of stylistics fostered in class-rooms: "eine Art Geheimmittellehre ... die allerlei Kunstgriffe zur Erzielung ästhetischer Wirkungen an die Hand geben soll"⁵²). The discovery was made that all forms of human speech can be an object of stylistic research. The relations between the elements of stylistic importance in various classes of literature which depend on uses of language other than those strictly logical and referential and similar features in the plain and unimaginative usage of daily parlance led to attempts to observe, classify and analyze these striking features along more modern lines. Scholars woke up to the fact that stylistics is not identical with aesthetics, whatever the aesthetic value of stylistic features might be in particular cases. The insight gained ground that not only the works of a 'verbal artist' who consciously and intentionally creates, or desires to create, beauty — although he may of course be inspired and although his products do not always exclusively serve aesthetic purposes — are characterized by a certain style which may be made the subject of scientific research⁵³), but that any utterance, any coherent spoken or written expression of thoughts, opinions or feelings, irrespective of the education or intentions of the speaker or author, irrespective of its value from aesthetical or other points of view, that any discourse or informal talk, any line of written language may be subjected to stylistic research.

The object of modern stylistics is not only the choice of words, their order and formation; it also embraces syntax, morphology and even phonetics⁵⁴). In short all elements of spoken or written expression are accessible to stylistic research. That is to say: any discourse or written

⁵¹) The concept of 'stylistics' has of course gone through a long development. See e.g. K. R. von Ettmayer, *Vademecum für Studierende der roman. Phil.*, Heidelberg 1919, p. 17 ff. Authors are at variance with regard to a definition of 'stylistics', see for instance the books and articles mentioned in the following notes.

⁵²) R. M. Meyer, *Deutsche Stilistik*², München 1913, § 1.

⁵³) "Sprache als Kunst verwendet heisst Stil" (L. Spitzer); "(hier gibt) sich die ästhetische Auffassung und Gestaltungskraft eines Schaffenden kund" (E. Elster, *Prinzipien der Literaturwissenschaft II*, Halle 1911, p. 8).

⁵⁴) K. Vossler, *Positivismus und Idealismus in der Sprachwissenschaft*, 1904, p. 15 contrasts "Sprachgebrauch, insofern er individuelle Schöpfung ist" which is an object of stylistic research with "Sprachgebrauch insofern er Konvention, d.h. Regel ist" as belonging to the domain of syntax. It may be observed that there can exist a similar opposition between stylistics and morphology or phonetics.

text can be examined with special regard to the choice of the means of expression made by the speaker or writer, in its relation to what might be called the norm, that is : the usual expression of thought, opinions, or emotions in the most plain and unimaginative, effective and appropriate way, in accordance with the standards tacitly recognized by those who have a complete command of the language⁵⁵). Modern stylistics in studying the 'expressive elements' of a text or discourse endeavours to distinguish between the emotive and expressive features on the one hand and the matter-of-fact elements of speech on the other, and attempts by a systematic comparison with the normal spoken language to detect the origin of most 'figures of speech', or at least to describe and explain them in their various functions. In studying the choice of the total amount of possibilities available⁵⁶) made by the individual who in definite circumstances, in speaking or writing, makes use of a definite language it is the primary object of stylistics to determine the relation between the modes of expression chosen and the thoughts, emotions, and intention of the speaker or writer⁵⁷). The stylistic method of linguistic research is an at-

⁵⁵) J. B. Hofmann, in Stolz-Schmalz, *Lateinische Grammatik*⁵, München 1928, p. 789 Zus. raises objections to applying the term stylistics to the study "der expressiven Typen einer Sprache", excluding that "der objektiven Charaktere". The advantages of this terminology as he points out himself seem however to outweigh the drawbacks: in focussing our attention on the 'expressive elements' we may "durch scharfe Sonderung der affektischen Elemente einer Sprachäusserung von den logisch-intellektuellen und durch ständiges Zurückgehen auf die gesprochene Sprache als die einzig lebendige und natürlich sich weiter entwickelnde Sprache zum wirklichen Ursprung der meisten stilistischen Tropen und Figuren vordringen". Besides, those utterances which do not differ in any respect from the norm may likewise be regarded as objects of stylistic investigations, being identical with the recognized standard; their distance from the norm is "zéro".

⁵⁶) "... en vue de conférer à l'expression une certaine qualité" Marouzeau, *Résumés des communications*, IVe Congrès Intern. de Linguistes, Copenhagen 1936, p. 64, "le fait de *langue* étant défini comme le moyen linguistique propre à exprimer un sens défini".

⁵⁷) For various opinions of the aims of modern stylistics see e.g. W. Havers, *Handbuch der erklärenden Syntax*, Heidelberg 1931; E. Winkler, *Grundlegung der Stilistik*, Bielefeld-Leipzig 1920, W. Schneider, *Ausdruckswerte der deutschen Sprache*, Leipzig-Berlin 1931; Ch. Bally, *Traité de stylistique française*², Heidelberg-Paris; the same, *Linguistique générale et linguistique française*², Berne 1944; the same, *Le Langage et la vie*², Zurich 1935; J. Marouzeau, *Précis de stylistique française*, Paris 1946; E. Lerch, *Nationenkunde durch Stilistik*, Festschrift-E. Wechssler, 1929, p. 357 ff.; the same, *Französische Sprache und Wesensart*, Frankfurt a. M. 1933; M. Deutschbein, *Neuenglische Stilistik*, Leipzig 1932; G. S. Overdiep, *Syntaxis en stilistiek*, Antwerpen 1948; the same, *Stilistische grammatica van het moderne Nederlandsch*, Zwolle 1937; the same, *De Stilistische Methode in de Nederlandsche Taal- en Letterkunde*, Groningen 1929; W. Kramer, *Inleiding tot de stilistiek*, Groningen 1935; H. Seidler, *Allgemeine Stilistik*, Göttingen 1953 (with a copious bibliography which however does not include English or American books); W. Kayser, *Das sprachliche Kunstwerk, eine Einführung in die Literaturwissenschaft*², Bern 1951; L. Spitzer, *Linguistics and Literary History*, Princeton 1948; W. P. Ker, *Form*

tempt to account for all facts and phenomena within its sphere by examining their conditions and motives⁵⁸). Although it is in the first instance a static and synchronic method⁵⁹), various phases of the same language may be compared, and a diachronic complement opens wide perspectives. It soon appears that the facts are not constant. As a result of the natural evolution of language modes of expression which were no special stylistic device — i.e. which had a stylistic value 'zero' — at a former period came to adopt a distinct stylistic value in later times; and very often the reverse is true, expressions conveying a special stylistic significance in former times may develop into syntagmata without a positive value from the stylistic point of view: it has even been said that our 'syntax' has been the 'style' of our forefathers: "nihil est in syntaxi quod non fuerit in stylo; Syntax, ja Grammatik sind nichts als gefrorene Stilistik"⁶⁰).

It is self-evident that a comparative diachronic investigation into differences between various stages of the same language, into the relation between purely 'syntactic' and evidently 'stylistic' devices, requires the utmost caution and carefulness. The main difficulty consists in the uncertainty as to the norms in any language of which we have no full command. It demands great efforts and a very prolonged familiarity with a foreign language to acquire a reliable sense of the recognized standards; with regard to the very incomplete remainders of ancient literatures the attainment of this ability is beyond the bounds of possibility. However, matters are not hopeless. In a considerable number of cases there appears to exist, on account of identity of origin ('Urverwandtschaft'), parallelism in evolution⁶¹) or 'Elementarverwandtschaft' a certain correlation between definite conditions and motives on the one hand and definite linguistic, and *in casu* stylistic phenomena on the other⁶²).

Now this point, the assumption of so-called 'Elementarverwandtschaft' is worth digressing for, for a moment. It has repeatedly been

and style, London 1928; J. Murry, The problem of style, London 1922; W. T. Brewster, Representative essays on the Theory of style, London-New York 1928; F. J. Snyman, Literêre styl met die oog op stylondersoek (in South-African Dutch), Thesis Utrecht 1945; E. L. Kerkhoff, Ausdrucksmöglichkeiten neuhochdeutschen Prosastils, Thesis Groningen 1949; the same, Het begrip stijl, Groningen 1946.

⁵⁸) "Bedingungen und Triebkräfte" E. Otto, Zur Grundlegung der Sprachwissenschaft, Leipzig 1919; the same, Stand und Aufgabe der Allgemeinen Sprachwissenschaft, Berlin 1954, *passim*; E. Hermann, in the Berl. phil. Wochenschr. 1920, p. 991, and especially Havers, o.c.

⁵⁹) Cf. also Bally, *Traité de styl. franç.*, § 23.

⁶⁰) L. Spitzer, in *Germanisch-romanische Monatsschrift*, 13 (1925), p. 179. "Der Stil des einzelnen kann zur Konvention, d.h. zur Syntax bei der Gesamtheit der Sprachgemeinschaft werden" (Havers, *Handbuch*, p. 123).

⁶¹) For the important phenomenon of parallel development in a group of languages see especially A. Meillet, *Note sur une difficulté générale de la grammaire comparée (développement dialectal identique)*, in *Linguistique historique et linguistique générale*, I, Paris 1921, p. 36 ff.

⁶²) See also Havers, o.c., § 8 ff.

contended⁶³⁾ that syntax like semantics, is essentially psychological as contrasted with the preponderantly physiological nature of phonetics. Language is, however, a unity, resulting from a highly intricate, nay almost mysterious, co-operation, in human beings, of physiological and psychological factors⁶⁴⁾, the free action of which is largely kept in check by other factors of a social and historical order. It is therefore, in my opinion, a mistake to suppose that the reason or meaning of a given construction can be deduced from empirical observation, comparison and psychological interpretation, because many syntactic phenomena came, in the course of time, to be fixed to such a degree that they are mechanically produced. It cannot even be said that there exists a definite and regular correlation between particular syntactic phenomena and clearly-defined features of human thought or expression, for constructions which are highly common in a variety of languages may be wanting elsewhere: in Eskimo even the line of demarcation between the noun and the verb is very vague and a single word often represents a whole sentence in our languages. Jespersen's verdict: "syntactic categories . . . stand midway and (constitute) the connecting link between the world of sounds and the world of ideas"⁶⁵⁾ can, therefore, lead to serious misunderstanding.

We can, on the other hand and speaking generally, hold that when a critical study of well-established facts shows the existence, in a large number of unrelated languages, of the same construction or of the same syntactic phenomenon, the very nature of things and a common, innate inclination of the human mind to look at them must have something to do with it. When for instance the well-known construction, represented in Latin and Sanskrit by the *ablativus comparationis*, in Greek by the *genitivus comparationis*, in Modern Greek by the turn *πλουσιώτερος ἀπὸ τὸν ἀδελφόν*, and in Slavonic and Modern Persian, by similar turns, is also found in Turkish, Semitic and Indonesian languages, always being clearly based on the development of the idea of separation into that of comparison⁶⁶⁾ — *being richer than one's brother* means separation from him; a tower is high when looked at from the top of a house, is high when compared with the house, is higher than the house — it may safely be held to have its roots in a wide-spread mode of looking at and

⁶³⁾ See e.g. L. H. Gray, *Foundations of language*, New York 1939, p. 225. For other criticism see S. Ullmann, *The principles of semantics*, Glasgow 1951, p. 24.

⁶⁴⁾ Cf. also E. Sapir, *Language*, New York 1921, p. 8 f.

⁶⁵⁾ O. Jespersen, *The philosophy of language*, London 1924, p. 56 f., quoted by E. Partridge, *The world of words*, London (1938)³, 1948, p. 137.

⁶⁶⁾ See also my remarks in *Reflections on the numerals 'one' and 'two' in ancient Indo-European languages*, Utrecht 1953. The same instance was chosen by Wackernagel, *Vorl. über Syntax*, I, p. 5 f. See also my article 'Universele tendenzen in de Indonesische syntaxis', *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 107, The Hague 1951, p. 180. Cf. the Chinese way of expressing comparison of superiority: "great compared (with) me".

thinking about a definite relation. In semantics it is considered quite natural for the above factors — broadly referred to as 'the nature of things' and 'the common inclination of human beings to look at them' — to play their part in creating parallels. It may, to all appearance, be assumed that our minds, or those psychical dispositions which all human beings have in common, are capable of creating the same or similar constructions in different places, at different moments. An examination of a number of turns of speech usual in a family of languages will bring to light some cases which are more or less strikingly similar to definite phenomena in other idioms. Fundamental 'ideas' or 'relations' are not rarely expressed by means of the same or similar syntactical means: English locutions such as *ups and downs*, *right or wrong* can easily be paralleled by Chinese or Indonesian instances⁶⁷⁾; they find their explanation in a natural bent of man to formulate his thoughts in the outward form of contrasts, direct opposites, hyperboles and analytical locutions, to which we shall have to revert. The idiom common to Malay, European dialects and other languages: Mal. *kuran baik* "less good, lacking goodness" i.e. "bad"; popular German *das glaub ich weniger*⁶⁸⁾ etc. — cf. also in Latin, Caes. B.G. 1, 47, 1 *si id minus vellet*, and in French *je n'aime guère, je goûte peu* — must be explained from a preference for cautious negations in polite discourse.

The universal character of this phenomenon also appears from the fact that younger generations more than once renew, revive or reproduce constructions created by their ancestors, or return, in spite of the existence of other syntactic processes, to a way of expressing themselves which does not essentially differ from that adopted by their forefathers.

Stating such parallels does, of course, not imply that we should omit closely to examine, along synchronistic and historical lines, the relevant facts in the languages concerned. But even those scholars who hesitate to draw inferences from linguistic phenomena, however wide-spread they may be, with regard to psychical structures, or to admit the existence of constant correlations between phenomena of language and particular features of the human mind can scarcely deny the value of comparative investigations executed without regard to genetical relationship of the languages investigated. An 'exhaustive' monography on the so-called partitive construction⁶⁹⁾, on the above parallels of the *ablativus comparationis*, of locutions of the *ups and downs* type would, for instance, be welcomed by all specialists desirous of deepening their insight into these phenomena as far as they belong to their particular fields.

⁶⁷⁾ See my 'Universele tendenzen', p. 193 f. The reader may, for the sake of brevity, be referred to the observations made by Father W. Schmidt, in W. Schmidt and W. Koppers, *Völker und Kulturen I*, Regensburg 1924, p. 35 ff.; E. Lerch, in *Herrig's Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Lit.* 140 (1920), p. 287; F. Maurer, *Volkssprache*, Erlangen 1933, p. 125.

⁶⁸⁾ Havers, o.c., p. 190.

⁶⁹⁾ See further on.

Although conventionality can justly be regarded as a fundamental trait of linguistic symbolisation, a closer investigation into the problems under discussion soon reveals that two or more languages possessing the same constructions do not always make the same use of them. We often see that a syntactic phenomenon which is very common, nay, obligatory in a particular language or in the speech of a particular group is in another idiom or milieu more or less definitely limited to special occasions, at the option of the person speaking. Here a particular construction is the only means possible to convey a definite thought, there it is one of a number of more or less synonymous turns. That is to say: the same construction can constitute a preponderatingly syntactic phenomenon without any stylistic value worth speaking of as well as a syntactic-stylistic fact or device, enabling the person speaking to express himself in a characteristic or particular way, and furnishing abundant material for a stylistic monography.

The conclusion may therefore be that even in studying syntactic phenomena belonging to early stages of foreign languages a cautious use may be made of the undeniable universality of certain elements of stylistic importance and of definite motives and conditions. In addition to this a substantial contribution to our knowledge of the phenomena under discussion resides in the remarkable fact that stylistic features do, as a rule, not occur in isolation. That is to say: if an enunciation of a certain length is characterized, for instance by the choice of a vulgar term, as low-colloquial, this character is likely to manifest itself also in the mode of pronunciation, accent, grammatical forms etc.⁷⁰). For instance to *I have none* in formal English answers in colloquial standard, *I haven't (got) any*, in substandard *I ain't got none*, and in local dialects e.g. *a hae nane*: in this example it is not one element (e.g. one word) that varies, but those words which remain unaltered are pronounced differently and other words may turn up. An utterance pronounced under definite conditions and circumstances, under the influence of definite motives as a rule tends to be homogeneous with regard to the elements constituting the mode of expression. That is to say: the style of a passage may, generally speaking, be discerned from a group of indicia which are in harmony with one another⁷¹). A passage is as a rule stylistically characterized not by one element, but by the complete amount of them considered in their mutual connections.

It is true that in studying the style of ancient Indian texts we are placed at serious disadvantages: we have no direct knowledge of the living language; the remainders of the written literature however vast are not representative of all aspects of Ancient Indian as it really was; much of these works is technical or even abstruse in contents and uniform in

⁷⁰) There are of course exceptions: a well-bred man may incidentally use, in an otherwise refined utterance, a vulgar term.

⁷¹) See also Marouzeau, in *Revue de philologie*, 45, p. 154.

diction; the cultural background of this literature is widely different from ours; its very vocabulary is far from being thoroughly understood. Yet a systematic research into the style of these texts along the above lines conducted with all the care and caution required will, if I am not mistaken, bring to light many facts of interest. It may contribute to a better understanding of the ancient texts themselves, and of the 'mentality' of the men who composed them, it could furnish important materials to the science which may be called comparative or general stylistics, it will help to deepen our insight into the Indian mind and into the modes of linguistic expression of one of the most remarkable cultures of the world, it will discover correlations between speech and mind which we shall recognize immediately because we know them from our own practice in speaking our mother tongue. A comparison between phenomena of the Vedic style and those relating to the literature of the later eras may contribute some paragraphs to the history of Sanskrit and Indian literature; it will perhaps help us in what was formulated by Oldenberg: "das schrittweise Anderswerden der Seele aus dem Anderswerden ihrer Äusserungen herauszulesen".

II

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ON PRIMITIVE AND ARCHAIC STYLE AND, ESPECIALLY, ON BALANCED STRUCTURES

Latin stylistics, however much studied along the traditional lines and for practical purposes, has as a real modern science often been neglected by Western scholars. It is therefore not surprising that systematic investigations into the style of Sanskrit texts are few. Not to mention the more or less incidental observations on 'figures of speech' discussed on the foregoing pages the main contribution to this chapter of the history of Sanskrit has for many years been Oldenberg's remarkable publication on Ancient Indian prose¹⁾. We should however be aware that the history of written languages is largely the history of their 'style'.

It does not escape the present author that the field of Indian stylistics is very extensive. That is why the 'Stylistic study of the Atharvaveda I—VII'²⁾ was intentionally limited to those phenomena which at the time had arrested the author's attention. It was his intention to apply the method outlined in the foregoing pages to a coherent and not very voluminous body of literature, attempting to give an answer to the following questions. What use was made by the authors of the possibilities which were at their disposal? Why have they used them in such and such a particular way and not otherwise? Which phenomena are prominent in these texts? How are they to be explained?

For various reasons the choice fell on the Atharvāṅgirasah³⁾: these texts the style of which had never attracted the attention of the Indian theorists and modern scholars, stand half-way between what might, in Latin literature, be called the '*carmen* style'⁴⁾ and the style of versified texts of later times. Although chronological problems will be left undiscussed, the early date at which these texts were composed make them the more interesting.⁵⁾ Representing a curious mixture of priestly or hieratic and

¹⁾ H. Oldenberg, Zur Geschichte der altindischen Prosa, Abh. Ges. Wiss. Göttingen, phil.-hist. Klasse, N.F. 16, 6, Berlin 1917.

²⁾ J. Gonda, Stilistische studie over Atharvaveda I-VII, Wageningen 1938.

³⁾ For this term see e.g. M. Winternitz, Geschichte der indischen Literatur I, Leipzig 1907, p. 104.

⁴⁾ For this term see further on, p. 27.

⁵⁾ See M. Bloomfield, Atharvaveda, Strassburg 1899, p. 41 f., but cf. also Oldenberg, ZDMG. 54, p. 181–192; Literatur des alten Indien, Stuttgart 1903, p. 41, n. 1; Vedaforschung, p. 37.

popular thought, and exhibiting traces of the literary activity of the lower grades of the people as well as the higher priestly families, they do not smell of court-air, they are no 'Adelspoesie'.⁶⁾ In finding their style to be in some point or other in harmony with that of the *kāvya* works of later times a reference to similarity of social *milieu* and identity of poetical tradition will be beside the question.

The material was in the first instance borrowed from the Śaunakiya recension of the Atharvavedasamhitā⁷⁾. Of the books 13–20 which deal with special subjects or joined the other components of the corpus at a more recent date⁸⁾, and the books 8–12 which are more onesidedly hieratic in character, no great use was made. The first of the three grand divisions of this Samhitā, the books I–VII, was, however, systematically examined. These books consist mainly of 'magic', of a great variety of spells, incantations, imprecations, formulas to secure wealth, health, long life, victory, freedom from danger, luck in gambling, and various other benefits and blessings, to ward off demons, illness, enemies, death, witchcraft, etc. etc. They are *omnium consensu* the most characteristic part of the Atharvaveda. In many cases the use of these texts in ritual practice is well known. The intentions of the 'authors' or redactors are very often obvious because word and action are not rarely intimately associated, and especially because the application of many texts is given in the Kausikasūtra⁹⁾. This most important accessory of the Atharvavedasamhitā is, though comprising also the themes ordinarily dealt with in the Grhyasūtras, largely a manual of magic practice; as such it gives a great deal of detailed information about various ceremonies, making much that is far from clear in the Atharvaveda comprehensible. The Kausikasūtra was commented upon by Dārila and Keśava, whose works furnish many explanations of importance. Roughly speaking the spells and incantations may be specified as serving to exorcise demons and spirits, to expel diseases, to ward off evil, to promote health, wealth, influence, to make powerful, safe and prosperous, to destroy enemies including inimical magicians, to mitigate or counteract the evil influence of omina, and so on; part of them are to be applied on special occasions, such as pregnancy, foundation of a house, inauguration of a king, nullification of the efforts of enemies etc.¹⁰⁾.

⁶⁾ Cf. W. Wüst, ZDMG. 80, p. 164 ff.

⁷⁾ Edited by Roth-Whitney-Lindenau, Berlin 1924.

⁸⁾ The reader might be referred to W. D. Whitney, Atharvaveda Samhitā, Harvard 1905, p. CXL ff.

⁹⁾ Edited by M. Bloomfield, JAOS. 14 (1890); partly translated (ch. 7–52) by W. Caland, Altindisches Zauberritual, Amsterdam 1900.

¹⁰⁾ Parallels in other civilizations are far from wanting: the spells used by the Cherokee experts for instance likewise covered almost every aspect of Indian life, for they dealt with the crops and warfare, with hunting and medicine, sports and love-making. See J. Mooney, Sacred formulas of the Cherokees, Seventh Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, p. 307 ff.

If it had been our intention strictly to cling to subject-matter of this description some 'hymns' dealing with different topics — such as e.g. AV. 4, 1; 5, 1 and 2 which are rather difficult collections of mystic, cosmogonic and philosophical suggestions and observations; 4, 11 which praises the draught-ox — would have been excluded from our investigations. However, some of our examples were borrowed from these texts in order to show that the phenomena under discussion are not limited to those parts of the Atharvaveda which contain magic proper ¹¹).

As is well known the Atharvavedasamhitā is, with the exception of book 15, most of book 16 and some smaller parts, in metre: short metre (8 syllables), i.e. the 'popular' anuṣṭubh etc., or long metre (11, 12 syllables), i.e. triṣṭubh and jagatī¹²). Sometimes however prose and metrical matter are mixed up to such a degree that it is difficult to determine whether a passage is "merely cadenced prose, or doggerel metre, or originally good metre spoiled by interpolations and additions" ¹³). As will be argued further on it will be, for convenience and in order to avoid long explanations, advisable to speak in this case of 'carmen style', characterized by a mode of 'literary' expression which whilst being neither exactly metrical nor prose may be supposed to have been more original than both of these. Not infrequently, a metrical unit (pāda) is, literally or with variants ¹⁴), repeated in the same 'text' (sūkta) or at another place in the corpus. Although the subject-matter is as a rule arranged in such a way that the sūktas are homogeneous, they do not, as a matter of course, contain regular narratives, coherent communications, or logically correct arguments, consisting of shorter or longer sequences of spells used under identical or similar circumstances. They are often couched in the outward form of an address directed to a god, an amulet, a medicinal herb, a demon, magician or evil power. The construction of the sentences is, as a rule, plain and simple ¹⁵).

In the 'Stilistische studie over Atharvaveda I – VII', it was my intention to examine a number of stylistic phenomena with special regard to the idiom of these seven books of this Vedic corpus, namely: parallelisms, 'responsions', anaphora, repetition of words, paronomasia, alliteration,

¹¹) For reasons of space translations were — and are — as a rule not given; those readers who need them can easily find them in L. Renou, *Bibliographie védique*, Paris 1931, ch. 47–49; and R. N. Dandekar, *Vedic bibliography*, Bombay 1946, ch. II. Parallel passages are often but by no means consistently given; they may be looked up in M. Bloomfield, *A Vedic Concordance*, Cambridge 1906; for variant readings see M. Bloomfield and F. Edgerton, *The Vedic Variants*, 3 vol. 1930–1934.

¹²) For the arrangement of the books and of the hymns within the books see Bloomfield, *The Atharva-veda*, § 36 and 37.

¹³) Bloomfield, *The Atharva-veda*, p. 41.

¹⁴) For these see Bloomfield-Edgerton (see n. 11).

¹⁵) For particulars the reader may be referred to Whitney-Lanman, *Atharva-veda Samhitā*, translated, Harvard 1905, General Introduction and Bloomfield, *The Atharva-veda*.

homoioteleuton and related devices¹⁶). Other phenomena, though incidentally touched upon, were explicitly excluded from that monograph. So were comparative elucidations; in illustration of the character of the devices examined some references to other languages and literatures were given, preferably from colloquial speech — which is the basis of every linguistic usage — and ‘magical’ texts.

It would appear to the present author that composing ‘texts’ of the above description cannot be called ‘making verses’ or ‘poetry’ in the sense usually attached to these words in modern European usage, including efforts to achieve aesthetical effects. It would be a serious misapprehension to believe that these stanzas owe their existence not only to ‘religious’ need but also to a desire to create something beautiful. In so-called primitive or pre-scientific milieus composing and reciting utterances of this character are quite usual, these ‘texts’ fulfilling various socio-religious functions, and forming an integral part of the culture. As however these formulas, stanzas — or whatever name should be given to them — express the thoughts and emotions of the poet, the reciter, and those on behalf of whom the power inherent in the words is, in highly appropriate diction, activated they must have evoked not only emotions of a religious order, but also feelings for rhythm, sound associations and the beauty inherent in well-arranged, appropriate and effective ‘literary’ productions. Whether “die Lust am geordneten Rhythmus” has rightly been called the oldest feeling for beauty¹⁷) I am not able to say; the fact, however, remains that reciting these rhythmical schemata and listening to them pleases ear and mind and calls up an intuitive aesthetic appreciation. In the course of time the ‘authors’ and reciters becoming conscious of the special properties and peculiarities of these schemata and discovering their mnemonic value, — a point of no mean interest — their appropriateness, their inherent persuasiveness, may have more or less intentionally cultivated some of their characteristic features. As soon as these compositions acquire a fixed form and are put into writing they are apt to lose their original character; outside their original milieu in which they were traditionally functional the unity of their social, religious, aesthetic aspects may disintegrate. As soon as they come to be appreciated by individuals for whom the aesthetic aspects are of comparatively high importance, poets among these may

¹⁶) In a review also otherwise characterized by misapprehension and pedantry — why should a publication be criticized as if it were a book on other and larger subjects, pursuing aims which are explicitly rejected by its author? — W. Wüst (Orient. Lit. Zeitung 1939) gave evidence of inaccurate reading in disregarding the relative passage on p. 17 and 18. It was my intention to write neither a complete nor a comparative study of the style of the Atharvaveda in its entirety. Wüst also failed to see the difference between the use of Latin terminology in a modern branch of linguistic science and that of the same terms in the traditional *ars bene scribendi*.

¹⁷) A. Heusler, *Deutsche Versgeschichte*, Berlin 1925, p. 18; Havers, *Handbuch der erklärenden Syntax*, p. 178; M. Jousse, *Études de psychologie linguistique, Le style oral . . .*, Archives de philosophie II, Paris 1925, p. 119 ff.

arise who consciously pursue aesthetic effects by imitating the 'primitive' composers and reciters. It will be the task of those applying themselves to the history of Indian literature to trace this process as completely as possible and to estimate the character and value of literary products also from this point of view.

As already stated in the preface it is in this book not only the author's endeavour to re-edit his stylistic study on Atharvaveda I–VII, but also to broaden the perspective in which the phenomena under discussion were viewed, and to extend his investigations to other parts of the Veda, borrowing more parallels from other literatures and devoting more attention to the later development in post-Vedic Sanskrit texts. It has however not been his intention to aim at anything like completeness. He has, in this book also, given a prominent place to those topics which attract for the time being his special interest, postponing, if possible, a study of other stylistic phenomena. The reader should therefore be aware on the one hand that the subjects dealt with in this book have not even with regard to the Veda been dealt with exhaustively, and on the other hand that the continuation of this work will no doubt compensate for a certain oneness inherent in this former part.

These remarks necessitate a short discussion of the usual terminology. It would seem that the time-honoured terms 'poetry' or 'poetic diction' cannot do duty here. It may be true that a certain emotional and imaginative treatment of the subject-matter is proper to part of the 'compositions' under discussion, that the style and diction impress us as being marked by an undeniable appropriateness to the ideas and emotions expressed – we should for instance remember the style of the Psalms –, it may be equally true that also compositions moulded in a free metrical form, or lacking any metrical form at all, can be styled poems, – it can, on the other hand, not be denied that we are accustomed to contrast 'poetry' or 'verse' with 'prose', understanding by the latter idea such language, spoken or written, as is in ordinary usage, without metre, expression of special 'poetical' emotions etc. Moreover, we are often inclined to deny many authors of verses the name 'poet', and to reserve it especially for those whose work is marked by great beauty of language, high powers of imagination, the expression of profound thoughts and other outstanding qualities. When, however, in a society all subject-matter worthy of being retained in the memory is moulded in one and the same form which, though doubtless different from ordinary usage, does neither answer to the usual interpretations of the terms 'prose' or 'verse' nor fulfil duties which are regarded as being of a chiefly 'literary' or aesthetic order, we had better avoid the traditional terminology at all, the more so as it may be taken for granted that both 'prose' and 'poetry' as forms of literary composition developed from the mode of expression discussed in this paragraph¹⁸).

¹⁸) I cannot subscribe to the opinion expressed by J. Hertel, Wiener Zs. Kunde d. Morg. 18, p. 63.

It may be recalled to memory that in the ancient texts of non-European peoples often no hard and fast line can be drawn between 'prose' and 'poetry': in ancient Egyptian literature for instance the use of these terms should be avoided.

It has already been recalled that in the former publication ¹⁹⁾ I proposed to apply to this 'style', to which the terms prose and poetry are not yet relevant, the Latin word *carmen*. Or rather: the *carmen* may be considered the typically Latin form of this mode of expression. By this word the Romans originally understood more or less rhythmic and 'symmetrical' formulas or 'compositions', or any cadenced series of words recited in a solemn way, and characterized by a tendency to 'correspondences' irrespective of the special character of the subject-matter, which, in our terminology might be called religious (*carmen Arvale*), juridical (*lex horrendi carminis*), didactic (*magistri carmine*), or magical (as late as 386 A. D. the Christian author Ambrosius speaks of a *grande carmen* . . . , quo nihil potentius), and which, in addition to this, could also apply to prayers, treaties, oath-formulas. As is well known, the more specialized sense of "(any kind of) song or hymn" was to prevail in the course of time. Such Roman spells as *terra pestem teneto / salus hic maneto* or *pastores te inven-erunt / sine manibus colligerunt / sine foco coxerunt / sine dentibus comederunt* are short but typical instances of this *carmen* style ²⁰⁾. Compare also: *uti tu morbos visos invisosque / viduertatem vastitudinemque / calamitates intemperiasque / prohibessis defendas averruncesque* ²¹⁾. It should be added that with regard to its structure the ancient Latin *carmen* is characterized by a so-called horizontal and vertical correspondence of words and periodicity of the successive cola ²²⁾.

This style is a wide-spread mode of expression among many peoples especially when those tendencies which can roughly but conveniently be indicated by such terms as primitive or semi-primitive are prevalent in their culture. The efficacy of a spell, incantation, prayer or formula depends largely on the language it is couched in and very often also upon its correct repetition. Great indeed is the power of words which affirm or describe what the priest or magician wishes to come to pass, but the correct 'style' and diction are a necessity, even minor variations of wording or a wrong method of recital may be disastrous. The 'carmen' style meets these requirements and lends itself also excellently to the sing-song undertone in which such texts are often recited. As rhythmic recitations

¹⁹⁾ Stilistische Studie, p. 22.

²⁰⁾ Cf. R. Helm, *Incantamenta magica graeca latina*, Fleckeisens Jahrb. Suppl. 19 (1893), p. 465 ff. See also C. Thulin, *Italische sakrale Poesie und Prosa*, p. 51 ff.

²¹⁾ Cato, *De Agr.* 141; see also P. Lejay, *Histoire de la littérature latine des origines à Plaute*, Paris, p. 151.

²²⁾ For a definition of the Latin *carmen* see Ed. Norden, *Die antike Kunstprosa*, I, Leipzig 1923, p. 161; A. W. de Groot, *Le mot phonétique et les formes littéraires du latin*, *Revue des études latines* 12 (1934), p. 117 f.; J. F. Westermann, *Archaische en archaistische woordkunst*, Thesis Amsterdam 1939, p. 22.

are of world-wide distribution and fixed rhythmic parts are of considerable importance in almost all reliable collections of 'free' popular traditions, the rhythmic sense of the 'primitive' may be supposed to have been highly developed²³). Thus the spells of the Mountain Arapesh, a Papuan tribe, largely consist of pairs of names and repetitive verbal statements²⁴). When a Samoan discovered that some of his bananas had been stolen he would shout two or three times "May fire blast the eyes of the person who has stolen my bananas. May fire burn down his eyes and the eyes of his god too"²⁵). After entering the jungle a Peninsular Malay, engaged in deer hunting pronounces such spells as "It is not I who am huntsman, it is Pawang Sidi who is huntsman. It is not I whose dogs these are, it is Pawang Sakti whose dogs they are"²⁶). The belief has even been expressed²⁷), that the liking for the frequent repetition of single motives in 'primitive' literature, fairy tales etc. is in part due to the pleasure given by rhythmic repetition.

The spells and incantations of the ancient Assyrians and Babylonians were composed in the same style: "My incantation is the incantation of Ea, my incantation is the incantation of Marduk. His holy incantation is mixed with my incantation, his holy word is mixed with my word, his holy saliva is mixed with my saliva, his holy prayer is mixed with my prayer"²⁸). The same cadenced parallel lines or balanced, and often binary structures, the same forms of repetition of sounds and thoughts are found in the litanies in which the priestesses of the Torajas (Celebes) address the divine powers²⁹); in oath formulas of the Manggarai in the island of Flores: *aku lerak ného tji'é, ampus ného rawuk* "I may dissolve like salt, be crushed like ashes"³⁰); in the mythical tales of the Dayak

²³) F. Boas, General anthropology, Boston 1938, p. 589 ff. For the sense of the term 'primitive' see e.g. G. van der Leeuw, L'homme primitif et la religion, Paris 1940.

²⁴) See Margaret Mead, in Anthropol. Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, 37, p. 343. Cf. also H. Webster, Magic, A sociological study, Stanford 1948, ch. IV.

²⁵) G. Turner, Samoa, London 1884, p. 30 ff., quoted by H. Webster, Magic, 1948, p. 105.

²⁶) W. W. Skeat, Malay Magic, London 1902, p. 171; 175. A *pawang* is an expert in any art believed to require the use of magic; *sidi* (<Skt. *siddhi*-) means "effective (of charms etc.)", *sakti*, *sēkti* (<Skt. *śakti*-) "supranormal power".

²⁷) Boas, o.c., p. 591.

²⁸) After G. Contenau, La magie chez les Assyriens et les Babyloniens, Paris 1947, p. 140, where many other instances are quoted; see e.g. also A. Falkenstein, Die Haupttypen der sumerischen Beschwörung, Leipzig 1931; C. Fossey, La magie assyrienne, Paris 1902; H. F. Lutz, Selected Sumerian and Babylonian texts, Philadelphia 1919; S. Langdon, Babylonian liturgies, Paris 1913; id., Sumerian liturgies and psalms, Philadelphia 1919.

²⁹) See N. Adriani, Verzamelde geschriften II, Haarlem 1932, p. 397 ff.

³⁰) See J. A. J. Verheyen, Het Hoogste Wezen bij de Manggaraiers, Wien-Mödling 1951, p. 108; 110 etc.

people of Borneo³¹); in ancient Sanskrit and Javanese prayers and exorcisms handed down in the island of Bali: *om śreyo bhavatu, om sukhām bhavatu, om pūrṇam bhavatu*, and *lebur kang bhasma, lebur kang lara roga* "annihilated the ashes, annihilated the pain and disease"³²); in the so-called adat maxims of the Malays³³): *jang mentjintjang jang memapas / jang membunuh membangun / jang mendjual memberi balas* "he who wounds must bandage the wound, he who sells must give compensation" or adages like *Belanda berbenteng besi / Melayu berbenteng adat* "the defences of the Dutch are iron, the defences of the Malays custom"; *hudjan mas perak — negeri orang / hudjan keris lembing — negeri kita* "though it may rain gold and silver — it is a foreign country, though it may rain daggers and spears — it is our own country" likewise current among Malays and other inhabitants of the Indonesian Archipelago³⁴). They are found in the 'magic songs' of the Finns — "A maiden walked along the air's edge / a girl along the navel of the sky / along the outline of a cloud / along the heaven's boundary / in stockings of a bluish hue / in shoes with ornamented heels"³⁵) — as well as in the tales of the Eskimos — "Where is its owner? where is its master? has the singing-house an owner? has the singing-house a master?"³⁶) — ; in the fairy-tales, prayers, descriptions and traditions of the Baluba and Bayombe in Africa³⁷); of various peoples in the Pacific and other parts of the world³⁸); they are *mutatis mutandis* also found in the parallelisms characteristic of the literary art of the

³¹) See H. Schärer, *Die Gottesidee der Ngadju Dajak in Süd-Borneo*, Leiden 1946, p. 185 ff.

³²) See R. Goris, *Bijdrage tot de kennis der Oud-Javaansche en Balineesche theologie*, Leiden 1926, p. 38; 43.

³³) See R. J. Wilkinson, *Papers on Malay subjects, Law, I*, Kuala Lumpur 1908; 1922.

³⁴) See my introduction to *Letterkunde van de Indische Archipel* (translations collected by J. Gonda), Amsterdam 1947, p. 5 ff.

³⁵) See J. Abercromby, in *Folklore I*, London 1890, p. 26 (also quoted by Ed. Norden, *Die antike Kunstprosa*, Leipzig 1909, p. 815, n. 2). The translator added the following note: "In Finnish, the second line of a couplet is nearly always a repetition in other words of its predecessor, and stands in apposition to it". Compare also Kalevala 10, 35 "To the sky the top reaches, sticks in the clouds". See further D. Comparetti, *Atti della R. Acc. d. Lincei* 1890, IV, 8, p. 62 ff.

³⁶) F. Boas, *Eskimo tales and songs*, *Journal of American Folk-lore*, 7 (1894), p. 45.

³⁷) See e.g. Colle, *Les Baluba*, in *Collection de Monographies ethnographiques*, 11-12, Bruxelles 1914, p. 709 ff.; L. Bittremieux, *Mayombische volkskunst*, Louvain 1924, passim; some selections are also given by F. M. Olbrechts, *Ethnologie*, Zutphen 1936, p. 271 ff.

³⁸) See e.g. N. B. Emerson, *Unwritten literature of Hawaii*, *Bull. of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, 38, Washington 1909, p. 59 etc.; K. Th. Preusz, *Die Nayarit-Expedition I*, p. 371 f. (Indians of Mexico etc.); W. G. Ivens, *Melanesians of the S.E. Solomon Islands*, 1927, p. 267; 335 etc.; O. Behaghel, in *Paul und Braune's Beiträge*, 30, p. 431 ff.; G. Schlegel, *La loi du parallélisme en style chinois*, Leyden 1896; F. Kühnert, *Über den Rhythmus im Chinesischen*, *Wiener Sitzungsberichte* 134, 1896, p. 38 ff., and so on.

ancient Semitic peoples — Psalm 105 (106) may be quoted as a very evident instance, the Koran is composed in rhymed prose ('Reimprosa'), and in the poetry of the Arabs the symmetry or *parallelismus membrorum* is likewise of frequent occurrence³⁹⁾ — as well as in the myths and legends, the 'poetry' and folk-tales of Indonesia⁴⁰⁾. A Malay lullaby: *barang siapa berpadi emping, padi emping huma di-tengah; | barang siapa berhati mumin, hati jang mumin istana Allah*. A stanza belonging to the songs accompanying the 'blossom dance': *ku-anggit, majang, ku-anggit, | ku-anggit di-pohon saga: | ku-panggil, dajang, ku-panggil, | ku-panggil turun bertiga*. A proverb: *sesat di-hudjong djalan, balik ke-pangkal djalan* "if you lose your way near the end of your journey, go straight back and start afresh from the beginning". In ancient Egypt "war die Wiederholung des Gesprochenen, die einen oder mehrere Ausdrücke in veränderter Form enthält, die beherrschende Stilform nicht nur der Pyramidentexte, sondern der gehobenen Sprache überhaupt und vor allem in der klassischen Literatur des Mittleren Reiches"⁴¹⁾. Istar's descent into hell is described in parallel sentences: "Die Form der Darstellung ist Parallelismus der Glieder, eine Form der . . . Sprache, die sicherlich ursprünglich keine bewusst kunstmässige ist, sondern das natürliche Ergebnis schwungvoll gehobener Rede"⁴²⁾. In the litanies of the Nias priests this carmen-style has obsessed the mind of the composers to such an extent that even the most insignificant parts of the text are expressed in the form of a pair of parallel members which are very often for the most part identical⁴³⁾.

Returning now to peoples of Indo-European tongue we only recall to memory the old German incantations and 'Segen', juridical and religious formulas. A charm addressed to the bees, for instance, reads as follows⁴⁴⁾:

³⁹⁾ We now know that it was incorrect to say that Muhammed dealt with the most prosaic subject-matter in rhyme: Th. Nöldeke in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*⁴¹, s.v. *Koran*.

⁴⁰⁾ For further information see my above-mentioned Introduction (*Letterkunde van de Indische Archipel*), some of the books and papers referred to in this work (p. 45 ff.); my article 'Opmerkingen over Oud-Javaanse zinsleer', *Bijdr. Taal-, Land-, Volk.* 105 (1949), p. 25 ff.; F. S. Eringa, *Loetoeng Kasaroeng* (A Sundanese mythical tale from West-Java), The Hague 1949, esp. p. 105 ff.; Wilkinson, *Papers on Malay subjects, Life and custom I*, Kuala Lumpur 1908, p. 79; III, 1910, p. 88 and passim; W. A. Braasem, *Proza en poëzie om het heilige meer der Bataks*, Djakarta-Amsterdam 1951, passim; W. A. Braasem and R. Nieuwenhuys, *Volkspoëzie uit Indonesië*, Groningen-Djakarta 1952, passim. Compare also M. Longworth Dames, *Popular poetry of the Baloches*, London 1907, passim.

⁴¹⁾ O. Firkow, *Grundzüge der Stilistik in den Altägyptischen Pyramidentexten*, Inst. f. Orientforschung, Deutsche Akad. der Wiss. Berlin, vol. 21, 1953, p. 20.

⁴²⁾ A. Jeremias, *Die babylonisch-assyr. Vorstellungen vom Leben nach dem Tode*, Leipzig 1887, p. 9.

⁴³⁾ W. L. Steinhart, *Niassche teksten*, Bandung 1937.

⁴⁴⁾ A. E. Schönbach, *Eine Auslese altd deutscher Segensformeln* (*Anal. Graecensia* 1893), p. 30.

Ich peswer euch pey dem allmachtigen got / das ir in chainen wald / noch in chain veld nicht kompt / und chain flucht von hin habt noch tuet. / Sand Abraham der pehab euch / Sand Jacob der pring euch wieder zu / . . . / ich peswer euch pey unsser frawen Maria, der ewigen magt / ich peswer euch pey Sand Josephen / das ir von diser stat nicht kommt. And an ancient Frisian juridical text, dating from the XIth century⁴⁵): *Ende ick drégggha hemmen ur / ende stánde hémmen / toe grée ende grónd / den áyndoem mit der bysittingha / toe éwighe déghum. / Ende ick ner myn néykommen / ner némmen fan mijnerweghena / deer némmer meer béth / nén spréeck oen toe hebben / in da riuchte ner bútariuchte ... / toe sétten toe sellen / toe brúken toe bíjsgghien.* Remains of this mode of expression are even preserved in the literary inheritance which so soon relinquished the pursuit of 'primitive' devices. In a 'hymn' addressed to Zeus in Hesiodus' Opera (st. 3 ff.) it reads: *ὄν τε διὰ βροτοὶ ἄνδρες / ὁμῶς ἄφατοί τε φατοί τε || ὀητοί τ' ἄροητοί τε / Διὸς μεγάλῳ ἐκῆτι || ῥέα μὲν γὰρ βροιάει / ῥέα δὲ βροιάοντα χαλέπτει || ῥεῖα δ' ἀρῖζῆλον μινύθει / καὶ ἄδηλον ἀέξει || ῥεῖα δέ τ' ἰθύνει σκολιὸν / καὶ ἀγήνορα κάρφει || etc.* "Through him mortal men are famed or unfamed, sung or unsung alike, as great Zeus wills. For easily he makes strong, and easily he brings the strong man low; easily he humbles the proud and raises the obscure, and easily he straightens the crooked and blasts the proud". In the marriage service of the Church of England it reads: *to have and to hold, for better or worse etc.*

As may be seen from the above instances, which could easily be multiplied, this carmen-style not only conditions the structure of a single line or sentence, but at the same time that of the composition in general. A hard-and-fast line between the domain of stylistics and that of the discipline concerned with literary composition cannot be drawn here. In the Avesta⁴⁶) we come across many fine instances of entire paragraphs composed in this way, for instance Yt. 5, 2 *yā vīspanqm aršnqm xšudrā yaožda-dāiti / yā vīspanqm hāirišinqm zqθāi garəwqn yaoždadāiti / yā vīspā hāirišiš huzāmītō dadāiti / yā vīspanqm hāirišinqm dāitīm radwīm paēma ava. baraiti* "Who purifies the seed of all males / who purifies the womb of all females with a view to birth / who causes all females to have an easy childbirth / who procures, for all females, milk in due time"; 98 *yīm aiwītō mazdayasna hištənta barəsmō.zasta. tām yazənta hvōvāñhō, tām yazənta naotairyāñhō; ištīm jaidyanta hvōvō, āsu.aspīm naotaire. mošu pasčāēta hvōvō ištīm baon səvišta. mošu pasčāēta naotaire vištāspō āñham dahyunqm āsu.aspō.təmō bava!* "The worshippers of Mazda stood around (her), the

⁴⁵) Cf. Th. Siebs, Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie 29 (1897), p. 406 ff.; p. 408, n. O.

⁴⁶) One might compare also the rather personal and onesided treatise by Joh. Hertel, Beiträge zur Metrik des Awestas und des Rgvedas, Abh. ph. h. kl. Sächs. Akad. d. Wiss. 38, 3, Leipzig 1927, esp. p. 34 ff. (This author is no doubt wrong in holding that these 'rhymes' "von den Dichtern bewusst als Redeschmuck verwendet werden").

bundle of sacred twigs in the hand; the Hvovas worshipped her, the Nautaryas worshipped her; the Hvovas asked her for possession, the Nautaryas for the possession of swift horses. Shortly after the Hvovas became the most powerful as to possession, shortly after the Nautarya Vištāspa became, in these parts of the country, possessed of the swiftest horses"; Y. 9, 1 *hāvanīm ā ratūm ā haomō upāiṣṭ zaraḍuṣṭrēm ātrēm pairi.yaoḍḍadāntēm gāḍḍāsca srāvayantēm . . . āaṭ mē aēm paityaoṣṭa haomō aśava dūraoṣṭō*: "azem ahmi; zaraḍuṣṭra, haomō aśava dūraoṣṭō; ā mām yāsaṇuḥa, spitama, jṛā mām hunvaṇuḥa ṅvaratē" . . . 3 and 4 *āaṭ aoyṭa zaraḍuṣṭrō*: "nāmō haomāi! kaṣa ḍvaṇm paoiryō, haoma, maśyō astvaiḍyāi hunūta gaēḍyāi?" followed by *āaṭ mē aēm paityaoṣṭa haomō aśava dūraoṣṭō*: "vivarḥā mām paoiryō maśyō astvaiḍyāi hunūta gaēḍyāi". The next question couched in the form of a twofold parallelism is answered by the same schemes: *kā ahmāi aśiṣ ṛenāvi, cīṭ ahmāi jasaṭ āyaptēm*: *ha a. a. ṛ . . . , taṭ a. ṣ. ā*. The following questions are put in the same words: 6 *kaṣa ḍvaṇm bityō, haoma, maśyō astvaiḍyāi hunūta gaēḍyāi? kā ahmāi aśiṣ ṛenavi?* etc. and the answer, introduced by the same formula, is given with the least change of words possible; cf. 9 and 10; 12 and 13 ⁴⁷).

Thus these parallel 'balancements', this tendency to repetition of word and thought, is also a structural principle in composing texts of a certain length, in welding together short passages into a whole, in arranging subject-matter bearing upon the same person or event.

It can hardly be disputed that Vedic literature, and especially the mantras, is highly formulaic in character. "Vedic literary production is often in a high degree imitative and mechanical. The poets or priests more or less consciously fell into habits of expression such that entire lines of different stanzas or hymns, and considerable sequences of words of different prose passages, show much similarity". ⁴⁸) Thanks to the American scholars Bloomfield and Edgerton we possess a well-known Concordance — which however is, after fifty years, in urgent need of supplementing — and some very elaborate useful studies on the mantra material. ⁴⁹) Some examples chosen at random may illustrate the great similarity of many cola and verse quarters. The R̥gveda alone contains no less than 11 pādas beginning with *tvaṃ no agne*, followed by one or two (three) other words; some of them recur in other texts, one (R̥V. 4, 1, 4 *tvaṃ no agne varuṇasya vidvān*) being of very frequent occurrence. This means that even a moderately skilled poet, when faced with the task of composing a hymn addressed to Agni could dispose of a large number of examples to follow, to vary, to change or adapt. There are ten mantras in the same corpus commencing

⁴⁷) Other instances may be found in Yt. 10, 83 f.; 97 (see Hertel, o.c., p. 34); 141; Vend. 22 (Hertel, o.c., p. 59), etc.

⁴⁸) M. Bloomfield, A Vedic Concordance, Harvard 1906, p. VII.

⁴⁹) M. Bloomfield and F. Edgerton, Vedic variants. A study of the variant readings in the repeated mantras of the Veda, 3 vol., Philadelphia 1930-34; M. Bloomfield, Rig-Veda Repetitions, 2 vol., Cambridge Mass. 1916.

with *sa tvam naḥ*, in four cases *naḥ* is followed by the vocative *indra*, in other cases by another vocative. ṚV. 4, 13, 1 *praty agnir uṣasām agram* recurs in a slightly different form 4, 14, 1 *praty agnir uṣaso jātavedā*, whereas in 3, 5, 1, it reads *praty agnir uṣasaś cekitānaḥ*; in 4, 13, 1 and 14, 1 the sentence is brought to a provisional close by adding *akhyat*, in 3, 5, 1 *cekitānaḥ* is followed by *abodhi*; in all three cases the stanza is completed by adding some qualifications of the subject or of the subject and object. The prayer "do thou, O N.N., protect us" may be expressed in slightly varying outward form: ṚV. 6, 16, 30 *tvam naḥ pāhy amhaso jātavedaḥ*; 7, 15, 15 *t. n. p. a. doṣāvastaḥ*; 1, 91, 8 *t. n. s. v. rakṣa*; 10, 25, 7 *t. n. soma viśvato gopā* (... *bhava*). Beside 4, 12, 3 *agnir iṣe brhataḥ kṣatriyasya* we find 7, 11, 4 *a. ī. b-o adhvarasya*; beside 10, 36, 2 *dyaus ca naḥ prthivī ca* 3, 6, 3 *dyaus ca tvā prthivī*; beside 2, 12, 13 *dyāvā cid asmai prthivī* 10, 35, 3 *dyāvā no adya prthivī* and 2, 41, 20 *dyāvā naḥ prthivī imam*, and so on, and so on.

Although the Vedic instances of this phenomenon are especially conspicuous epic cases are not wanting: cf. e. g. such recurrences as Mbh. 3, 75, 1 and 18 *damayanti tu tac chrutvā* . . .; 14, 39, 16 II and 21 I.

It is therefore not surprising that ancient Indian literature shows likewise many vestiges of this tendency to 'parallelism', symmetry, and balanced structures. Postponing a more systematic treatment of this point to the following paragraphs we may insert here a short and random collection of instances. ṚV. 1, 5, 2 *purūtāmam puruṇām iśānam vāryānām* (symmetrical cola) "the first of many, the lord of desirable objects"; 6, 3 *ketum kṛṇvann aketave peśo maryā apeśase* "to him who has no sign giving a sign, an ornament, O man, to him who has no ornament"; 10, 1 *gāyanti tvā gāyatriṇo arcanty arkam arkiṇaḥ*; 2, 12, 2 *yaḥ prthivīm vyathamānām adrmhad yaḥ parvatān prakupitān aramṇāt* "who made firm the quaking earth, who set at rest the agitated mountains"; 4, 2, 11 *ditim ca rāsvāditim uruṣya*; 4, 34, 7 *agrepābhīr rtupābhīḥ sajoṣā gnāspatnībhi ratna-dhābhīḥ sajoṣāḥ*; 4, 3, 7; 8, 1; 10, 90, 6; ṚV. 5, 2, 12 (last two pādas of the hymn) *barhiṣmate manave śarma yaṁsad | dhaviṣmate m. ś. y.*; AV. 1, 2, 1 *vidmā śarasya pitarāṃ parjanyaṃ bhūridhāyasam | vidmo śv asya mātaram prthivīm bhūrivarpaśam* "we know the reed's father, Parjanya the much-nourishing, we also know well its mother, the earth of many aspects"; 1, 24, 3 *surūpā nāma te mātā surūpo nāma te pitā* (a fine specimen of parallel cola); 31, 3 *asrāmas tvā haviṣā yajāmy aślonas tvā ghṛtena juhomi* "unlamed I sacrifice to thee with oblation, unmaimed I make oblation to thee with ghee"; JB. 1, 163 *sumitra (evāha) sumitrāyāsmi, durmitro durmitrāya* "I am Good-friend to a good friend, Bad-friend to a bad friend"; 287 *somam āharāma, yajñam tanavāmahai*; 297 *te ye rathantarāḥ paśavas ta ādyā, atha ye bārhatās te uttarās*; 2, 160 (in a subordinate and a principal clause) *yādr̥g aha vā asmiṃl loka 'nnaṃ dadāti, tādr̥g asyāmuṣmiṃl loka 'nnaṃ bhavati*; 2, 299 *yad daśa gāvaḥ śataṃ bhavanti, saikā; yac chatam gāvaḥ sahasram bhavanti, saikā*; 3, 168 *vapantau ha sma purastād ito,*

lunanto ha sma paścād anuyanti; BarUp. 1, 1, 2, *ahar vā aśvaṃ purastān mahimānvajāyata, tasya pūrve samudre yoniḥ*; *rātrir enaṃ paścān mahimānvajāyata, tasyāpare samudre yoniḥ*; Mbh. 3, 297, 53 *na kāmāye bhartṛvinākṛtā sukhāṃ, na kāmāye bhartṛvinākṛtā divam* "I don't desire happiness, if separated from my husband. I don't desire heaven, if separated from my husband"; 14, 16, 9 *śrāvitas tvaṃ mayā guhyam jñāpitaś ca sanātanam*; 15 f. so 'smābhiḥ pūjito 'bhavat | asmābhiḥ paripṛṣṭas ca; 25 ff. *ghrāṇaṃ jihvā ca . . . ca pañcamam | . . . saptaite vijñeyā guṇahetavaḥ | | gandho rasaś ca . . . ca pañcamah | . . . saptaite karmahetavaḥ | | ghrātā . . . pañcamah | . . . kartṛhetavaḥ ||*. In the often rather clumsy and 'primitive' style of the purāṇas and related classes of literature parallelisms often occur, e.g. in enumerating, e.g. Kirfel, P.P. 55, 12, in verbose descriptions: 61, 15, in formulas: 127, 88.

Epic instances could be multiplied almost endlessly. Precision of symmetry can be made to serve various ends. Mbh. 3, 313 a long series of questions is posed and the answers are given in symmetrical form, e.g. st. 77 f. *kiṃ nu hitvā priyo bhavati kiṃ nu hitvā na śocati | kiṃ nu hitvārthavān bhavati kiṃ nu hitvā sukhī bhavet : : mānaṃ h. p. bh. krodhaṃ h. n. ś. | kāmaṃ h. a. bh. lobhaṃ h. s. bh.* Or an author continuing his narrative repeats the structure of the last sentence of a quotation, repeating even part of its elements, a 'clumsiness' often to be found in primitive and archaic literary style: Mbh. 5, 128, 45 f. . . . *abraviḍ dharmam p. prajāpatiḥ: varuṇāya prayacchaitān baddhvā daiteyadānavān | | evam uktas tato dharmo . . . | varuṇāya dadau sarvān baddhvā daiteyadānavān*. In didactic passages this device is often resorted to in order to mark contrasts or parallel processes, to emphasize similarity or congruity, etc. : BhagG. 4. 26 *śrotrādīnīndriyāṇy anye saṃyamāgñiṣu juhvati | śabdādīn viṣayān anyā indriyāgñiṣu juhvati* "the senses, hearing and the rest, others offer up in the fires of restraint; the objects of sense, sound and the rest, others offer up in the fires of the senses"; 6, 3 *ārurukṣor muner yogaṃ karma kāraṇam ucyate | yogārūḍhasya tasyaiva śamaḥ kāraṇam ucyate*. In describing two successive processes of the same nature the author of Mbh. 14, 31, 10 writes : *sa lipsamāno labhate bhūyiṣṭhaṃ rājasān guṇān | tadavāptau tu labhate bhūyiṣṭhaṃ tāmasān guṇān*; 20, 26 *tataḥ saṃjāyate gandhas t. s. rasaḥ* etc.; 23, 4 f. It is needless to add that this mode of expression, especially if part of the elements are literally repeated easily becomes monotonous. This effect is of course heightened if a plurality of cola or stanzas in succession are formed after the same model : e.g. Mbh. 14, 27, 8 ff. ; 32, 18 ff.

Often however a certain natural inclination to formulate alternatives or to contrast two possibilities induces a speaker to express himself antithetically, moulding his thoughts into a more or less complete parallelism: Mbh. 14, 26, 15 *kāmacārī tu kāmēna ya indriyasukhe rataḥ | brahmacārī sadaivaśa ya indriyajaye rataḥ*; Mbh. 3, 14, 10 *tam hatvā vinivartiṣye kamsakeśiniṣūdanam | ahatvā na nivartiṣye . . . ||*. Antithetic expression

is also a favourite device in describing a different treatment of persons or objects, pairs of opposites, etc. : Mbh. 1, 180, 4 *aśiṣṭānām niyantā hi śiṣṭānām parirakṣitā*; it may be extended, e.g. as follows: 5, 106, 2 *jñātinām duḥkḥakartāraṃ bandhūnām śokavardhanam | suhrdām kleśadātāraṃ dviṣatām harṣavardhanam*; 5, 139, 8 *vāryamāṇo 'pi pāpebhyah pāpātmā pāpam icchati | codyamāno 'pi pāpena śubhātmā śubham icchati*; Rām. 2, 37, 29 *na hi tad bhavitā rāṣṭraṃ yatra rāmo na bhūpatiḥ | tad vanaṃ bhavitā rāṣṭraṃ yatra rāmo nivatsyati*; Bhāsa, Svapn. 1, 15 *saviśramo hy ayaṃ bhūrah prasaktas tasya tu śramaḥ*⁵⁰).

This structure of the utterance is also very suitable for a description of a turn of fate: Mbh. 3, 62, 2 *katham samrddho gatvāhaṃ tava harṣavivardhanaḥ | paricyuto gamiṣyāmi tava śokavivardhanaḥ?*; here the hearer's attention is focussed on the antithesis: formerly joy, now sorrow. Two complementary thoughts are also not infrequently expressed symmetrically: Mbh. 5, 134, 21 *apāre bhava naḥ pāram aplāve bhava naḥ plavaḥ* "be the means of our crossing when we cannot cross, be our boat where there is no boat". Compare also 5, 123, 2 *abhivrṣṭas ca varṣeṇa nānāpuṣpasugandhinā | pariṣvaktas ca puṇyena vāyunā puṇyagandhinā*. The great poets of the classical period did not despise this device which may be very natural, e.g. in Kāl. Śak. 1, 30 + (prose) *ahiṇaakusasūie parikkhadam me calaṇam kuravaasāhāparilaggam a vakkalam* "my foot is pricked by a young kuśa shoot, and my bark-garment is caught in a kurabaka-branch". However, they liked to vary it and to adapt it to the structure of their intricate stanzas: Kāl. Urv. 3, 20 *pādās ta eva śaśinaḥ sukhayanti gātraṃ | bāṇās ta eva madanasya mamānukūlāḥ . . .* "the same rays of the moon comfort my limbs; the same shafts of love are agreeable to me . . .". A series of parallel thoughts is not rarely concluded by a symmetrical member containing what is to be proved: Mbh. 5, 130, 39.

The authors of the brāhmaṇas were far from being averse to symmetrical repetitions of words and phrases. Whilst expatiating on the relations between the ritual and the phenomena of nature, between the conduct of man in performing rites and its repercussions, they often had to discuss alternatives, to decide on the best course of action, to contrast the effects of opposite acts, to describe complementary processes or occurrences, to set their opinion against that of other experts. The natural bent for repeating identical schemata was in this pre-scientific sphere stimulated rather than suppressed. Thus we find e.g. AiB. 1, 11, 3 *yat prayājān antariyāt prānāms tad yajamānasyāntariyād, y. anuyājān a. prajāṃ t. y. a.* "if he were to omit the fore-offerings he would omit the breaths of the sacrificer; if he were to omit the after-offerings, he would omit the off spring of the sacrificer"; 2, 1, 5 f. *khādiram yūpaṃ kurvita svargakāmaḥ . . . ; bailvaṃ y. k. annādyakāmaḥ puṣṭikāmaḥ* "of kh. wood should he make the post who desires heaven . . . ; of b. w. . . who d. food and a

⁵⁰) For antithesis as one of the fundamental constituents of Greek style see J. D. Denniston, Greek prose style, Oxford 1952, p. 70 ff.

well-nourished condition"; 3, 8 *tatra sa kāma upāpto yo 'nupraharāṇe, t. s. k. u. yaḥ sthāne*; similarly, 14, 6; 8, 8 *samedhena hāsya paśuneṣṭam bhavati, kevalena h. a. p. i. bh. ya evaṃ veda*; 3, 2, 1 *anyānyā devatā prauḡe śasyate, anyad anyad uktham p. kriyate*; 7, 10 f. *yaṃ kāmayeta pāpiyān syād ity uccaistarām asya ṛcam uktvā śanaistarām vaṣaṭkuryāt . . ; y. k. śreyān s. i. śanaistarām a. ṛ. u. uccaistarām v.*; JB. 1, 167; 286.

In gnomic poetry the emphasis expressed by the repetition of identical or antithetical words occurring at regular intervals has always been highly valued. Many good instances are found in the scriptures of the Buddhists: Dhammapada 5, 1 (60) *dīghā jāgarato ratti, dīghaṃ santassa yojanam* / . . . "long is the night to him who is awake, long is the yojana to him who is weary . . .", and here the poets may be supposed to have consciously adapted and elaborated this traditional device: *ibid.* 8, 1 f. (100 f.) *sahassam api ca vācā anathapadasaṃhitā / ekam athapadaṃ seyyo yaṃ sutvā upasammati* followed by *sahassam api ca gāthā anathapadasaṃhitā / ekam gāthapadaṃ seyyo yaṃ sutvā upasammati* "better than a thousand utterances (1, verses 2) composed of meaningless words is one sensible word (1, word of a verse 2) on hearing which one becomes peaceful"; cf. e.g. also 15, 1 ff. Conscious art are also the many parallelisms found in the works of Aśvaghoṣa and later poets: Aśv. Saund. 1, 52 in describing a town: *anigūḍhārthivibhavam nigūḍhaññānapauruṣam* "wealth was not kept back from those in need there and learning and manly vigour were lodged there"; 53 *niketam iva vidyānām saṃketam iva saṃpadām* "an abode of the sciences, a rendezvous of the perfections"; very artificial are stanzas such as 6, 34 *ruroda mamlau virurāva jaglau babhrāma tasthau vilālāpa dadhyau* "she wept, she became languid, she howled, she grew exhausted, . . .". Here language is going to become the master, instead of the servant, of thought. However, many good instances of antithetical symmetry could be found in the works of the classical and post-classical periods; cf. e.g. Budhasv. BKSS. 26, 30 *satyaṃ brūhiti no vācyah satyavādivrato bhavān / mithyā brūhiti no vācyah kāmī mithyāvratō hi sah*; Kalh. Rājatar. 4, 260.

There exists a well-known type of popular narrative in which the hero comes, several times in succession, into a similar situation, or a plurality of persons go through the same adventures. In 'primitive style' the wordings of the parallel passages are as a rule moulded upon the same schema⁵¹). The narrative passages of the brāhmaṇas contain many examples of this typical use of repetition. JB. 1, 286 it is told with the same

⁵¹) See e.g. M. Lüthi, *Das europäische Volksmärchen, Form und Wesen*, Bern 1947, p. 59 ff.; p. 62: "Es gilt, das *Bild* vor unser Auge zu zaubern, dasselbe Bild wie in der früheren Episode, und in seiner ganzen Schärfe; kein Rückweis vermag solches, sondern nur der genaue und vollständige Wortlaut". Cf. also J. de Vries, *Het sprookje*, Zutphen, p. 71; 77 etc. See also the observations made by A. B. Keith on the style of the Aitareya Āraṇyaka; *The Ai. A.*, Oxford 1909, p. 54 f. who is however wrong in considering "the inordinate love for parallelism of structure . . . the chief sign of conscious literary effort".

words that the triṣṭubh metre, addressing itself successively to the gāyatrī and the jagatī made them afraid. In deprecating her anger and jealousy the gāyatrī and the jagatī, both of them, likewise resorted to exactly the same expressions: *semāṃ gāyatrīm prāṇ abhyavidhyat, tām abhyatapāt, tasyā abibhed: āyatanam ma upahariṣyata iti. tām abravīn : namas te 'stu, kiṃkāṃāmām abhividhyasīti. pradānam me prayacchety abravīt* etc. See also 1, 287 f.; 291. ŚB. 5, 4, 5, 6 ff. the preparation of seven oblations is described so as to begin with exactly parallel introductory formulas : *athaitāni havīṃṣi nirvapati* "he presents those oblations"; *atha sāravatam carum n.* "he presents a rice pap for S." etc. Examples of this stylistic features could easily be multiplied almost infinitely; cf. e.g. *ibid.* 6, 1, 3, 2 ff.; 7, 2, 2, 13 ff.

Special attention may also be drawn to the tendency to repeat, after a pause, a sequence of words forming part of a longer utterance in a new part of the discourse: BārU. 2, 1, 16 f. *yatraiṣa etat supto 'bhūt, ya eṣa v. puruṣaḥ* and *y. e. s. 'bh. e. v. p.* ; the interlocutor being unable to answer the question following the former sequence, the speaker proceeds, after repeating these words, to give the answer himself. Solemn, or long-winded, as this style of speaking may appear to a modern audience, people untrained in the methods of discussing intellectual problems welcome it always and everywhere: "When this person who consists of intelligence fell asleep . . . , where was it?" This G. did not know, (the same speaker continues:) "when this b. f. a. . . . then the p. w. c. o. i. . . . rests in the space within the heart".

A similar tendency to repeat the original words where we would use anaphoric pronouns not rarely occurs in explications of texts: BārU. 2, 2, 3 is an interesting instance, because after quoting a metrical text its four quarters are one by one explained, i.e. their contents are identified with definite entities, and finally the first of these entities is explicitly stated to represent the idea mentioned in the pāda : *a. c. ū. itīdam tac chirah, eṣa hy a. c. ū.* Compare also the structure of BārU. 3, 1, 8 where three kinds of oblations are in parallel cola enumerated, and after another question posed by the interlocutor explained : *yā hutā ujñvalanti . . . : : kiṃ tābhīr jayatīti : : yā hutā ujñvalanti devalokam eva tābhīr jayati . . .* "those which, when offered, blaze upward . . ." : : "what does one win by these?" : : "by those which, when offered, blaze upward, one wins the world of the gods . . .". We may go further and hold this procedure a feature in popular explications in general : BārU. 2, 3, 2 *tad etan mūrtam yad . . . , etan martyam, etat sthitam, etat sat, tasyaitasya mūrtasya, etasya martyasya* etc. "this is the formed, what . . . , this is mortal, this is unmoving, this is actual. The essence of this formed, this mortal etc.". The characteristics of brahman so difficult to be understood are repeated in the genitive in the same order in the next sentence which explains its essence.

There would be little use to quote a large number of parallels from other languages. The slow narrative style of uneducated man, his long-

winded mode of discussing unfamiliar subjects, his need of moments of comparative relaxation, his eagerness to retain and to repeat those phrases and schemata which have proved adequate, — all these are factors helping to bring about these repetitions: "... and Odysseus pondered whether he should clasp the knees of the fair-faced maid . . . , or whether, standing apart as he was, he should beseech her with gentle words . . . And, as he pondered, it seemed to him better to stand apart and beseech her with gentle words . . ." (Homer, *Od.* 6, 143-146).

Even in describing a succession of occurrences these authors often seize the opportunity to express themselves in their favourite manner: *AiĀ.* 2, 4, 3 *tad vācājighṛkṣat tan nāsaknod vācā grahitum. sa yad dhainad vācāgrahaiṣyad abhivyāhṛtya haivānnam atrapsyat. tat prānenājighṛkṣat . . . tac cakṣuṣājighṛkṣat . . . etc.*; *ChU.* 2, 12, 1 *abhimanthati : sa himkāraḥ, dhūmo jāyate : sa prastāvaḥ, jvalati : sa udgītho, 'ngārā bhavanti : sa pratihāraḥ* etc. "one rubs the fire-sticks together : that is the syllable him, smoke is produced : that is the prastāva, it blazes : that is the udgītha, coals are produced : that is the pratihāra . . ."; the technical terms indicate the divisions of a fivefold chant, the various forms of which are explained in this chapter by means of a large number of identifications couched in the outward form of parallelisms, cf. e. g. 2, 2, 1 *prthivī himkāraḥ, agniḥ prastāvo 'ntarikṣam udgītha ādityaḥ pratihāro dyaur nidhanam.*

It would be pointless to dwell upon the many variations of which the strict form of parallelism is capable. Anticipating the discussion of some relevant facts in the subsequent paragraphs attention may for instance be paid to *ChU.* 2, 22, 1 *aniruktaḥ prajāpateḥ, niruktaḥ somasya, mṛdu ślakṣṇam vāyoḥ, ślakṣṇam balavad indrasya, krauñcam bṛhaspateḥ, apadhvāntam varuṇasya* "the undefined one belongs to P., the defined one to S.; the soft and smooth to V., the smooth and strong to I., the heron-like to B., the ill-sounding to V."

It has often been observed that in giving an answer or in repeating an order the words spoken by one of the interlocutors or by the person who gives the order are in primitive, popular or archaic styles often literally repeated: cf. e.g., in Homer, *B* 11 f. : 28 f.; *A* 195 ff. : 205 ff. Sanskrit instances are very numerous: *BārU.* 3, 8, 3 *sā hovāca : yad ūrdhvam yājñavalkya divaḥ yad avāk p. . . .* (22 words) *kasmimś tad otaṃ ca protaṃ ceti : : sa hovāca y. ā. gārgi d. y. a. p. . .* (22 words) *ākāśe tad otaṃ ca protaṃ ceti*; *Mbh.* 7, 26, 1-3 *teṣu evaṃ saṃnivṛtteṣu pratyudyāteṣu bhāgaśaḥ | katham yuyudhire . . . ? : : tathā t. n. p. bh. svayam abhyadravat . . .*; 14, 24, 3 f.; compare also *ṚV.* 1, 24, 1 f. *kasya nūnam katamāsyāmṛtānām manāmahe cāru devasya nāma?* etc. : : *agner vayam prathamasyāmṛtānām m. c. d. n. etc.*; *JB.* 1, 163, These 'long-winded' passages which in themselves are another piece of evidence of the inclination of the human mind to express itself by means of repetitions served, no doubt, also the purposes of the hearer : just as the author or narrator finds an opportunity to make perfectly clear what the problem is or what the orders

imply, to lay emphasis on an important passage, to refresh his hearer's memory, to be true to nature—for these repetitions are up to now very usual in natural speech—, so too the audience on hearing them can for a moment ease its attention, because the gist of the passage is already familiar, or at least partly understood. In a considerable number of cases the absence of an equivalent of our “yes” or “no” must be taken into account, the repetition of part of a question serving as a means of affirming : ChU. 7, 5, 3 *asti bhagavaḥ cittaḥ bhūya iti* : : *cittaḥ vā va bhūyo 'stīti*; 15, 4 *taṁ ced brūyuh ativādy asīti, ativādy asmīti brūyāt, nāpahnūvīta*. Cf. Plautus, Trin. 50 *valen? valūstin?* : : *valeo, et valui rectius*. In various languages this repetition is therefore simply equivalent to our “yes” or “indeed”. However cases in which an anaphoric pronoun is preferred to a repetition are not wanting in ancient prose : BārU. 3, 7, 1. There is no use in quoting many parallels from other literatures, because they are well known : in the Avesta, Y. 9, 3 f. it reads : “who has pressed you first for the phenomenal world . . .” : : “V. h. p. me f. f. t. p. w.”, and in Egyptian pyramid texts : “give me thy breast, I suck it” : : “take thou my breast, thou suckest it”.

A similar repetition of words is apt to occur instead of a modern “thus it happened” or “they did so”, if the narrator wishes to state that an order or request was executed, a wish fulfilled : JB. 1, 294 *hantu rūpāṇi vyatiṣajāvahā iti. te rūpāṇi vyatiṣajetām*; 2, 95; 2, 98; 161; 285. In the Jugoslav Marriage of Djuro of Smerderevo it reads : “give up your horses, but not your weapons, and sit down in armour at the tables . . .”, and the execution of these orders is described by means of the same words : “they gave up their horses, not their weapons and sat down etc.”⁵²).

It seems worth noticing that these authors also resort to this mode of expression in quoting discourses or conversations. In many cases this style would be natural in any language : BārU. 3, 4, 2 *yathā vibrūyād asau gauḥ, asāv aśva iti* “as one might say : ‘this is a cow’, ‘this is a horse’”. But we also find : ChU. 4, 4, 1 f. Jābāla wishes to know of what family he is and his mother answers him : *kimgotro nv aham asmīti* : : . . . *yadgotras tvam asi . . . sāham etan na veda yadgotras tvam asi, jābālā tu nāmāham smi, satyakāmo nāma tvam asi*. Many passages in the ancient upaniṣads and related texts are, with some variation due to the situation, constructed on this principle : BārU. 3, 9, 20 *kimdevato 'syām prācyāṁ diśy asīti. ādityadevata iti* (notice the short form of this answer). *sa ādityaḥ kasmin pratiṣṭhita iti* (the sun being in the centre of interest is emotionally given the first place). *cakṣuṣīti. kasmin nu cakṣuḥ p—m iti* (now the normal form of quiet speech is adopted and, in the following cola, retained). *rūpeṣv iti. cakṣuṣā hi rūpāṇi paśyati. kasmin nu rūpāṇi p—ānīti. hrdaye iti hovāca* (notice this superfluity), *hrdayena* etc. . . . *evam evaitat . . .* ; cf. also §§ 21-24; 26. Ibid. 3, 1, 8. It seems needless to give many

⁵²) Cf. C. M. Bowra, Heroic poetry, London 1952, p. 256 f.

instances of similar passages in which one of the interlocutors sets forth his opinions at some length. As far as the situation and the subject-matter permit, parallelisms arise out of the uniform structure of the discourse : BārU. 5, 10, 1 *yadā vai puruṣo 'smāl lokāt praiti, sa vāyūm āgacchati. tasmai sa tatra vijihīte yathā rathacakrasya kham. tena sa ūrdhva ākrāmate. sa ādityam āgacchati. tasmai . . .* etc. "When a man departs from this world, he goes to the air. It opens there for him like the hole of a chariot wheel. Through that he goes upward. He goes to the sun. It opens there for him. . . .". Cf. also 5, 10, 11 where the schema of the former half of a two-fold utterance is repeated twice, the latter half recurring literally and assuming the character of a refrain, emphasizing the extremely important conclusion that "the man who knows this wins the supreme world"; 14, 6.

We should however never forget that pre-scientific man with his keen sense of recurrences and periodicity was very often by the very situation prevailing at the moment of speaking led to use this mode of expression. Always intent on discovering identity and similarity between mythical occurrences situated in the 'timeless past' and historical events, social or ritual institutions which were considered as repetitions of that which had been pre-done before all history and before the existence of human society, always attempting to explain the meaning and purpose of human acts by bringing them into connection with processes in the divine and cosmical spheres, always clinging to traditional exactitude in formulating his thoughts because only an adequate choice and arrangement of words was considered to convey the specific sense and the clue leading to the understanding of the connections and interrelations of the phenomena—Vedic man simply took for granted that his formulas and utterances—which should be literally repeated on every recurrent occasion—were exact reproductions of what had been pronounced, in the mythical past, by an originator, ŚB. 5, 2, 4, 1 *vaiśvadevena yajate. vaiśvadevena vai prajāpatir bhūmānaṃ prajāḥ sasṛje bhūmānaṃ prajāḥ sṛṣṭvā sūyā iti. tatho evaiṣa etad vaiśvadevenaiva bhūmānaṃ prajāḥ sṛjate bhūmānaṃ prajāḥ sṛṣṭvā sūyā iti* "He worships with the V.; for by means of the V., P. created abundance (of food) and creatures, thinking : 'may I be consecrated, after having created a. and c.' And in like manner does this person (the institutor of the sacrifice) now, by the V., create a. and c., thinking : 'May I be c., a. h. c. a. a. c.' ". And ibid. 12 *tāv etena haviṣā dikṣu nāṣṭrā rakṣāmsy avāhatām tau vyajayetām . . . tatho evaiṣa etena haviṣā dikṣu nāṣṭrā rakṣāmsy avahanti tatho eva vijayate* "by that oblation those two smote the fiends, the rakṣas, in the quarters of the sky, and gained the universal conquest . . . And in like manner does he by that o. etc. and gain the victory".

In those more or less 'primitive' communities in which recitations of the above description are a form of social activity they are, as was stated in the preceding paragraph, as a rule not limited to 'magico-religious' or 'juridical' subject-matter. Descriptions of important events, wisdom,

traditions are likewise generally contained in these rhythmic arrangements of utterances, and in this form are known to every member of the community⁵³). In these milieus traditional 'literary' devices such as any kind of repetitions, of ideas as well as their formulations, and various other devices of composition discussed in this book are highly appreciated. Even stories or narratives which to inadvertent modern men would appear to be told only for amusement or by way of pastime may serve also a useful purpose. It is not only the population of the Trobriand islands who during the slack seasons relieve the tedium of the hours by telling long stories, which while containing rhythmically intoned set formulae exert a favourable influence upon the crops⁵⁴). Reciting myths or mythical narratives⁵⁵) widely serves to renew the forces which once, in the mythical past, brought about the desirable outcome⁵⁶). Almost any human wish was believed to be achieved by the proper knowledge and recitation of these 'myth-formulae'⁵⁷). The many ancient Indian counterparts are too well known to need a long description: the many śraavanaphalas (good results or rewards of listening to a recitation of which the poets themselves hold out a prospect), the obligatory narratives included in the scheme to be followed in performing rites, the recitals of the bards⁵⁸) give ample evidence of the belief in the inherent force of what we would call 'tales' and 'literary compositions'. All these compositions tend to adopt, to a more or less marked degree, stereotyped features which often are, consciously or unconsciously, considered to be of relevance in view of the higher aims to be attained by the recital. It must however be borne in mind that 'poetry' which was to a considerable extent improvised—improvisation being indeed a normal practice among composers of various genres of texts in pre-scientific communities⁵⁹)—could hardly exist without formulae and other stereotyped features which on the one hand helped the bard or reciter in performing his task and on the other met the demands of the audiences which on hearing them felt at home. Or, to express the same thought otherwise: this style is a great help to the memory of those reciting and to a right understanding on the part of the listeners.

Even where texts, or parts of texts, of a certain extent written in the

⁵³) See e.g. C. Snouck Hurgronje, *The Achehnese*, Leiden 1906, II, p. 67 who inadvertently speaks of 'metre'. Among some Siberian tribes these formulas find employment on almost every occasion; see e.g. W. Bogoras in *Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History*, II, p. 470 f.; C. M. Bowra, *Heroic poetry*, London 1952, esp. ch. VI and VII.

⁵⁴) B. Malinowski, *Coral gardens and their magic*. London 1935, II, p. 156 f.

⁵⁵) For the character of myths see e.g. Malinowski, *Magic, science and religion*, New York 1954, p. 93 ff.

⁵⁶) Cf. e.g. R. F. Barton, *Philippine pagans*, London 1938, p. 147.

⁵⁷) Cf. A. L. Kroeber, *The religion of the Indians of California*, Univ. of Cal. Publ. in Amer. Arch. and Ethn. 4, p. 344, quoted by Webster, o.c., p. 104.

⁵⁸) Compare e.g. Gonda, *Zur Frage nach dem Ursprung und Wesen des indischen Dramas*, Leiden 1943 (*Acta Or.* 19), p. 420 ff. (with a selected bibliography).

⁵⁹) See C. M. Bowra, *Heroic poetry*, London 1952, p. 215 ff.

carmen way do not often occur, stereotype sentences and locutions, inserted in the narrative or argument, and a strong tendency to reproduce the same pattern of expressing thoughts in words, in addition to a variety of verbal and structural repetitions, remind us of the difficulty which man found, and often still finds, in expressing himself in writing. Any expression of thought, whether it relates to 'law' or 'custom', to 'history' or 'religion', to 'magic' or 'wisdom' tends, with constant usage, to harden into conventional formulae. In the hazy past many thoughts were, so to speak, worded once for all and in the ancient literatures the same turns and locutions, the same descriptive and introductory formulae were often unalterably repeated, and this repetition apparently was much appreciated. A successful phrase or wording released posterity from the necessity to create a 'mould of form' themselves.

Thus we find almost innumerable stereotyped sentences of the well-known Homeric type : A 201, K 162, α' 122, etc. *καί μιν φωνήσας ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα*; A 84, 285 etc. *τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη . . .*, and even B 44, β' 4 *ποσσοὶ δ' ὑπὸ λιπαροῖσιν ἐδήσαντο καλὰ πέδιλα* and many similar instances⁶⁰). In the Avesta: Yt. 3, 1a etc. *mraot̥ ahurō mazdā spitamāi zaraθuštrāi*; 5, 18; 22 etc. *āaṭ hīm jaidyaṭ : avat ayaptəm dazdi mē*; Y. 43, 5 etc. *spəntəm aṭ θwā mazdā mēnghī ahurā* and so on⁶¹). The poetry of the Yakuts and Kalmucks—to recall other instances chosen at random—is equally rich in formulaic elements : "thither he departed, he went straight to the West". Cherokee Indian spells contain many archaic and traditional expressions often understood only by the medicine men and sometimes not even by them⁶²). In other parts of the world, with the Batak of Sumatra or the Papuas of New Guinea, with the Kayan of Bahau or the Eskimos of the North, similar formulas may be found, which as a result of unconscious degeneration and increasing obsolescence are, it is true, handed down orally from one generation to another, but are frequently incomprehensible to the layman⁶³). Similarly, in the Veda where such statements as ŚB. 3, 2, 2, 28 "because they . . . , therefore it is called. . ." (*atha yad enenāyopayams tasmād yūpo nāma*) and such injunctions as ŚB. 3, 2, 3, 22 "but let him not do it in this way" are often repeated; cf. also JB. 97; 129 ; 153; 179 *devāsuraḥ aspardhanta*; the very frequent formula (e.g. JB. 1, 160; ŚB. 3, 4, 2, 3) of the type "he makes himself . . . (he becomes, his glory etc. is . . .) who knows this".

⁶⁰) See e.g. Bowra, o.c., p. 215 ff.

⁶¹) See H. Lommel, *Die Yāšt's des Awesta*, 1927, p. 1 "Alle Yāšt's haben Anteil an formelhaften Anrufungen, auch die grossen, inhaltlich wertvollen Yāšt's sind davon durchzogen. Aber manche kleinere Yāšt's sind nicht viel mehr, einige gar nichts weiter als eine Zusammenstellung von Gebetsformeln . . ."; cf. also p. 8 ff.

⁶²) J. Mooney, *Sacred formulas of the Cherokees*, Seventh Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, p. 343.

⁶³) See e.g. H. Aufenanger and G. Hölter, *Die Gende in Zentralneuguinea*, Wien-Mödling 1940, p. 142; A. W. Nieuwenhuis, *Quer durch Borneo*, I, Leiden 1904, p. 111; W. Thalbitzer, *Les magiciens Esquimaux*, *Journal de la société des Américanistes* 22 (1930), p. 75 f.; Webster, o.c., p. 95.

As already observed the efficacy of these texts was, at least as far as they were of magico-religious and juridical importance, believed to be dependent upon their correct repetition. Any change in the traditional wording could diminish or nullify their power. The human word and especially the rhythmically formulated word, represents power, which by pronouncing the formulae, whether they are prayers, spells, curses, praise, words of consecration, mythical recitations, or more or less 'sacred' writings or other ceremonial speech, is made active and set in motion⁶⁴). In these recitations it is not only the rhythmic character, the correspondence of words, the tendency to isosyllabism which is of considerable importance, but also rhyme, alliteration, assonance and other varieties of repetition of smaller units. Not rarely the sound of the formulae seems to be of greater relevance than their meanings, and a combination of powerful formulaic utterances or powerful words may often be considered a means of enhancing the effect of the recital⁶⁵).

As we will, in the following chapters, be almost exclusively concerned with the style of documents of a religious nature it seems to be worth while to dwell for a moment upon the special characteristics of the language of religion. It has often, and correctly, been observed that this 'Sondersprache' is notable for a certain conservatism⁶⁶), that is to say for a tendency to retain archaisms. It often has a predilection for words, expressions, and constructions, which in the ordinary style of speaking have fallen into disuse, for special and technical terms which not rarely are incomprehensible to the layman, for a certain verbosity often occasioned by the tendency to combine for the sake of exactitude 'synonyms'⁶⁷). Part of these archaisms create an impression of solemnity. So do 'verba concepta'⁶⁸): wide-spread indeed is the belief that fixed formulas, consisting of parallel sequences of words contain an inherent power. In law and religion they are up to now considered a necessity. Such parallel pairs of yajus or sacrificial prose formulas as TS. 1, 1, 1, 1 *iṣe tvā ūrje tvā* "for

⁶⁴) See e.g. V. Larock, *Essai sur la valeur sacrée et la valeur sociale des noms de personnes dans les sociétés inférieures*, *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 101 (1930); H. W. Obbink, *De magische beteekenis van den naam*, Utrecht 1925; Webster, o.c., ch. IV; G. van der Leeuw, *Religion in essence and manifestation*, London 1938, ch. 58 ff. Remarkably enough many ancient Babylonian psalms and hymns were preceded by the term *šiptu* "conjunction", see A. van Selms, *Babylonische termini voor zonde*, Thesis Utrecht 1933, p. 64.

⁶⁵) Cf. also F. van der Leyen, *Volkstum und Dichtung*, Jena 1933, p. 93 ff.

⁶⁶) See e.g. K. Vossler, *Über das Verhältnis von Sprache und Religion*, *Die neueren Sprachen*, 28 (1921), p. 97 ff.; H. Güntert, *Von der Sprache der Götter und Geister*, Halle S. 1921, p. 126 f.; for the Latin 'Sakralsprache' see M. Leumann and J. B. Hofmann, *Lateinische Grammatik*, München 1928, Register s.v. (p. 866). Compare also J. Gonda, *The character of the Indo-European moods*, Wiesbaden 1956, p. 36 ff.

⁶⁷) Cf. e.g. in an ancient Latin prayer (Cato, Agr. 141, 2) *prohibessis defendas averruncesque* "that thou mayest keep off, ward off and avert".

⁶⁸) See also A. Ludwig, *Der Rigveda*, III, Prag 1878, p. 347.

sap (freshness) thee, for food (strength) thee" or 1, 1, 3, 1 *dyaur asi prthivy asi* "thou art heaven, thou art earth" were to be repeated literally and invariably every time when they were required.

There is in this connection also room for the following observations. In speaking head or intellect and heart or emotions are very often intertwined. Frequently enough the heart dictates or influences the utterances formulated by the brains. It is not only the simple, uneducated and unsophisticated man who in spontaneous discourse is led by various emotions, even people of trained intelligence are, also when they believe themselves to pronounce an objective and matter-of-fact speech, often mastered by passions. Logical and scientific arguments are in a variety of circumstances obedient handmaids of many emotions and inclinations, desires, dislikes, aversions, hatred, jealousy, predilection, partiality. The thought of primitive and unsophisticated people is a laborious process, confused and hampered by fear and hope, by desires and dislikes⁶⁹). "*La plus grosse erreur que l'on puisse commettre en psychologie est celle d'isoler la vie intellectuelle de nos autres vies, de réduire les connaissances à de pures connaissances, de croire que nous pensons exclusivement pour penser. Nous connaissons et pensons d'abord . . . pour agir. . .*"⁷⁰). The very motive of speaking usually is to exert influence upon our fellow-men, to induce them to give us something, to agree with us, to sympathize with us, to adhere to our point of view, etc. This power of speech is a reality, unconsciously realized by anyone who tries to persuade others or to rouse their interest or emotions and consciously exploited by all of us in social intercourse. It is further the conviction of many speakers especially in pre-scientific communities that not only human beings but also superhuman potencies can be influenced by their powerful words, that human speech is able to compel these to obedience⁷¹). "*Noch stärkere Macht als in Kraut und Stein liegt in dem Wort*"⁷²). It is, in consideration of these facts, intelligible that sacral texts are far from being devoid of emotional elements. Many constructions and stylistic devices, proper to emotional speech in general may be expected to occur also in spells, prayers and litanies. In a state of mind for which the Germans created the term "*höhere Beseelung*", in rapture and exaltation, many people, and especially when they are in the vein for 'making poetry' are apt to give free rein to the inclination to use these emotive devices in praying and addressing the gods as well as in making an appeal to the feelings of their fellow-men⁷³). "*Rhythmus herrscht in jeder irgendwie erhöhten Rede,*

⁶⁹) R. Thurnwald, in M. Ebert, *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte* X, Berlin 1927/28, s.v. *Primitives Denken*.

⁷⁰) E. Baudin, *Psychologie*², p. 559, quoted by Jousse, o.c., p. 95.

⁷¹) See e.g. also Thurnwald, *Psychologie des primitiven Menschen*, München, p. 266 ff.

⁷²) J. Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, p. 1023. Cf. e.g. AV. 2, 31, 2 "we destroy all worms with our word".

⁷³) For instances borrowed from Christian patriarchs see e.g. K. Polheim, *Latei-*

ob poetischer oder prosaischer" ⁷⁴⁾, and the natural accompaniments and consequences of 'rhythmic speech' such as parallelism, rhyme, alliteration, etc. are under these circumstances often rooted in animation or genuine inspiration. Those stylistic devices which with a view to certain purposes are in ordinary speech felt as especially appropriate and effective are exploited in the 'Sondersprache' of religion, where they may even adopt a more or less mechanical character: Individuals becoming aware of their character are apt to bestow particular attention upon them, to use them intentionally and premeditatedly, to become, as artists, masters of the form ⁷⁵⁾.

It will therefore be part of the task of the student of stylistics not only to determine, collect, and describe the characteristics of sacral language, but also to explain them, that is to say to account for their occurrence in a given context both 'historically' and 'psychologically'. A predilection for combining 'synonyms' sometimes found in dignified speech may for instance be explained from the tendency scrupulously to choose the correct and suitable term, because any deviation from the only correct and consecrated mode of expression would, in praying, cursing, exorcising and often also in discussing 'religion' prove fatal. The frequent occurrence of periphrasis and the replacement of current terms by synonyms is often due to the phenomenon of linguistic tabu ⁷⁶⁾. Repetition may point to emotion on the part of the speaker, to tension and excitement, but also to a conscious effort to be suggestive ⁷⁷⁾. Repetition of the same word, though under certain circumstances indicative of mental poverty and a lack of imaginative faculty, of an incomplete mastery of the language, or of a psychical 'automatism', may however also result from a tendency to speak emphatically, pathetically, suggestively, to rouse the hearer's interest, to make oneself understood as thoroughly as possible. Diwekar ⁷⁸⁾ is no doubt incorrect in considering an exclamation such as R.V. 1, 12, 2 *agnim agnim havimabhih sadā havanta viśpatim* "Agni, Agni, they always invoke with invocations . . ." a mere ornament ⁷⁹⁾ not only because emotional repetition of an address or exclamation is, under the influence of fear,

nische Reimprosa, Berlin 1925, p. 236 ff.; cf. also J. Schrijnen, Charakteristik des Altchristlichen Latein, Nijmegen 1932, p. 19 f., and in general F. Heiler, Das Gebet, München 1918, p. 140; 149 f.

⁷⁴⁾ E. Norden, Logos und Rhythmus, Berlin 1928, p. 8.

⁷⁵⁾ Compare with regard to the Greek tragedians W. Kranz, Stasimon, Berlin 1933, p. 127 ff.

⁷⁶⁾ See e.g. J. Portengen, De oudgermaansche dichtertaal in haar ethnologisch verband, Thesis Leiden 1915 (gives a onesided view of the subject); W. Havers, Neuere Literatur zum Sprachtabu: Sitz. Ber. Akad. Wiss. Wien, 223, 5 (1946); L. Bloomfield, Language, London 1935, p. 400 ff.

⁷⁷⁾ Cf. e.g. G. Appel, De Romanorum precationibus, Giessen 1909, p. 212; H. de Boor, in P. Merker und W. Stammers, Reallexikon der deutschen Literaturgesch. III, Berlin 1928/29, p. 511.

⁷⁸⁾ Diwekar, o.c., p. 8. See also ch. XVI.

⁷⁹⁾ Guérinot, o.c., p. 91 is mistaken in translating: "unumquemque ignem".

fright, or the desire to be heard, very common in a great diversity of languages : cf. e. g. the Homeric E 31 ἄρεσ ἄρεσ⁸⁰).

Special forms of repetition such as alliteration—which does not fulfil the same function everywhere—, anaphora—which underlines parallelism, lays emphasis, throws contrasts into relief—, rhyme, refrain, etc. etc. are therefore a natural peculiarity of all varieties of solemn and ceremonious diction : “das Substrat des Reims ist der Parallelismus”⁸¹).

Before proceeding to discuss the relevant phenomena in the Veda it may be useful to quote, in illustration of the above expositions, some passages from other literatures. In ancient Germany anaphora and other varieties of partial repetition are closely connected with the ‘parallel verses’ (Parallelverse)⁸². In Old Norse we find for instance: *vaki, maer meyja / vaki, mín vina*; Háv. 53, 1 ff. *litilla sanda / litilla saeva / litil eru get guma*; in Ancient English: Wand. 92 f. *hvaer cvom mearg? hvaer cvom mago?* The structural principles of the ancient German Merseburg spells are anaphora, rhyme, correspondence with regard to the number and length of words etc. : *sôse bēnrenkī / sôse bluotrenkī / sôse lidirenkī || bēn zi bēna / bluot zi bluoda* etc. A German ‘Liebeszauber’ runs as follows⁸³): *Hele vrouwe Avonsterre / hele vrouwe Lieve || langhe hebbic u gesocht / nu hebbic u vonden . . . ic mane u bi den banne / ende bi den goeden sente Janne / ende bi den heligen lichame ons heeren / ende bi gode al der werelt heere . . . schijnt him in tsine oren / schijnt hem unt ten ogen . . .* In an Esthonian formula intended to cure people of tooth-ache it reads⁸⁴) : *koera amba kadunego / hundi amba idanego* “into the tooth of the dog he may disappear, into the tooth of the wolf he may disappear”. Typical instances of the same style were current in ancient Rome : the prayer accompanying the sacrifice of the suovetaurilia contains, *inter alia*, the words⁸⁵) : . . . *ut fruges frumenta / vineta virgultaque / grandire dueneque evenire siris / pastores pecuaque / salva servassis*.

Popular songs, sayings, proverbs, invocations etc. in a variety of countries are characterized by the same structure. In ancient Greece a well-known ‘song’ addressed to the swallow commenced as follows⁸⁶): *ἦλθ', ἦλθε χελιδὼν / καλὰς ὄρας ἄγονσα / καλοὺς ἐνιαυτοὺς / ἐπὶ γαστέρα λευκὰ / ἐπὶ νῶτα μέλαινα . . .* The same style is proper to proverbs and traditional sayings : Sophron, fr. 110 B *τόρυναν ἔξεσεν / κύμινον ἐπρίσεν*; in French : *poignez vilain, il vous oindra / oignez vilain, il vous poindra; nul miel sans*

⁸⁰) See also J. Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik*, Göttingen 1905, II, 1, p. 144.

⁸¹) Norden, *Die antike Kunstprosa*, p. 814. — The above is not to contend that these phenomena occur only in parallelisms.

⁸²) Cf. R. M. Meyer, *Die altgermanische Poesie*, Berlin 1889, p. 315 ff.

⁸³) A. E. Schönbach, *Analecta Graecensia*, p. 48, n. 35; cf. e.g. also Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie* II², p. 1181 ff.

⁸⁴) Quoted by Norden, o.c., p. 824.

⁸⁵) Handed down by Cato, *De agricultura*, 141. Appel, o.c., p. 160 is wrong in saying “poetico modo exornantur”.

⁸⁶) Athenaeus, 8, 360 c.

fiel; in Dutch : *zo heer, zo knecht; vroeg rijp, vroeg rot; 't kan vriezen, 't kan dooien; noch vlees, noch vis*; in French : *ni rime ni raison; ne pain ne paste*⁸⁷). It is needless to repeat that these devices are in themselves not 'poetical' : especially in the natural way of speaking of witty persons, new rhyming or alliterating parallelisms are not rarely produced prolifically.

In addition to the above examples some instances borrowed from non-Indo-European languages may find a place here : in addressing the 'souls' of the palm-trees the Malay collector of palm-wine pronounces the following formula : *aku memaut lèhèrmu / aku menjanggul rambutmu / aku membawa sadap gading / akan membasuh mukamu* "I cling to your necks. I dress your hair. I bear a tapping-knife of ivory, in order to wash your faces"; in sowing-time the spirits are propitiated as follows : . . . *segala inang segala pengasuh / djangan beri sakit / djangan beri demam / . . . ketjil mendjadi besar / tua djadi muda / . . . jang ta' sama dipersama / jang ta' hidjau diperhidjau* "all attendants, all nurses, don't bring illness, don't bring fever . . . (may what is) small become great, (may what is) old become young . . . , what is not equal should be made equal, what is not green should be made green"; in descriptions inserted in 'fairy tales' and other narratives passages in the same style are far from rare : *ada jang merah gada-gadanja / muatan sutera dan mastuli / ada jang putih gada-gadanja / muatan lilin dengan getah / ada jang hidjau gada-gadanja muatan kesumba dengan malau* "(of ships having put into port) some of them have red wind-vanes, their cargo (consists of) silk and mastuli (a cloth fabric of heavy silk), some of them have white wind-vanes, their cargo (consists of) wax and tree-sap, some of them have green wind-vanes, their cargo (consists of) safflower and lac"⁸⁸). In the Aethiopian war- and love-songs rhyme is a regular phenomenon, and anaphora not unknown; resembling the Arabian *sadj* this popular 'poetry' which is also recited on the occasions of birth, funerals etc. "procède per assonanze; essa ricerca rime"⁸⁹). In ancient Babylonian spells we likewise find such sequences as : "The headache has escaped hell; the headache has escaped the residence of Bel"; "he cannot move his limbs, he cannot straighten his limbs"; "O namtar (the demon of pestilence) who devours the country like a fire, O namtar who falls upon man like fever . . .". Similar instances might be quoted from various other Semitic literatures, from ancient Egypt⁹⁰) etc. These phenomena which are inherent in parallelism—of

⁸⁷) Cf. e.g. W. von Wartburg, *Évolution et structure de la langue française*³, Berne 1946, p. 109 f.

⁸⁸) For more complete quotations see C. Hooykaas, *Over Maleische literatuur*, Leiden 1937, p. 28, 29, 47. Minangkabau instances are given by J. C. van Eerde, *Tijdschrift Bataviaasch Genootschap* 39, p. 533 ff.

⁸⁹) C. Conti Rossini, *Canti popolari tigrari*, *Zs. f. Assyriologie* 17, p. 23 ff. and 19, p. 340.

⁹⁰) See G. Roeder, *Urkunden zur Religion des alten Ägypten*, Jena 1923; cf. also Jousse, o.c., *passim*.

which they are also a manifestation —, may easily increase in importance, overgrowing their natural proportions⁹¹). Helping the memory of those reciting⁹²) they may be applied and cultivated for mnemonic purposes. They are delightful to the ears and minds of the hearers and speaker because they meet the psychical needs of uniformity, harmony, and concinnity; they are suggestive and fascinating; they establish associations not only between the parts of the utterance, but also between the person speaking and those listening, they contain or manifest invisible 'power', or rather they cause the 'power' always inherent in spoken words to increase. Hence their capability of being used for the suggestive purposes of magic and religion: they touch the hearer to the quick, have hold over all beings visible or invisible, whether they are human or superhuman⁹³). These sound combinations and phonetic repetitions, being noticed and appreciated are considered to be inherent in magico-religious diction in general; and to convey, in ritual recitation, special connotations. The texts containing them may easily become hallowed and regarded as effective⁹⁴). If their efficacy has, in a certain milieu, been unanimously admitted — and man is always apt to forget the proofs to the contrary — they come to be endlessly repeated. In praying, exorcising, and in general addressing the unseen, in endeavouring to 'captivate' the hearers as completely as possible, and on all other occasions when the spoken word is man's most powerful weapon, these stylistic devices have reached great popularity. Their special properties made these devices also suitable for those poets who wished powerfully to appeal to the attention of their fellow-men. Even in modern life they have not completely lost their ancient character. They continue to fulfil the same duties, not only in

⁹¹) R. Campbell Thompson, *The devils and spirits of Babylonia*, II, London 1904, p. 44; 70; 98.

⁹²) See e.g. E. Otto, *Zur Grundlegung der Sprachwissenschaft*, Bielefeld-Leipzig 1919, p. 54 f. "(Induktionen) betreffen die Bildung neuer oder auch bereits geläufiger sprachlichen Formen und Sprechweisen auf Grund anderer geläufiger Ausdrucksmöglichkeiten Bei diesen Versuchen wurde den Versuchspersonen ein Wort geboten . . . (er) hatte dann . . . mit einem beliebigen Wort, das ihr zunächst einfiel, zu reagieren. Es stellte sich heraus, dass das Reizwort das Reaktionswort auf zweierlei Weise bestimmen kann. Es wird beeinflusst erstens der lautliche Charakter, a. Klang der Vokale und Konsonanten (bin → lin), b. der dynamische Akzent (Rhythmus), es wurde auf einsilbige Worte mit einsilbigen Worten, auf mehrsilbige mit mehrsilbigen reagiert ($\pm 90\%$) usw.". In perusing A. Thumb-K. Marbe, *Experimentelle Untersuchungen über die psychologischen Grundlagen der sprachlichen Analogiebildung*, Leipzig 1901, I found many cases of isosyllabism etc., antithesis, but comparatively few instances of rhyme.

⁹³) Words pronounced 'grip' or 'captivate' the audience, cf. also the Germ. *fesseln*, the Gr. *ἔμνος δέσμιος φρενῶν* (Kranz, *Stasimon*, p. 135), the Skt. *vilobhayati* 'to allure, entice', etc.; E. Riess in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencycl. d. klass. Altert.*, s.v. *Aberglauben*; M. Müller, *Stilform der altdutschen Zauberspr.*, Thesis Kiel 1901, p. 7.

⁹⁴) See also Kranz, o.c., p. 128 ff. and M. Schusser, in *Handwörterb. d. deutschen Aberglaubens* I, Berlin-Leipzig 1927, 1117 ff.

time-honoured formulas and in religious usage, but also in the spells and incantations of modern society, the slogans of advertising : in Dutch : *Naar Dyjers met spoed, want Dyjers is goed; Dobbelman—lekker man; Geuzenbaai — reuzebaai; Boeken bij Broese*; in English : *Buy British*.

As it will in the following chapters be our chief object to concentrate attention upon a number of stylistic phenomena which may be regarded as characteristic of the varieties of style discussed in the foregoing pages, some words may—in order to avoid misunderstanding—be inserted here on the character of the metrical texts of the Veda in general. This book is not intended to exhaust its subject, even less to be a complete description of Vedic style. There are many lines in the Veda in which symmetry and its corollaries play no part. There are also many instances of anaphora, rhyme, or alliteration which deserve to be studied in connection with their context, whether this is characterized by the same phenomena or not. In short, the large number of details to be presented in the following pages involves the risk of losing sight of the structure of a Vedic metrical composition as a whole.

Notwithstanding the striking similarity of archaic and 'primitive' symmetrical compositions wherever and whenever produced and of the songs, ballads, prayers or formulas in which this ancient mode of expression has left its traces, there is abundant scope for variety. The enormous popularity of 'balancements' does not involve preference for the same elements. The points of difference between an ancient German 'Segen' with its pronounced predilection for alliteration, the monotonous repetition of Assyrian incantations, the Nias ballads, characterized by the double expression of the same thought, and the Chinese antithesis, the synonymous style of the Eskimos are much in evidence. This variety and this diversity of choice were no doubt largely determined by the purposes to be attained by the compositions, by the needs and social circumstances of the milieu in which they came into existence, by the intelligence, level of culture, imagination and interests of the 'authors', reciters and their audiences, and by many other factors. It cannot be doubted that for instance the ancient Latin, Greek and Indian specimina of this literary 'art' were, historically as well as structurally, rooted in the same ancient procedures of composition which were, in turn, based on speech habits proper to all earlier and later generations of Romans, Greeks or Indians, but it would be incorrect to overlook, with Norden, the points of difference between, for instance, a Latin carmen and a prose fragment of Gorgias. Whereas the former is primarily characterized by horizontal correspondence, parataxis, alliteration, preference for 'synonyms' and correspondence with regard to number of words and syllables Gorgias may be said to have had a decided preference for syntactic and semantic correspondence especially in the vertical direction, hypotaxis, rhyme, assonance, antithesis and subordination. A Latin carmen is decidedly 'primitive', a fragment of Gorgias is a piece of conscious art. But it is clear that the

Father of literary prose and his adherents selected certain qualities inherent in Greek expression, such as balance, assonance and antithesis, and exaggerated them beyond measure. It cannot, however, be denied that syntactic correspondence, vertical correspondence and isosyllabism rather than similarity in numbers of words, were, in Greek, often preferred, that antithetical expression is "one of the fundamental constituents of Greek style"⁹⁵). The Latin *carmen* is an almost ideal mode of expression for religious and juridical formulas, for prayers and incantations, for traditional wisdom of hoary antiquity, the Greek preference for antithesis and vertical correspondence—straining the hearer's attention, forcing him to view the full extent of two cola at the same time and requiring a considerable amount of intellectual effort—created a style which rendered signal service to the expression of higher thoughts. But the distinction which may be drawn between the classical style of writing and its immediate models on the one hand and Homer and Hesiod on the other suffices to show that there are, even in Greek, many reminiscences of a style, less typically 'Greek' and more akin to what may be considered to have been a narrative form of archaic and 'primitive' 'balanced' style.

Although it is not possible to give a brief characterization applicable to all mantra texts a few observations may be made here in order to bring some of their outstanding features to the fore. They are, first of all, like Homer, much more diversified by many possibilities of variation in word order and syntactic structure, and by an almost unlimited choice of combinations of word groups and other units. They are in the second place metrical, and the metrical units—consisting as a rule of 8, 11 or 12 syllables—are to a great extent also syntactic units, whether independent sentences or members of sentences. Two metrical units are very often intertwined so as to constitute a larger syntactic unit⁹⁶): RV. 2, 33, 8; 35, 3⁹⁷). The syntactic units are as a rule short. A metrical unit (*pāda*) is not rarely divided into two more or less symmetrical parts (*incisa*: cf. 2, 35, 12; 8, 48, 3); *tricola*, filling one or two *pādas*, are likewise far from rare: RV. 1, 35, 7; 2, 33, 2. No form of horizontal and vertical correspondence is absent, but strictly symmetrical repetitions of the same schema, though favoured by the authors of some magical texts of the Atharvaveda (e.g. 1, 2, 1; 1, 3, 1 ff.; 1, 24, 3; 2, 8, 3 etc. etc.) are disliked in the hymns of the R̥gveda; cf. however 5, 83, 5. Variations, extensions, interruptions of a schema are much more common: 2, 12, 14; 35, 14 a b; 3, 59, 2; 4, 50, 5a; 6b. Various types of subordination—e.g. 1, 85, 9c; 2, 12, 11a; 33, 7c—occur beside syndetic or asyndetic co-ordination—2, 12, 15a; 33, 7b; 10; 14; 15; 4, 50,

⁹⁵) J. D. Denniston, *Greek prose style*, Oxford 1952, p. 70.

⁹⁶) The relative procedures will be the subject of another publication.

⁹⁷) For the sake of convenience the few references which are to follow have been borrowed from the texts collected in Macdonell's *Vedic reader for students*, Oxford 1917 etc.

9b — ; cf. also 4, 51, 5d. One of the most typical features of the style of these bodies of literature is the frequency and the ease with which syntactic groups of various structure are linked together so as to constitute larger or complex sentences. *ya-* groups of various length and character: 2, 12, 2 ff.; 33, 13; word groups containing a participle: 1, 35, 8d; 2, 12, 12d; appositions: 1, 85, 12; 2, 12, 11d. Paronomasia, rhyme, alliteration and other varieties of 'assonance' are a favourite means of emphasizing syntactic and semantic relations: 2, 33, 2; 3; 4, 50, 7; 51, 1; anaphora is very frequent: 1, 35, 1; 2, 12, 2; 3, 59, 1; 5, 11, 4; 83, 5; 6, 54, 5; 10, 127, 5. Words are not rarely arranged in accordance with the principle of increasing magnitude: 1, 85, 2c; 9ab; d; 8, 48, 6. Antithesis of the 'horizontal' variety is much in vogue: 1, 85, 4 *pracyāvayanto acyutā*; 7, 86, 7 *acetayad acitah*; 8, 48, 12 *amartyo martiām āviveśa*, but more complicated vertical antithetical correspondence is by no means absent: 7, 61, 4 *ayan māsā ayaivanām avirāh* / *pra yajñamanmā vrjanam tirāte* "may the months of non-sacrificers pass without sons; may he whose heart is set on sacrifice extend his circle". That the diction of the Vedic poets could sometimes follow the lofty flight taken by their imagination may appear from RV. 1, 124, 2 *aminatī daivyaṇi vratāni* / *praminatī manuṣyā yugāni* / *īyusiṇām upamā śaśvatīnām* / *āyatīnām prathamōṣā vi adyut* "without violating the divine ordinances, reducing the ages of men, Uṣas has shone forth as the last of many who have passed by, as the first of those who are to come". Very often a felicitous middle course is adopted between the peculiarities of the ancient 'symmetrical' style and the exigencies of a mode of expression which sometimes is descriptive or narrative, and often eulogistic or invitational: RV. 10, 90, 1 *sahasraśīrṣā puruṣaḥ* / *sahasrākṣaḥ sahasrapāt* / *sa bhūmim viśvato vrtvā* / *aty atīṣṭhad daśāṅgulam*; 10, 14, 7 *prehi prehi pathibhiḥ pūrvyebhir* / *yatra naḥ pūrve pitarah pareyuḥ* / *ubhā rājānā svadhayā madantā* / *yamaḥ paśyāsi varuṇam ca devam*; 1, 85, 10 *ūrdhvaṁ numudre avataṁ ta ojaśā* / *dādrhāṇam cid bibhidur vi parvatam* / *dhamanto vāṇam marutaḥ sudānavo* / *made somasya ranyāni cakrire*⁹⁸).

These introductory observations will now be followed by a more detailed discussion of those phenomena which were already touched upon in outline in the foregoing pages. Starting from parallelism in a wide sense of the term, the stylistic features which are often concomitant with it, and a number of other points of syntactic and stylistic relevance will pass in review.

⁹⁸) For other views of, or observations on, prehistoric Indo-European poetic style and diction see J. Wackernagel, *Idg. Dichtersprache*, *Philologus* 95 (1942), p. 1 ff.; F. Specht, *Kuhn's Zeitschrift*, 64, p. 1 ff.; E. Schwyzer, *Abh. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss.* 1939, 6, p. 10 f.; 22; 25; H. Hirt, *Indogerm. Grammatik*, I, Heidelberg 1927, p. 126 ff.; P. Thieme, *Der Fremdling im R̥gveda*, *Abh. D. M. G.* 23 (1938), p. 166; H. H. Schaefer, *Ein Indogerm. Liedtypus in den Gathas*, *Z. D. M. G.* 94 (1940), p. 399 ff.; the same, *Auf den Spuren indogerm. Dichtung*, *Die Weltliteratur*, 18 (1943), p. 32 ff.; F. R. Schröder, *Eine indogerm. Liedform*, *G. R. M.* 4 (1954), p. 179 ff.

III

BALANCED STRUCTURES AND SYMMETRICAL WORD GROUPS

In colloquial usage a short sentence expressing a simple statement or predication is often followed by another sentence of exactly identical structure: *A. is twenty, B. is eighteen; like master, like man*; in Latin, Plaut. Rud. 63 *conscendit navem, avehit meretriculas*. Especially in contrasting two predications this schema is very popular and efficient: Dutch *katten krabben, honden bijten* "cats scratch, dogs bite"; in Latin, Plaut. As. 129 *bene merenti mala es, male merenti bona es*. It is therefore not surprising that Vedic prose authors in their arguments and expositions often resort to it: JB. 1, 6 *ahar vai śabalo, rātriḥ śyāmaḥ* "ś. (is) the day, ś. night"; 1, 182 *āgneyo brāhmaṇa, aindro rājanyaḥ* "the brahman is related to Agni, the ksatriya is related to Indra"; RV. 10, 15, 5: 90, 6.

Balanced binary word groups the extent of which does not exceed the length of a metrical unit are far from rare in the Vedic Samhitās. AV. 1, 17, 2a *tiṣṭhāvare tiṣṭha pare* "stop, lower one, stop, upper one"; 4, 6, 7 I *ye apiṣan ye adihan / ya āsyan ye avāsṛjan* "they who mashed, who smeared, who hurled, who let loose"; 11, 7 f. *so 'dṛmḥayata so 'dhārayata*; 11, 12a *duhe sāyam duhe prātaḥ*; 12, 2a *yat te riṣṭam yat te dyuttam*; 5, 15, 1a *ekā ca me daśa ca me*; 29, 4a *akṣyaṇi ni vidhya hrdayam ni vidhya*; 30, 5a *yat te mātā yat te pitā*; 6, 1, 1a *doṣo gāya brhad gāya*; 6, 64, 1a *saṃ jānīdhvam saṃ prcyadhvam*, cf. RV. 10, 191, 2a *saṃ gachadhvam saṃ vadadhvam*, and similar sets; AV. 6, 83, 2a *eny ekā śyeny ekā*; 88, 1a *dhruvā dyaur dhruvā prthivī* = RV. 10, 173, 4a; AV. 6, 117, 3a *anṛṇā asminn anṛṇāḥ parasmin* = TB. 3, 7, 9, 8a etc.; 6, 123, 4a *sa pacāmi sa dadāmi*, cf. 12, 3, 47a *aham p. a. d.*; 6, 131, 1a *ni śirṣato ni pattataḥ*¹⁾; 6, 140, 2 I *vrihim attam yavam attam / atho māṣam atho tilam*, and, besides, 5, 13, 7a; b; 23, 4a; b; 28, 1c; 3c; 30, 13a (cf. b!). In the RV. : 1, 109, 6 *pra sindhubhyaḥ pra giribhyaḥ*; 5, 78, 8a *yathā vāto yathā vanam*; 20, 2c *apo dveṣo apa hvarah*; 8, 69, 11a *apād indro apād agniḥ*; 9, 62, 15 *girā jāta iha stuta(h)*.

This structure is very often found in liturgic 'prose' formulas: VS. 22, 19 *vibhūr mātṛā, prabhūḥ pitṛā*; TS. 1, 1, 1, 1 *iṣe tvā, ūrje tvā*; 1, 2, 11 *namo dive namaḥ prthivyai* (also AV. 6, 20, 2) "homage to heaven, homage to the earth"; TB. 3, 7, 12, 6a *divi jātā apsu jātāḥ* "born in heaven, born in the waters"; SMB. 2, 5, 6d *dānāya ca bhagāya ca*; MS. 2, 11, 6 *dīksā ca*

¹⁾ The second *ni* is irrational, but can easily be explained from the tendency to 'polar expression'.

tapas ca; TĀ. 1, 12, 1 *ā tanuṣva pra tanuṣva* ²⁾). In arguing that the comparatively high frequency of these balanced structures in the ritual formulas of the Yajurveda was due to the "schlichten, primitiv-unbeholfenen Sprache" of these documents Wolfgang Krause ³⁾ was in my opinion not wholly correct : an archaic collection of verba concepta and ritual formulas may a priori be expected to have preserved more specimens of this style than most other remainders of the early literature. If the Rgveda contains, comparatively speaking, a more limited number of instances, this is not to be explained exclusively from the endeavours of its poets to compose hymns of a high artistic standard : difference of aims and subjects is largely attended by difference of style. It may however be admitted that on the whole the style of formulas, 'poetry' and 'technical prose' being bound by certain traditional 'rules' was a better substratum for nursing and preserving these archaic forms and structures than the 'free' style of fancy and every day speech.

This 'parallelism' is achieved by repeating a schema so as to replace part of its elements by words of the same semantic class. The two halves of these parallel sets as a rule consist of 4 words, ac or bd of which are identical (the principle of repetition of words), the other pair being very often characterized by a rather high degree of outward similarity (esp. rhyme), belonging to the same semantic category, and forming a contrast or being mutually completive ⁴⁾). Sometimes a dvandva compound appears instead of two words : RV. 7, 52, 1 in a fine example of symmetry: *sanema mitrāvaruṇā sananto / bhavema dyāvāprthivī bhavantaḥ* "we would like to win, O M. and V., winning, we would like to prosper, O heaven and earth, prospering". In later metrical texts this mode of expression is often retained : YDh. 1, 290 *putrān dehi dhanam dehi*; BhG. 10, 12 *param brahma param dhāma* "the supreme brahman, the supreme station"; 2, 57 *nābhī-nandati na dveṣṭi*; 11, 15; Mbh. 3, 64, 95 *dviṣatām bhayakartāraṃ suhrdām śokanāśanam*.

A type of parallelism often found in brāhmaṇas may be exemplified by AiB. 3, 2, 4 *vāyuḥ prāṇaḥ prāṇo retaḥ* "the breath is Vāyu, seed is breath": a double identification by means of three different terms.

In this mode of expression the ancient poets possessed a means of emphasizing the ideas denoted by the non-identical terms and their mutual relations, and of heightening the effectiveness of these formulas. In cases such as AV. 4, 11, 7 *so 'dṛmhayata so 'dhārayata* in which the non-identical terms are only slightly different in sense, this character is much

²⁾ See especially H. Oldenberg, Zur Geschichte der altindischen Prosa, Abh. Gött. Ges. d. Wiss. 1917, p. 2 ff.

³⁾ W. Krause, Die Wortstellung in den zweigliedrigen Wortverbindungen, Kuhn's. Zs. 50, p. 79.

⁴⁾ AV. 6, 1, 1a is an exception, but both SV. and AŚS. have *āgād* for the first *gāya*, which is better (cf. Whitney-Lanman, p. 282). As already appears from the above instances two sets of three words (one of them being *ca*, a preposition, a pronoun, etc.) are not wanting.

in evidence and there is no occasion to believe the repetition of the idea to be a poetical embellishment⁵).

As already appears from the instance BhG. 2, 57 the corresponding terms could for practical reasons not always be of the same length or structure : cf. also the otherwise different type Manu 2, 38 *ā dvāvīṃśat kṣatrabandhor ā caturvīṃśater viśaḥ*; 187.

Those elements of these parallel sets which are not repeated are sometimes so-called twin formulas⁶): AV. 5, 30, 5 *yat te mātā yat te pitā*; 6, 88, 1 *dhruvā dyaur dhruvā pṛthivī* "fixed (is) the sky, fixed the earth"; 19, 62, 1 *uta śūdra utārye* "both to Śūdra and to Aryan"⁷). Compare, in the Avesta, V. 15, 4 *stamanam vā hizvām vā* "mouth or tongue". In these parallel groups we sometimes find both components of a widespread twin formula : AV. 3, 9, 1b *dyaus pitā pṛthivī mātā* even contains two of them *dyaus pṛthivī* and *mātā pitā ca*. Instances are ŚŚ. 4, 18, 5 *dyaus te pitā pṛthivī mātā* and many other pādas and formulas containing *dyaus* and *pṛthivī* (see Vedic Conc., p. 510 ff.); AV. 10, 8, 2b *dyaus ca bhūmis ca tiṣṭhataḥ*; VS. 23, 24a etc. *mātā ca te pitā ca te*; AV. 7, 2, 1b *mātur garbham pitur asuṃ yuvānam*⁸). Cf. also such enumerations as RV. 10, 90, 6 etc. *vasanto asyāsīd ājyam grīṣma idhmaḥ śared dhaviḥ* "spring was its sacrificial butter, summer its fuel, autumn its oblation". It may be observed that these more or less fixed combinations of antithetic or complementary ideas and similar locutions may also be co-extensive with a metrical or rhythmical unit: RV. 10, 136, 6a *apsarasām gandharvāṇām*; TB. 2, 5, 7, 2 *brahma kṣatram*, beside ŚB. 8, 21, 1 b. *ca k. ca*; cf. also the type RV. 1, 81, 5d *na jāto nā janīṣyate*.

The normal schema consists of two parallel word groups, each of which contains either two 'full' words (substantive and adjective) or one 'full' word and a few 'auxiliaries'; the elements a and c are as a rule identical, b and d complementary ideas, opposites or at least words belonging to the

⁵) As is believed by Fircow, o.c., p. 69 with regard to such Egyptian instances as "rise! get up!"

⁶) For this term see R. M. Meyer, *Die altgermanische Poesie nach ihren formelhaften Elementen* beschrieben, Berlin 1889, p. 240; G. Salomon, *Die Entstehung und Entwicklung der deutschen Zwillingsformeln*, Göttingen 1919; Krause, o.c., p. 77.

⁷) Scholars have been at variance with regard to the chronological relations between parallel clauses and twin formulas (*father and mother, day and night*): see Krause, o.c., p. 77 ff. It would appear to me that this controversy largely was one of those sham fights fought by those who regarded any problem arising from a co-existence of syntagmata as a question of chronology, put in the form of an alternative. I cannot help wondering whether it is wise to continue discussing such problems if mainly formulated in terms of (quasi-)historical alternatives. In the case under consideration I am under the impression that our Indo-European ancestors could express a word group such as "(both) day and night" as well as a sentence "the day and the night are short": they even had, I am sure, more than one equivalent of this clause, preferring in certain circumstances the parallel set, in other circumstances the construction *the day is short and the night*.

⁸) Cf. also ŚB. 1, 2, 4, 14 *antarikṣam harāmi divam harāmi*.

same semantic class or sphere of reference⁹⁾. These parallel pairs of cola are of considerable frequency, not only in the Veda and the Avesta, but also in conservative ancient poetry of other I.E. peoples, especially in the Dainos of the Lithuanians and the old-Norse Edda. From the former the first lines of Nesselmann's collection¹⁰⁾ may be quoted here : *saulýtė dēvo dukťė, / kuř teĩp ilgaĩ užtrukaĩ, kuř teĩp ilgaĩ gyvenaĩ?* "O son, daughter of God, where hast thou been staying so long, where hast thou sojourned so long ?" In incantations, invocations, salutations and similar formulaic utterances Germans and Lithuanians often resorted to these parallel sentences : in the runic spells of Skirnesmōl, 34 *heyre jōtnar, heyre hrímþursar, / . . . hvé fyrbýþk, hvé fyrbannak / manna glaum mane, manna nyt mane* "hören mögen es die Riesen, h. m. e. die Reifthursen, . . . wie ich verbiete, wie ich verbanne Manneslust der Maid, Mannesgenusz der Maid". The points of difference between these balanced structures and the above Vedic type (abac or abcb) are conspicuous. The latter is however not absent in the ancient Baltic and German languages : a Lithuanian funeral lamentation *buk palugni, buk pakarni* "be courteous, be submissive!"¹¹⁾ and an Old Norse salutation are exact counterparts of the abac type : Ls. 11 *heiler aeser, heiler ásynjor* "hail to the Ases, hail to the female Ases!". In proverbs, maxims, fixed phrases, formulations of a truth or opinion this schema is widely distributed over various countries : in ancient Greece¹²⁾ *παροιμίαι* or proverbs like *ἄλλοι κάμον ἄλλοι ὄναιτο* and *ἄλλο γλαῖς ἄλλο κορώνη* seem to have been as popular as in German countries such traditional sayings as the Dutch *zo heer, zo knecht* = Engl. *like master like man*; Dutch *vroeg rijp, vroeg rot* = Engl. *soon ripe, soon rotten* (notice the alliteration), which may be amplified by the rhyming *vroeg wijs vroeg zot* "early wise, early silly"; and also in sayings such as *geen geld, geen Zwitsers*. A MHGerm. instance is *an lîbe an der selen*, a Latin, Suet. Cal. 6 *salva Roma salva patria*. This is not to suggest that other types of parallel hemistichs were unknown in Greek : Homer A 157, *οὔρεα τε σκιδέοντα θάλασσά τε ἠχήμεσα*.

It may in this connection be observed that primitive and ancient languages,¹³⁾ like popular usage, often are comparatively speaking deficient in higher abstracts and terms of a general and synthetic character. In daily life the terms for *father* and *mother* are useful and sufficient, and

⁹⁾ See also R. Strümpell, *Der Parallelismus als stilistische Erscheinung in der frühmittelhochdeutschen Dichtung*, Paul u. Braune's Beiträge 49, p. 175; R. M. Meyer, *Altgermanische Poesie*, p. 243.

¹⁰⁾ G. H. F. Nesselmann, *Litauische Volkslieder*, Berlin 1853.

¹¹⁾ Cf. also A. Leskien, *Litauisches Lesebuch*, Heidelberg 1919, p. 34.

¹²⁾ See A. Meineke, *Theocritus*, p. 454 ff.

¹³⁾ For ancient Egyptian see Firchow, o.c., p. 96. See for instance also W. Havers, *Handbuch der erklärenden Syntax*, p. 147 f.; 149 f.; J. Weigert, *Des Volkes Denken und Reden*, Freiburg i. B. 1925; F. Polle, *Wie denkt das Volk über die Sprache*, Leipzig-Berlin 1904; F. Boas, *A handbook of American Indian languages I*, Washington 1911, p. 64 ff.

equivalents of our *parents* are often avoided even in modern usage. It would not even be easy to express the ideas denoted by the phrases *heaven and earth*, German *Haus und Hof*, Dutch *met man en muis* ("with all hands" viz. lost) by exactly equivalent single words. Being concerned but little with abstractions and general ideas speakers of primitive and archaic idioms are often not able to use, for instance, generic terms, the lack of which is on the other hand often due to the lack of their need. Thus their language may easily impress us as being apt to split up abstracts and generic terms into two or more concreta which are at least in our eyes graphic and picturesque. Or words properly denoting a special concretum are also used in a widened meaning so as to refer to similar objects : the phrase *daily bread* for instance denoting human food in general.

The above instances remind us of the 'symmetrical' hexameters, cf. also Γ 251 *Τρώων δ' ἱπποδάμων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν χαλκοχιτώνων*; 397; (in most instances the syllables are different in number); Δ 25; cf. also ε 223 *ἦδη γὰρ μάλα πολλὰ πάθον καὶ πολλὰ μόγησα*; ξ 111. Here the members of the parallel set coincide with the two parts of the hexameter : a natural and no doubt ancient way of expressing a double thought couched in the form of a fixed metrical unit. Compare, in Latin, Enn. 252 *alter nare cupit, alter pugnare paratust*. In Latin we find incantations such as (Marc. Emp. 15, 11) : *si hodie nata' si ante nata / si hodie creata' si ante creata* and (ibid. 21, 3; 28, 16) *sine manibus colligerunt / sine foco coxerunt / sine dentibus comederunt*. Many passages of the Avesta are of a similar structure : Yt. 5, 1 *ādū.fraḍanqm ašaonīm / vāθwō.fraḍanqm ašaonīm / gaēθō.fraḍanqm ašaonīm / šaētō.fraḍanqm ašaonīm* etc. In ancient Egypt such symmetrical pairs as : "my sister is Sothis, my guide is the morning-star" and "the life of N.N. is eternity, the limit of N. N. is infinity"¹⁴) are very common.

A striking preference for sequences of four words each so often seen in the Vedic mantras has in the native poetry of the Malays developed into the main structural principle¹⁵) : *dari mana punai melajang ? / dari paja turun ke-padi / dari mana kasih sajang ? / dari mata turun ke-hati* (notice the correspondences between a and c, b and d) a 'pantun' which was adequately translated into English : "the fate of a dove is to fly / it flies to its nest on the knoll / the gate of true love is the eye / the prize of its quest is the soul"¹⁶).

Besides, the archaic symmetrical style was, as the above examples show, generally speaking averse from using co-ordinative particles in the modern way. If no emphasis was to be laid and no special relations were to be indicated the mere juxtaposition of two terms could often suffice. These

¹⁴) See the many examples quoted and discussed by Firchow, o.c., p. 34 ff.

¹⁵) Cf. A. Teeuw, *Taal en versbouw*, Inaugural address Utrecht 1952, p. 9 ff.

¹⁶) See e.g. C. Hooykaas, *Over Maleische literatuur*, Leiden 1937, p. 54 ff.; J. Gonda, *Letterkunde van de Indische Archipel*, Amsterdam-Brussel 1947, p. 5 ff.; W. A. Braasem and R. Nieuwenhuys, *Volkspoëzie uit Indonesië*, Groningen-Djakarta 1952.

trends of archaic speech in addition to the tendency to symmetrical expression help us in understanding why lines such as *dhruvā dyaur dhruvā prthivī* are preferred, in Vedic mantras, to the structures of our modern counterparts : "heaven and earth are fixed" or "the universe is fixed".

The large number of so-called contraries or opposites occurring in these sequences must be explained from a remarkable feature in pre-scientific thought and expression. Having a dislike of abstract and analytical thought in the modern way, pre-scientific man to a great extent thinks and acts collectively. He often groups and classifies the various entities and phenomena with which he is confronted in another way than scholars belonging to more differentiated stages of culture. In the pre-scientific circles of 'primitive' and ancient humanity much more emphasis was often laid upon the complementary character of a pair of entities. What would impress a modern scholarly mind as a pair of opposites was, and sometimes still is, valued by them as a pair of complements¹⁷). One of the linguistic indicia of this peculiarity seems to have been the syntactic use of the particle **k^{ue}* (Skt. *ca*, Gr. *τε*, Lat. *—que* etc.). This word must have been, not an equivalent of the modern "and", not expressive of addition or continuation, but a means of indicating complementary unity. It was a marker pointing to, or emphasizing the fact that two (or more) words of the same category were not only considered as belonging together, but constituted a complementary pair or set. Or according to an Indian grammarian (Gaṇar. p. 4), ... *ca* ... *ca* expresses *samuccaya*- "accumulation so as to form a totality". Hence the predilection for the repeated *ca* and the frequent occurrence of so-called opposites — which really were complements connected by this particle. Similar remarks may be made with regard to the 'disjunctive' particle *vā* which being likewise subjoined to the word which it annexes, is also often repeated : ... *vā* ... *vā* "either ... or". Like other ancient features, e. g. the dual and the co-existence of active and middle verb forms, this use of I.E. ... **k^{ue}* ... **k^{ue}* and ... **uē* ... **uē* being characteristic of a definite mental structure came to pass gradually away when man began to look at nature and human society from a more 'modern' and rationalistic point of view.

There are a great many interesting passages showing the fondness of the ancient Indians for indicating complementary unity, i.e. for connecting, by means of *ca*, words or groups of words which are complements or constitute pairs. A large part of the 18th book of the White Yajurveda (18, 1-27) consists of a long succession of ... *ca* ... *ca* groups, all of them consisting of complementary pairs : 2 *vāk ca me manaś ca me* "my voice and my mind"; *cakṣuś ca me śrotṛam ca me* "my eye and my ear", rather "on the

¹⁷) See for a detailed exposition my 'Reflections on the numerals "one" and "two" in ancient Indo-European languages', Utrecht 1953. — It should be noticed that the terms to be considered on the following pages are not always complementary by nature. They may also be complementary under specified circumstances or with a view to a specified purpose.

one hand my eye, on the other my ear"; or 3 *ojaś ca me sahaś ca me* "my creative energy and my domination"; *ātmā ca me tanūś ca me* "myself (soul) and my body"; 6 *anamitraṃ ca me bhayaṃ ca me* "my safety both from enemies and dangers"; 9 *ghṛtaṃ ca me madhu ca me* "my butter and my honey"; *kṛṣiś ca me vṛṣiś ca me* "my ploughing and my rain"; 14 *agniś ca ma āpaś ca me* "my fire and my water", etc. etc.

In addition to the instances given in other parts of this book attention may therefore now be drawn to some other complementary word groups in which the b and d members being auxiliaries are identical. Thus we find with *ca* groups : AV. 5, 13, 7 *pitā ca mātā ca* following another pair of complements, viz. *āligi ca viligi ca*, whatever these obscure words may mean; 7, 56, 8 *puchena cāsyena ca*; 11, 10, 11 *ojase ca balāya ca*; MS. 2, 11, 6 *agniś ca gharmaś ca*; 3, 4, 1 *agniś cāpaś ca*; ŚāŚrS. 8, 19, 1 *dhenuś ca ṛṣabhaś ca* "the cow and the bull"; ĀpMB. 1, 6, 7 *prajāyās ca dhanasya ca*; *patinām ca devṛnām ca*; TS. 1, 4, 14, 1 *nabhaś ca nabhasyaś ca*; (cf. VS. 14, 15 etc. *n. c. n. c. vārṣikau*); and, as part of a longer sequence of words : RVKh. 10, 142, 7 *piba khāda ca moda ca*; AV. 4, 11, 9 *prajāṃ ca lokam cāpnoti*; TS. 4, 7, 7, 2 *ādityaś ca me sāvitrai ca me*; ŚāGS. 2, 10, 6 *agniḥ śraddhām ca medhām ca*. Beside MS. 2, 11, 6 *dikṣā ca tapaś ca* we find TS. 4, 7, 9, 1 *d. ca me t. ca me*. The particle may also be omitted in one of the two members of the bipartite phrase : RV. 1, 112, 23 *pra turvītiṃ pra ca dabhitim āvatam*¹⁸). In Vedic prose we find AiB. 3, 8, 6 *ojaś ca ha vai sahaś ca* (cf. also AV. 11, 10, 11 *ojase ca balāya ca*; AV. 19, 37, 3b *ojase sahaśe tvā* etc.); 4, 21, 6 . . . *traiṣṭubhāni ca jāgatāni ca*; JB. 1, 124 . . . *yan manuṣyāś ca paśavaś copajīveyuḥ*; AiB. 3, 5, 2 . . . *aśvān vā gā vā* . . . ; PB. 1, 6, 10 *divā ca naktaṃ ca*. In the Mbh. we find : 3, 72, 1 *vanāni ca sarāṃsi ca*; 76, 50 *vaidarbhi ca nalaś ca ha*; in the Rām. 1, 47, 17 *jahāsa ca mumoda ca*; 2, 91, 17 *dyām ca bhūmiṃ ca*.

These cola correspond exactly to Avestan combinations of the type Y. 54, 1 *nərəbyas čā nairibyas čā* "to the men and the women" and to such well-known epic phrases and half-verses as, in Homer, *B 145 Εὐρός τε Νότος τε*; *Δ 49 λοιβῆς τε κνίσης τε* (notice the perfect isosyllabism); *α 152 μόλπή τ' ὀρχηστὺς τε*; *165 χρυσοῖό τε ἑσθῆτός τε*; *γ 28 γενέσθαι τε τραφέμεν τε*; *δ 224 μήτηρ τε πατήρ τε*, which however may likewise be completed by one or more other words : *γ 272 τελέσαι ἔργον τε ἔπος τε*, etc.¹⁹). Similar phrases may as separate cola form part of prose works : Thuc. 2, 84, 3 *τοῦ τε ἀνέμου τῶν τε πλοίων*; Plato, Tim. 37 E *τό τ' ἦν τό τ' ἔσται*. Latin examples are, in metrical texts, Plaut. Amph. 168 *noctesque diesque*;

¹⁸) Many other instances may be found in the author's article 'The use of the particle *ca*', Vāk 5, Poona 1957, V, p. 1 f.

¹⁹) For a detailed study of the phrases with *τε* in Greek and *-que* in Latin, see the author's article 'The history and original function of the I.-E. particle *k^{pe}*, especially in Greek and Latin', Mnemosyne 4, 7 (1954), p. 177 ff. and 265 ff. Other instances may for instance be found in J. D. Denniston, The Greek particles², Oxford 1954, p. 503 ff.; H. G. Liddell and R. Scott, A Greek-English Lexicon, s.v. *τε*. Cf. e.g. *Γ 2*; 297; 335; *Β 281*; *ι 426*.

Rud. 369 *ventisque fluctibusque*, and in prose works : Tac. Ann. 2, 3 *Arsacidarum vi seque regnumque tutatus est*²⁰). These phrases which are of considerable frequency in early texts give unmistakable evidence on the one hand of the predilection for complementary phrases, on the other hand of the popularity of balanced binary structures.

As is well known the idea of totality is often in a graphic and concrete way expressed by 'polar' concepts: thus "days" and its opposite "nights" combine, in popular usage, to suggest the more abstract idea of "always". In Sanskrit this idea can be expressed by a dvandva compound *aharniśam* "day(s) and night(s)", i.e. "continually", but the unity in duality can also be emphasized by the phrase *ahaś ca rātri ca*. Authors of a later era, especially those who had a sense of symmetry and archaic severity continued using these sequences in their works: Aśvaghōṣa, whose works contain a considerable number of striking instances, Bc. 12, 34 *mṛtyum ca janma ca* ; 2, 50 *nṛpaśriyā caiva tapaśśriyā ca* ; 3, 53 *svalamkṛte caiva parikṣite ca* ; 2, 36 *dadau dvijebhyaḥ kṛśanam ca gāś ca* ; showing fondness for combinations of verbs ; Bc. 4, 19 *jagrāha ca jahāra ca* ; and extending the length and number of the elements connected : Bc. 3, 14 *tāḥ srastakāñciguṇavighnitāś ca suptaprabuddhākulalocanāś ca | vṛttāntavinyastavibhūṣaṇāś ca* ; 36 *smṛtiṃ ca rūpaṃ ca parākramaṃ ca* ; and Kālidāsa Ragh. 1, 16 *adhrśyaś cābhigamyāś ca* "at once unapproachable and inviting" ; 15, 103 *girau dakṣiṇe cottare ca* ; 1, 68 *prakāśaś cāprakāśaś ca* "at the same time shining and not shining" ; Bhav. Utt. 6, 23 *kuśasya ca lavasya ca* "of K. and L. (the two sons of Rāma)" ; Jayar. Har. 27, 86 *mūrkhāś ca durgataś cāyaṃ, budhāś ca dhanasvāmś ca saḥ* "this one was foolish and poor, and the other was intelligent and wealthy". However, any Sanskrit text exhibits traces of this ancient construction : VāP. 69, 342 *teṣāṃ putrāś ca pauṭrāś ca* ; Śaṅkara Upadeśas. 20 *lohitam ca śukram ca*²¹).

Instances of . . . *vā* . . . *vā* which as a rule form part of greater units are ; PB. 2, 3, 2 *prajākāmo vā paśukāmo vā stuvita* "he who wishes either for children or for cattle should praise" ; 5, 1, 11 *pañcadaśau vā sapṭadaśau vā* ; Mbh. 3, 64, 120 *yakṣi vā rākṣasi vā tvam* ; Manu ; 2, 149 *alpam vā bahu vā yasya* . . . " (of whom) be it little or much" ; Rām. 1, 7, 14 *nāsīt pure vā rāṣṭre vā* ; Bhāsa, Yaug. 1, 14 *ripunṛpanagare vā bandhane vā vane vā |*.

The non-identical terms often express 'opposites', the negative being a compound formed with the privative *a(n)*- and occupying the second rank ; this construction is a favourite means of signifying totality by two complementary terms : AV. 1, 19, 4 *yaḥ sapatno yo 'sapatnaḥ* "whatever rival, whatever non-rival" ; RV. 10, 15, 14 *ye agnidagdḥā ye anagnidagdḥāḥ* "who burnt by fire, who burnt not by fire" ; AV. 11, 9, 22 a ; TB. 3, 12, 8,

²⁰) See also J. B. Hofmann, in M. Leumann-J. B. Hofmann, Lateinische Grammatik, München 1928, p. 656. — Many other Latin instances may be found in G. Merten, De partic. copul. apud vet. rom. scriptores usu, Thesis Marburg 1893, p. 27 ff.

²¹) For special uses and particular constructions see my above article in Vāk.

2a; BārU. 1, 5, 20 *saṃcaramś cāsaṃcaramś ca*; cf. also RV. 10, 97, 15 *yāḥ phalinīr yā aphalāḥ*. An epic instance is Mbh. 14, 19, 7 *naiva dharmo na cādharmaḥ*; cf. also 14, 18 1 *śubhānām aśubhānām ca*. Cf. also ŚB. 3, 5, 4, 10. Similarly, in the Avesta, N. 6 *usaiti ēa anusaiti ēa* "whether she likes it or not". Greek counterparts are Hes. Op. 3 *ἀπαρὸς τε παρὸς τε*; 4 *ἐντὸς τ' ἄγαντος τε*. Opposites are also expressed otherwise : AV. 18, 4, 57 *ye ca jīvā ye ca mṛtāḥ*; RV. 7, 22, 9 *ye ca pūrva ṛṣayo ye ca nūtnāḥ* "the ancient ṛṣis and those of to-day"; GB. 1, 5, 25 *yāṃś ca grāme yāṃś cāranye japanti* (on *japanti* at the end see further on). Moreover, the process expressed by the verb is sometimes put in the negative in the second member : AV. 17, 1, 7 *yāṃś ca paśyāmi yāṃś ca na* "whom I see and whom not"; ĀpŚ. 3, 12, 1 *yad akarma yan nākarma*; MS. 4, 9, 2 *yā coditā yā ca noditāḥ*. This construction is generally speaking popular in ancient texts of many peoples, e. g. in German rules of law, in Lithuanian popular songs, in the Avesta²²).

A great variety of special forms of more or less parallel repetition will be dealt with, with a greater fulness of detail, in the chapters which are to follow : for instance, initial repetition of adverbs, conjunctions, prepositions, identity of the last element of two parallel units (epiphora) etc. etc.

Cases are not wanting in which the second member of the set is longer : dicolon abundans (cf. part of the above Greek instances) : AV. 4, 30, 8c *paro divā para enā prthivyā* "beyond the sky, beyond the earth here" = RV. 10, 82, 5a; 125, 8c etc.²³); RV. 9, 67, 21a *yad anti yac ca dūrake*²⁴). The greater length is, however, not always effected by the addition of a word : RV. 8, 9, 5a = AV. 20, 139, 5a *yad apsu yad vanaspatau* "what (is) in the waters, what in the tree"; AV. 8, 2, 19c *yad ādyam yad anādyam*; Āp. MB. 2, 22, 11a *yadi vrkṣād yady antarikṣāt*; VS. 18, 64 a = ŚB. 9, 5, 1, 49a *yad dattam yat parādānam | yat pūrtam yās ca dakṣiṇāḥ*; TĀ. 2, 12, 1b *namaḥ prthivyai nama oṣadhībhyah*; ChU. 7, 26, 2b (metr.) *na rogam nota duḥkhatām*; cf. also the type VS. 35, 11b *apa kṛtyām apo rapaḥ*; TB. 3, 7, 6, 1 *aham bhūpatir aham bhuvanapatih*; AB. 8, 11, 5b; MU. 5, 1b *tvam rudras tvam prajāpatih*. Both possibilities may be realized as variations of the same sub-type : MU. 5, I *tvam brahmā tvam ca vai viṣṇuḥ* and TĀ. 10, 31 e t. b. t. *prajāpatih*.

These instances sometimes assume the character of a climax: LŚ. 2, 1, 6a *yadi stutam yadi vādyā suṣṭutam*; VS. 18, 10 *pūrṇam ca me pūrṇataram ca me*; 24 *nava ca ma ekādaśa ca me* "my nine and my eleven"; HG. 2, 10, 5d *dīrghāyutvam ca śataśāradaṃ ca* (cf. AV. 1, 35, 1d); cf. also KŚ. 25, 1, 11 *ye te śatam varuṇa ye sahasram*; BārU. 6, 4, 28 *atipitā batābhūḥ, atipitāmaho batābhūḥ*; cf. also RV. 1, 30, 2.

²²) See e.g. also A. F. Pott, *Doppelung als eines der wichtigsten Bildungsmittel der Sprache*, 1862, p. 13; Meyer, o.c., p. 249 f.; G. Salomon, *Entstehung und Entwicklung der deutschen Zwillingsformeln*, p. 21.

²³) Cf. MŚ. 1, 5, 2, 13a *yad ado divo yad idam prthivyāḥ*.

²⁴) Cf. also AV. 10, 9, 16b; RV. 6, 52, 1a; 10, 161, 2a; AV. 5, 14, 6a; RVKh. 5, 87, 20a; 10, 142, 10a.

Sometimes the former member is the longer TĀ. 10, 31, 1d *tvam vaṣat-kāras tvam rudrah*.

Much evidence could indeed be adduced in favour of the thesis that the tendency of the 'increasing magnitude', i. e. of the increasing members of a coordinated group of words or clauses—Behaghel's²⁵) so-called Gesetz der wachsenden Glieder—does not fail to manifest itself also in these parallel structures. In linking together a number of coordinated elements there seems to exist a rather widespread tendency to start with shorter forms or at least to end with a longer form. In modern literature examples of this 'principle' are very numerous : Shaw, Getting married (Const. 12), p. 301 *in amazement! in stupefaction!* ; Duhamel, Combat, p. 244 (in a narrative passage) *il jetait, sur son domaine, sur son cher laboratoire . . .* ; 304 *il était parfaitement gai, parfaitement à l'aise*. In ancient Greek, A 27 ἦ νῦν δηθύνοντ' ἢ ὕστερον αὖτις ἰόντα; 31 ἰστὸν ἐποικομένην καὶ ἐμὸν λέχος ἀντιόωσαν; 372; Γ 258 Ἄργος ἐς ἱππόβοτον καὶ Ἀχαιῖδα καλλιγύναικα; a 385; also complicated instances such as A 115 οὐ δέμας οὐδὲ φηήν, οὔτ' ἄρ' φρένας οὔτε τι ἔργα (here both hemistichs consist of a short parallel group)²⁶). In the Avesta : Y. 65, 4 *kasčiṭča aēšqm vairyanqm / kasčiṭča aēšqm apayžāranqm*. In Latin, Mart. 5, 44, 1 *quid factum est rogo, quid repente factum est?*; cf. also Ter. Eun. 549 *num quis hic est? nemo. num quis hinc me sequitur? nemo homost*²⁷). In colloquial speech : (a Dutch street-hawker) *'k heb mooie kerse, en mooie arebeie*; (astonishment) *wat is dat nou? wat heb je nou gedaan?*

Although a great multitude of other examples may be found throughout this book some other Sanskrit passages may be adduced in order to show the frequency of this phenomenon in the literary remainders of ancient India²⁸) : ŚB. 1, 1, 4, 12 *vaiśyasya ca rājanyabandhoś ca*²⁹)—a sequence which reminds us of Pāṇini's rule *alpāctaram*³⁰) which states that when a dvandva compound consists of two words of an unequal number of syllables the shorter word precedes : in *darsapūrṇamāsau, śūdrāryau* (read : *āriyau*), *brāhadrathantare* etc. This principle holds in contradiction to the logical or natural order of the words³¹); among the most striking instances is *vaiśyarājanyau* in HirŚS. 8, 19³²) : "a rājanya (nobleman) and a vaiśya

²⁵) O. Behaghel, I.F. 25, p. 110 ff.

²⁶) In Greek and other languages also, the second half-line is sometimes shorter: B 173 *δυογενὲς Λαερτιάδῃ, πολυμήχαν' Ὀδυσσεύ*. Here the traditional requirements of versification have of course played a part.

²⁷) Cf. Indogerm. Jahrb. 12, p. 182, n. 24; (Leumann-)Hofmann, Lat. Gramm., p. 804 f.

²⁸) The observations made by J. Canedo, Zur Wort- und Satzstellung in der Alt- und mittelindischen Prosa, Ergänzungsheft Zs. f. vergl. Sprachf. 13 (1937), p. 82 f. are of questionable value.

²⁹) "Rather strange", Eggeling, Śat. Br. transl. (SBE. 12), p. 28, n. 2.

³⁰) Pāṇini 2, 2, 34.

³¹) See W. Caland, A rhythmic law in language, Acta Or. 9, p. 59 ff. (with many examples from a great variety of languages).

³²) The commentary refers to Pāṇini's rule.

(commoner)"; cf. also AiB. 4, 28, 1 *br̥hac ca vā idam agre rathantaram cāstām. vāk ca vai tan manas cāstām, vāg vai rathantaram mano br̥hat*³³)—in other cases too this order of words within a binary structure may be connected with a dvandva compound showing the same order : GobhGS. 1, 1, 14 *darśe vā paur̥ṇamāse vā* "either on the day of new moon or in the day of full moon"; cf. *darśap̥r̥ṇamāsau* (TB. 2, 2, 2, 1 etc.); Kauś. 115, 2 *tan me dhātā ca savitā ca dhattām*; the sequence ChU. 5, 2, 1 *ā śvabhya ā śakunibhyaḥ* (alliteration!) "even unto dogs and birds" might have been borrowed from colloquial speech; RV. 6, 58, 1 *śukraṃ te anyad yajataṃ te anyat*; 8, 48, 3 *aganma jyotir, avidāma devān*; 1, 18, 2 *yo revān, yo amivahā*; AV. 12, 2, 1c *yo goṣu yakṣmaḥ puruṣeṣu y.* "the y. in kine, the y. in men"; 17, 1, 18 *tvam indras tvam mahendras | tvam lokas tvam prajāpatiḥ*; 19, 54, 5 *imam ca lokaṃ paramaṃ ca lokam*; RV. 2, 21, 6 *poṣaṃ rayiṇām ariṣṭīm tanūnām | svādmānaṃ vācaḥ sudinatvam ahnām* "abundance of riches, safeness of bodies, sweetness of speech, fine days"; 2, 28, 4 *na śrāmyanti na vi mucanti*; AV. 6, 102, 1 *sam aitu saṃ ca vartatām*; VS. 6, 12 *māhir bhūḥ mā prdākuḥ*; cf. also the type RV. 7, 91, 2 *uśantā dūtā na dabhāya gopā* (variation); and ĀpŚS. 14, 26, 1 and AV. 16, 3, 2; GobhGS. 1, 9, 16 *phalāni vā palāśāni vā*; Mbh. 14, 35, 9 *kiṃ sukhaṃ kiṃ ca duḥkṛtam*³⁴).

As appears also from other examples quoted in this book the Behaghel effect is not rarely achieved by adding an epithet to the noun constituting the last colon, cf. also RV. 10, 14, 7 *yamam paśyāsi varuṇaṃ ca devam*; cf., in Greek, *B 1 θεός τε καὶ ἀνέρες ἰπποκορονσταί*; *Δ 366*; cf. *K 220 κραδίη καὶ θυμός ἀγήμερος*; *Δ 122*. The second member may be lengthened by adding a particle : BhG. 9, 24 *bhoktā ca prabhur eva ca*. A pronoun may do this duty : RV. 2, 35, 10 *hiranyarūpaḥ sa hiraṇyasaṃdr̥k* "of golden form, he is of golden aspect". Or a word of another class may be added : 6, 54, 7; a vocative is inserted : 7, 71, 6. A similar insertion may however also fill up the former member so as to prevent it from being shorter : RV. 1, 32, 13 *nāsmāi vidyun na tanyatuh*.

There is of course a possibility of various complications and modifications. Thus ChU. 3, 17, 6, though certainly not artificial, combines two negative adjectives and a longer compound so as to obtain the Behaghel group : *akṣitam asi, acyutam asi, prāṇasaṃśitam asi* "thou art indestructible, thou art the unshaken one, thou art the very essence of life"; BhG. 11, 48 *na ca kriyābhīr na tapobhīr ugraiḥ*; Mbh. 14, 27, 3 the occurrence of this phenomenon results in a chiasmic position of words : *kva tad vanam mahāprājña ke vr̥kṣāḥ saritās ca kāk*; similarly, in the tripartite 14, 35, 34 *brahma satyaṃ tapaḥ satyaṃ satyaṃ caiva prajāpatiḥ* and 39, 11 *tamaḥ*

³³) Compare also such word pairs as RV. 1, 34, 8 *dyubhīr aktubhīḥ*; 35, 10 *rakṣaso yātudhānān*; 45, 1 *rudrāṇ ādityān*; 2, 27, 3 *uravo gabhīrāḥ*; 4, 12, 2 *prati doṣām uśāsam*; Mbh. 14, 17, 33 *cyavantam jāyamānam ca* constitutes an example of *ὁστερον προτερον*; cf. in Greek, e.g. Xen. Comm. 7, 5, 10 *τὴν . . . τροφήν καὶ γέροντα* etc.

³⁴) In Pāli women are put before men (T. W. Rhys Davids, *The Questions of King Milinda*, SBE. 35, p. 83, n. 1), but the formula is *itthīnaṃ ca purisānaṃ ca*.

śūdre rajaḥ kṣatre / brāhmaṇe sattvam ucyate; here the exigencies of versification, the tendency to make the last member the most extended and one of the main factors in producing a chiasmus, viz. the juxtaposition of similar words, have co-operated in bringing about this particular structure. Elsewhere the greater length of the second hemistich is occasioned by the replacement of a single word by a word group, e. g. AV. 16, 4, 3 *mā māṃ prāno hāsīn mo apāno 'vahāya parā gāt* "let not expiration leave me, nor let inspiration, deserting me, go away"; RV. 7, 65, 1 is an instance of an a-c position of the two members of a fixed combination of words : *mitraṃ huve varuṇam pūṭadakṣam* "I invoke M. (and) V. of pure ability" (cf. 1, 2, 7); cf. also 4, 5, 11 *tad dyaus ca dhātām prthivī ca devī* "let Heaven and the goddess Earth grant that"; 1, 6, 10 *divo vā pārthivād adhi* instead of a double . . . *vā* group or a repeated *adhi*; 9, 7 *saṃ gomad indra vājavat*; a simple verb and a compound combining by means of *ca* in the second member of the group : 1, 17, 6 *sanema ni ca dhīmahi*; 15, 9; 24, 1 *kasya nūnam katamasyāmṛtānām (devasya)*.

In a minority of cases however the length of the cola decreases : Th. Mann, Doktor Faustus, p. 86 *sie habe ihr Schicksal erfüllt, ihr Ziel erreicht*; in Greek, Γ 140 ἀνδρός τε προτέρου καὶ ἄστεος ἥδ' ἐ τοκῶν ; cf. also Γ 144 Αἰθρη, Πυθῆος θυγάτηρ, Κλυμένη τε βοῶπις in accordance with the natural rhythm of a hexameter; Δ 333. Thus we find in a liturgic formula, JB. 1, 73 *aśvinor bāhubhyām pūṣṇo hastābhyām* "with the arms of the Aśvins, with the hands of Pūṣan"; 1, 295 *ye ca rāthantarā ye ca bārhatāḥ* contrary to the usual dvandva *bṛhadrathantare* and VS. 18, 29 etc. *bṛhac ca rathantarām ca*, but in accordance with the actual order in which these melodies are used (cf. 1, 128)³⁵; without a perceptible motive : 3, 188 *medhāvitarā vā dhīratarā vā*; in the Rgveda 2, 33, 15 *yathā deva na hrñīse na haṃsi* "that, O God, thou dost neither be wrathful nor kill"; BārU. 3, 2, 13 *lohitam ca retas ca* "blood and semen" (a more natural order); BhG. 6, 1 *sa saṃnyāsī ca yogī ca* (a somewhat more chronological order ?); 9, 13 *amṛtam caiva mṛtyuś ca*. Compare also cases such as GobhGS. 1, 4, 20 *pūtryasya vā svastyayanasya vārthārthasya vā* "(oblations) destined for the manes, or to promote prosperity or material well-being".

We also find the reverse of the above sequences $\frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{2} 1$, viz. the type Mbh. 5, 107, 10 *kutaḥ kṛtaghnasya yaśaḥ kutaḥ sthānam kutaḥ sukham*; cf. 112, 11; 123, 16 (cf. also RV. 2, 33, 4). Here also the insertion of a particle can fill up a deficiency in the parallel group : Γ 397 στήθεά θ' ἱμερόεντα καὶ θυμὰ μαρμαίροντα.

Many instances are of course conditioned by context and situation, by the very character of the communication ; by the logical order of words, ChU. 3, 14, 3 . . . *anīyān vriher vā yavād vā sarṣapād vā śyāmākād vā śyāmākataṇḍulād vā* "smaller than a grain of rice, than a barley corn, than a mustard seed, than a grain of millet or than the kern of a grain of millet" :

³⁵) See also W. Caland, Das Jaiminiya-brāhmaṇa in Auswahl, Amsterdam 1919, p. 33.

a logical climax; GobhGS. 1, 2, 1 *yajñopavitaṃ kurute sūtraṃ vastraṃ vāpi vā kuśarajjum eva* "zu seiner heil. Opferschnur nimmt er garn oder zeug oder auch bloss einen kuṣastrick" (Knauer); BhG. 18, 17 *hatvāpi sa . . . na hanti na nibadhyate*.

In a not insignificant number of cases preference is given to the sequence represented by Duhamel, Cécile parmi nous p. 83 *c'est contre mes conseils, c. mon goût, c. ma volonté*; that is to say in three successive parallel sequences of words the second is the shortest, the third the longest. Other modern examples are Duhamel, Entretiens (1919), p. 120 . . . *que le monde a méritée, a rêvée, chèrement payée*; Shakespeare, Hamlet 3, 2 *for in the very torment, tempest and (as I may say) the whirlwind of passion*; As you like it 2, 3, 28 *abhor it, fear it, do not enter it*; compare also a somewhat more complicated case such as Th. Mann, Doktor Faustus (Stockholm 1947), p. 10 *ich bin eine durchaus gemässigte und, ich darf wohl sagen, gesunde, human temperierte, auf das Harmonische und Vernünftige gerichtete Natur*.

Indian instances are : RV. 1, 35, 7 c d *kvedānīm sūryaḥ? kaś ciketa? katamām dyām raśmir asyā tatāna?* "where is now the sun? who has understood (it)? to what heaven has his ray extended?"; AV. 7, 20, 6 *yat tiṣṭhati carati yad u ca viśvam ejati* "what stands, moves and all that stirs" (*yat* is omitted in the second member); KaṭhU. 3, 14 *uttiṣṭhata jāgrata prāpya varān nibodhata* "arise, awake, having attained your boons, understand then"; BārU. 3, 1, 7 *puro'nuvākyā ca yājyā ca śasyaiva tṛtiyā*; cf. also Aśv. Saund. 2, 8 *kṛtaśāstraḥ kṛtāstro vā | jāto vā vipule kule* "(whether) scholar, warrior or man of high degree", where the particle *vā* is inserted. One might also refer to a half-stanza of the type RV. 10, 15, 1 *ud īratām avara, ut parāsa, | un madhyamāḥ pitarāḥ somyāsaḥ* "let the lower, let the higher, let the middlemost soma-loving Fathers arise".

There are of course exceptions : GobhGS. 1, 3, 8 *kāmsena vā carusthālyā vā sruveṇa vā*.

The objection might be raised that in these examples, which have been borrowed from metrical texts, the influence of the rules of versification has prevailed over the natural tendency under discussion. The answer seems to be that the very frequency of these sequences and their conformity with similar sequences in prose texts and in spoken language should induce us to suppose the syntactical structure to have been primary; when in the course of time the metrical schemata came to be fixed these syntactical structures were, often skilfully and admirably, adjusted to, and harmonized with, the traditional norms of versification. It was no doubt largely due to the fixed form of the metrical schema that now the thought was expressed in a more or less symmetric form, then in one modification or other, then again by means of an entirely 'free' order of words. The occurrence of the various subtypes discussed in this section also was to a high degree a result of a compromise between more or less usual combinations of words in 'prose', daily usage, or literary tradition on the one hand and the exigencies of the metre on the other.

As already appears from some of the above-mentioned instances (e. g. AV. 4, 6, 7 I) these semi-identical 'balancements' often form part of a more extensive whole, whether the anaphora or other variety of repetition continues (AV. 6, 64, 1 *saṃ jānīdhvaṃ saṃ prcyadhvaṃ / saṃ vo manāṃsi jānatām*) or not (AV. 4, 30, 8 *paro divā para enā prthiviyaitāvati mahimnā saṃ babhūva*). As this point, however, regards the structure of greater entities it cannot be dwelt on here.

Focussing our attention first on the rhythmic units themselves we often see that apart from the words which constitute the parallel set one, or some, other words occur in them. Thus the parallel set is preceded by another term : AV. 1, 2, 4 *yathā dyām ca prthivīm ca*, or by two other terms : 6, 88, 2 (= RV. 10, 173, 5) *dhruvaṃ ta indraś cāgniś ca*; RV. 2, 33, 15 *yathā deva na hr̥ṇise na haṃsi*; cf., further, AV. 2, 15, 1 etc.; 10, 3, 14 etc. We may compare, in a more extensive unit : 1, 17, 2 *tiṣṭhāvare tiṣṭha para uta tvaṃ tiṣṭha madhyame* "stop, lower one! stop, upper one! do thou too stop, midmost one!" and other sentences of similar structure. In liturgic formulas this type of expression or exclamation is extremely frequent : MS. 2, 9, 8 *nama ākhidāya ca prakhidāya ca*; VS. 16, 40 *nama ugrāya ca bhīmāya ca*, and many other instances which may easily be found in the Vedic Concordance; besides, such cases as HG. 1, 15, 3 *ahar dyaus ca prthivī ca*. As instances borrowed from post-Vedic texts are sufficiently quoted in other sections of this book — cf. e.g. Mbh. 3, 74, 3 *yathā ca manasas tuṣṭir hṛdayasya ca nirvṛtiḥ* (where the former *ca*, though syntactically belonging to *m. t.* is regardless of this connection the second word in the clause³⁶) — we may pass them over here.

In other cases an additional element occurs at the end of the parallelism : AV. 11, 7, 12b *viśvajic cābhijic ca yaḥ* "(the) all-conquering and the victorious one" (a convenient device for compensating the *praśliṣṭasandhi*); RV. 3, 59, 2 *na hanyate na jīyate tuotaḥ* "he is not killed, not conquered (who is) favoured by thee"; 46, 4 *uta ṛbhava uta rāye no āsvinā*; 8, 1, 5 *na sahasrāya nāyutāya vajrivah*; 10, 107, 7 *daṁṣṇāśvaṃ daṁṣṇā gāṃ dadāti*; 8; AiB. 8, 23, 7 (metr.) *na pūrve nāpare janāḥ*. The same parallel set can be extended in various ways : *divaś ca gmaś ca* is followed by *dhūtayaḥ* RV. 1, 37, 6, by *martyam* 10, 22, 6, by *rājasi* 1, 25, 20, by *rājataḥ* 5, 38, 3, by *apām ca jantavaḥ* 10, 49, 2. Cf. also Mbh. 3, 54, 4 *na naktam na divā śete* and innumerable other instances.

Both beginning and end of a unit have such an element in RV. 9, 86, 29c *tvam dyām ca prthivīm cāti jabhrise* "thou hast extended over heaven and earth"; 10, 113, 9c *indro dhruviṃ ca cumuriṃ ca dambhayan* and other cases.

Continuing this description of the symmetrical structure of many components of the Vedic mantra literature it should be observed that the parallel word groups can, further, be interrupted by inserting a word in one of its

³⁶) Cf. Mnemosyne 4, 7 (1954), p. 284 f.

members : AV. 8, 1, 3 *iha te 'sur iha prāṇa / ihāyur iha te manaḥ* "here (be) thy life, here breath, here life-time, here thy mind" (cf. 3, 28, 4 and RV. 4, 36, 9); RV. 1, 148, 5 *na yaṃ ripavo na riṣaṇyavaḥ*; 41, 8 *na yat paro nāntaraḥ*; 8, 2, 5; 10, 89, 6; 10 b, and other cases mentioned above. The insertion is sometimes twofold : RV. 6, 67, 9 *na ye devāsa ohasā na martāḥ*; MS. 4, 13, 4 *anv enaṃ mātā manyatām anu pitā* "(his) mother must permit him, his father", or affect both members : RV. 10, 89, 13 *anv aha māsā anv id vanāni*; it can be accompanied by the above-mentioned 'extension': AŚ. 2, 2, 3 *yad avidvān yac ca vidvāṃś cakāra*; RV. 6, 63, 2 *na yat paro nāntaras tuturyāt* (cf. 8, 96, 2); 1, 62, 12b; 6, 52, 1. It is no matter for great surprise that particles (*ca, vai, tu* etc.) are often freely inserted: RVKh. 5, 87, 6 *yā antarā yās ca bāhyā alakṣmīḥ*; cf. also (in a double metrical unit) Manu 2, 22 *ā samudrāt tu vai pūrvād ā samudrāt tu paścimāt* "from the eastern ocean to the western"; 36. Very often a word is placed between the two members of the symmetrical system : RV. 1, 100, 15 *na yasya devā devatā na martāḥ*; 6, 24, 7 *na yaṃ jaranti śarado na māsāḥ*; 34, 3; 10, 43, 5; likewise when the symmetry is not otherwise interrupted : AV. 4, 16, 5 *yad antarā rodasī yat parastāt*; 7, 10, 1 *yaḥ sumnayuh suhavo yaḥ sudatraḥ*.

We may, however, not deceive ourselves by using such terms as extension or expansion. Part of the above quotations and many other passages are clearly instances of so-called contracted phrases (*zusammengezogene Satzglieder*). When two successive parts of a sentence have an element in common this is not necessarily expressed in each of them. As is well known this stylistic feature is among the four 'figures of speech' mentioned and explained already in Bharata's Nāṭyaśāstra : 17, 57 "when words agreeing with different (sets of) words are combined into one sentence by way of illuminating them together it is (an instance of) *dīpakā*—"condensed expression"³⁷⁾". Postponing a more detailed discussion of the relevant phenomena to another section³⁸⁾ of this volume we here briefly present some facts in connection with parallelism. In RV. 4, 17, 19 *nakir devā vārayante na martāḥ* "(whom) neither gods nor mortal beings push aside" the verb belongs to the mortal as well as to the gods, and in a similar way *ghnanti* might be supplied in 2, 27, 13 *nakīṣ taṃ ghnanty antito na dūrāt*; cf. also 11; 1, 165, 9; 3, 56, 1; 4, 25, 5; AV. 4, 18, 5c; 12, 1, 15b. Compare also constructions such as ŚB. 3, 5, 1, 21 *tām upaiva devā amantrayan-topāsurāḥ*. Similarly, in Greek: ε 32 οὔτε θεῶν πομπῇ οὔτε θνητῶν ἀνδροπῶν. We shall not discuss here the fact that these constructions when studied

³⁷⁾ = 16, 55 Kāv. ed. *nānādhikarānārthānāṃ śabdānāṃ saṃprakīrtitam / ekavākyena saṃyogāt tad dīpakam ihocyate*. The example given in the next stanza runs as follows: *sarāṃsi haṃsaiḥ kusumaiś ca vṛkṣā mattair dvirephaiś ca saroruhāṇi / goṣṭhībhir udyānavanāni caiva tasminn aśūnyāni sadā kriyante* "in that region fullness was, always effected by swans in the lakes, by flowers in the trees, by intoxicated bees in the lotus flowers and by friendly groups (of people) in the parks and forests". Here the last words illuminate so to say the foregoing part of the stanza which without them would be obscure. See also Diwekar, o.c., p. 31.

³⁸⁾ See ch. XXIV.

in connection with the whole of the sentence to which they belong, are often part of a longer 'contraction': in RV. 4, 53, 5 the words *savitā*, *mahitvanā*, and *paribhūh* belong to three parallel pairs of words: *trīr antarikṣam savitā mahitvanā trī rajāṃsi paribhūh trīni rocanā*. This type, of course, admits of various modifications: apart from the above cases in which the verb is omitted in the second member (cf. also RV. 6, 24, 8a; 10, 115, 5c) we come across such instances as RV. 8, 24, 5 *na te savyam na dakṣiṇam* etc.; AV. 4, 16, 8 *yaḥ samdeśyo varuṇo yo videśyaḥ* "Varuṇa who is of the same region, who is of a different region"; 3, 21, 1 *ye agnayo apsu antarye vṛtre*. Cf. also cases such as BhG. 2, 23 where the omission is not effected before the last (fourth) member of a parallelism: *nainam* + verb + subject (three times), *na* + verb + subject; Manu 2, 42 *kṣatriyasya tu maurvī jyā vaiśyasya śaṇātāntarī*; 239.

This process of 'contracting' the subsequent members of the parallel structures gradually led to a sentence structure which makes a 'modern' impression; JB. 1, 124 *te prātaḥsavanam eva prathamena nidhanena paryagrṇan, mādhyandināṃ dvitīyena, trītyasavanam trītyena* "by the first n. they took possession of the morning libation, by the second of the midday, by the third of the third 1."; cf. also 1, 182 (Caland no. 68); ŚB. 3, 2, 1, 3 *yāni śuklāni tāni divo rūpaṃ, yāni kṣṇāni tāny asyai*; 18; 5, 1, 19 *vayam vā ārtviṣṇāḥ smo vayam dakṣiṇīyāḥ*; Manu 2, 44 *kārpāsam upaviṭam syūd viprasyordhvavṛtam trivṛt | śaṇasūtramayaṃ rājño vaiśyasyaṅvikasautrikam* "the sacrificial string of a brahman must be made of cotton, be wound upwards, (consisting) of three threads, that of a kṣatriya (must be made) of hempen threads, that of a vaiśya of woollen threads.

Instances of more extended structures are not wanting: ChU. 7, 26, 2 (a 'śloka') *na paśyo mrtyum paśyati na rogaṃ nota duḥkhatām* "he who sees (this) does not see death, nor illness nor any sorrow".

In this case also the possibilities of variation are numerous. In BhG. 2, 24 *acchedyo 'yam adāhyo 'yam akledyo 'śoṣya eva ca* "not to be cut (is) he, not to be burnt (is) he, not to be wet nor yet dried" the pronoun *ayam* has been omitted twice, and the stanza gained in strength. An instance of progressive shortening is ChU. 7, 26, 2 *sa ekadhā bhavati, tridhā bhavati, pañcadhā saptadhā navadhā caiva* ... In ancient prose these cases of 'abridgment' are very common³⁹). BārU. 3, 2, 13 *pūṇyo vai pūṇyena karmāṇā bhavati, pāpaḥ pāpeneti* "verily, one becomes good by good action, bad by bad (viz. action)", a type of sequence common to many languages; 6, 1, 5 ... *āyatanam svānām bhavati, āyatanam janānām* ...; 3, 6; 45; 13; 20; ChU. 2, 1, 1; 12, 2; 6, 5, 1 ff.; 10, 1; 7, 5, 2 *cittam hy evaiṣāṃ ekāyanam, cittam ātmā, cittam pratiṣṭhā*. Interestingly enough the result may be another balanced structure: BārU. 2, 2, 2 *tad yā imā akṣan lohinyo rājayaḥ tābhir enaṃ rūdro 'nvāyattaḥ, atha yā akṣann āpas tābhīḥ parjanyaḥ, yā*

³⁹) AV. 15, 1, 8 *nīlenaivāpriyam bhrātṛvyaṃ prapnoti lohiteṇa dviṣantaṃ vidhyatīti* may not be considered a case in point, as *apriyam* qualifies *bhr.* alone.

kanīnakās tayā ādityaḥ, yat kṛṣṇaṁ tenāgniḥ etc., decreasing by degrees the parallelism of the thoughts expressed is retained throughout. Some other instances are Gobh. GS. 1, 4, 4 *prājāpatyā pūrvāhutir bhavati, sauviṣṭakṛty uttarā* "the former oblation belongs to P., the latter to S."; 8 which is an interesting, but by no means unique, case of double shortening : *sa yat prathamam nidadhāti sa pāṛthivo balir bhavaty, atha yad dvitīyam sa vāyavyo, yat tṛtīyam sa v., yac caturtham sa p.*; 1, 5, 6; 7; a double instance is 1, 9, 14 *ā sāyamāhuteḥ prātarāhutir nātyety, ā prātarāhuteḥ sāyamāhutir, ā 'māvāsyāyāḥ paurṇamāsaṁ nātyety, ā paurṇamāsyā āmāvāsyam* : there is a parallelism between both parts of the former and a similar parallelism between both parts of the latter statements, and these statements themselves run also parallel. Cf. the omission of the verb *asti* "to be" : JB. 1, 154 *devāḥ . . te 'nyata āsann, asurā. . . anyataḥ*; of another verb *ibid.* : *devalokam eva devā abhajanta, pitṛlokam pitaro, manuṣyalokam manuṣyāḥ*; of other elements : 1, 179 *yad dha vai kiṁ ca parācīnam agniṣṭomāt tad andham tamo, yat parācīnaṁ samvatsarāt tad andham tamaḥ*. It is clear that these parallelisms also are determined by the correspondences in ideas underlying these statements. The correspondent lines may be separated by other statements : JB. 1, 187.

Greek instances are : Od. ι 324 *τόσσον ἔην μῆκος, τόσσον πάχος εἰσοράσθαι*; Hes. Op. 101 *πλείη μὲν γὰρ γαῖα κακῶν, πλείη δὲ θάλασσα*.

For the omission of another element see e.g. AiBr. 3, 10, 1 ff.; 5 and 6, 1.

The verb which both members of the parallelism have in common is often placed in the middle of the 'pāda' : RV. 2, 12, 14 *yaḥ sunvantam avati yaḥ pacantam* "he who assists him who presses, he who (assists) him who cooks" (see above); 6, 3, 2 *nāṁho martam naśate na pradṛptiḥ*, where the verb and the common object are put there. Here the modern mode of expression would be "der mit seiner Gunst dem beisteht, der keltert und kocht" (Geldner) and "neither distress nor arrogance fall upon the mortal" (or "d. and a. do not f. u. . ."). These balancements are greatly helpful in 'analyzing' 'twin thoughts', i. e. in expressing by means of a partial repetition two parallel processes, the subjects (or objects) of which are identical, whereas the objects (or subjects) are different. In contradistinction to modern usage preference is given to (an imperfect, it is true) parallelism. We shall have to revert to this peculiarity in one of the succeeding sections. The common element is, however, often found in the second half of the unit : MS. 4, 9, 5 *daśa praticīr daśa bhāsy udicīḥ*; RV. 1, 124, 6 *nājāmim na pari vr̥ṇakti jāmim*; 10, 51, 5d; or, without interrupting the clause parallel, at the end : RV. 2, 12, 7 *yaḥ sūryam ya uśasaṁ jajāna*. Both ways can combine : RV. 6, 52, 13 b *ye antarikṣe ya upa dyavi śtha*, cf. Kauś. 135, 9d *y. a. ye ca d. śritāsaḥ*; and the frequent *y. a. y. d.* AV. 11, 10, 2 etc.

We now have to deal with the less frequent—but far from rare—occurrence of threefold parallel structures within the same unit : tricola. Beside the formula TĀ. 10, 31, 1 *tvaṁ yajñas tvaṁ viṣṇuḥ* we also find

PrāṇāgUp. *t. y. t. brahmā t. rudraḥ*. Other instances are : TS. 1, 1, 11 *dive tvā 'ntarikṣāya tvā prthiviyai tvā* "to heaven you, to the atmosphere you, to the earth you"; TĀ. 1, 5, 1 *nāgnir nendro na pavamānaḥ*; RV. 5, 54, 7b *na sredhati na vyathate na riṣyati* preceded by *na sa jīyate maruto na hanyate*; AV. 8, 1, 13 *bodhaś ca tvā pratibodhaś ca rakṣatām / asvapnaś ca tvānavadrāṇaś ca r. / gopāyaṁś ca tvā jāgrviś ca r.* "let both the knower and the attender protect you; i. b. the sleepless one and the . . . etc." In sacral and solemn language these tricola are like other forms of triplication widely distributed⁴⁰).

The above-mentioned types of interruption can occur : RV. 1, 24, 6 *nahi te kṣatram na saho na manyum*; 6, 25, 5. These constructions are not foreign to prose texts, more than three parallel clauses in succession being far from rare : BārU. 6, 1, 8 *yathā kalāḥ avadanto vācā, prāṇantaḥ prāṇena, paśyantaś cakṣuṣā, śṛṇvantaḥ śrotreṇa, vidvāṁso manasā, prajāyamānā retasā, evam ajīviṣmeti* "as the dumb, not speaking with speech, but breathing with the breath, seeing with the eye . . ., thus have we lived"; cf. e. g. also 6, 2, 9.

Instances of this stylistic phenomenon often exhibit the so-called tendency to 'increasing magnitude'. Here again, colloquial and literary usage in various other languages may furnish us with an abundance of illustrative parallels. A few instances may suffice (indignant Dutch lady in a letter) *dit alles vind ik gek, gewild, gewrongen* (notice the alliteration); (from a Dutch popular recitation) *hoe is-t-ie ? : : goed; hoe is-t-ie : : reuze; hoe is-t-ie : : kolossaal*⁴¹); from Lithuanian folk-songs *stovi puzeli / stov ir aگلē / stovi manu merguzēlė* "es steht eine Fichte, e. s. e. Tanne, e. s. meine Geliebte"⁴²). It may be noticed that these tricola often constitute a climax; not rarely the same or a similar thought is expressed in a threefold repetition of 'increasing magnitude'. Authors often adopted this device, in pathetic passages : Ennius 113 *o pater, o genitor, o sanguen dis oriundum*;

⁴⁰) Cf. especially O. Weinreich, in *Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni* IV, Rome 1929, p. 198 ff. According to this scholar the non-sacral trigemination and triplication is much more frequent in modern language than in antiquity, medieval Latin and modern Greek being richer in them than classical Latin and ancient Greek. In all probability this conclusion is due to an illusion: arising, in colloquial speech, as a rule from strong emotion on the part of the speaker, or from a desire to inculcate an idea or a truth (Schiller's *seid einig, einig, einig*) these 'devices' are of limited occurrence in higher literature. What does occur in literature is mainly the sacral and solemn triplication. There is no reason to suppose the ancients to have shown, in this point, other linguistic behaviour than the later generations who admitted these 'devices' to a greater extent to their literature.

⁴¹) It is interesting to mention that the name of a Dutch department, the 'Board of Agriculture', first called *Departement van Voedselvoorziening, Landbouw en Visserij* was, shortly after, renamed: *D. v. L., Vi. en Vo.*, because, the minister added in reply to those members of parliament who raised objection on account of the expense entailed by this at first sight senseless change, the old name presented difficulties in pronouncing.

⁴²) R. van der Meulen, *Die Naturvergleiche in den Liedern und Totenklagen der Litauer*, Thesis Leiden 1907, p. 64.

and in emotional discourse : Shakespeare, *Rom.* 3, 5 *speak not, reply not, do not answer me*; K. Lear 2, 4 *but yet thou art my flesh, my blood, my daughter* (anaphora is very frequent). Compare also Shakespeare, *Hamlet* 4, 5 *dear maid, kind sister, sweet Ophelia*; Vondel, Adam in b. 1705 *o knaegend naberou, o zweetende arbeit, o endelooze elenden*⁴³; Duhamel, *Entretiens* p. 122 . . . *de passer à vos yeux pour un niais, pour une "bellure", pour une tendre betterave*; Cécile p. n. p. 83 *j'ai bien vu que mon roman lui plaisait, l'enchantait, l'enthousiasmait*; A. Döblin, Berlin Alexanderplatz (1931), p. 60 *und Sie sind falsch verbunden, f. v. mein Herr, total f. v.*; p. 290 *Geld her, G. verdient, G. braucht der Mensch*.

Sanskrit instances are numberless : RV. 6, 54, 7 *mākir neśan mākim riśan / mākim sam sūri kevaṭe* "let not any one be lost; let it not be injured; let it not suffer fracture in a pit"; 1, 35, 3; 3, 31, 3; cf. also AV. 5, 4, 6 *imaṃ me kuṣṭha pūruṣaṃ, tam ā vaha, taṃ niṣkuru / tam u me agadam kuru* "this man of mine, O kuṣṭha — him bring, him relieve, him also make free from disease for me". The greater length of the last member is, here also, often achieved by adding an epithet to the last member : AV. 6, 65, 1 *ava manyur avāyatāva bāhū manoyujā* "down (be) fury, down the drawn (arrow), down the two mind-yoked arms"; cf. in Greek, *K* 76; *A* 265; 286. A fine Avestan parallel is Yt. 5, 53 . . . *pouru.spaṣtīm ībišyantəm, paiti.īaitīm dušmainyunəm, hadrā.nivāitīm hamərədanəm auravādanəm ībišyantəm* "far-reaching espying of the enemies, defence of the evil-minded ones, smiting down at one stroke the hostile inimical opponents". Another type is RV. 5, 78, 8 *yathā vāto y. vanaṃ y. samudra ejati* (the verb accompanies the last member) "as the wind, as the forest, as the sea moves . . .". Similarly, 8, 47, 17 *yathā kalām, y. śaphaṃ, y. ṛṇaṃ saṃnayāmasi* "as we (pay back) one sixteenth, as one eighth, as we p. b. the (whole) debt" (notice the climax). The third member may be lengthened by adding particles : AV. 7, 95, 3 *ātodinau nitodināv atho samtodināv uta*; cf. also 1, 17, 2 *tiṣṭhāvare, tiṣṭha para, / uta tvaṃ tiṣṭha madhyame*. BārU. 4, 4, 22 *sarvasya vaśi, s. iśānaḥ, s. adhipatiḥ*; ĀpŚS. 20, 18, 1 *ahaṃ syām, tvaṃ syāḥ, surāyāḥ kulajāḥ syāt*; MānGS. 1, 17, 5 *asmā bhava, paraśur bhava, hiranyam aśṛtaṃ bhava* "be a stone, be an axe, be insuperable gold". Mbh. 5, 112, 10 *na śṛṇomi, na paśyāmi, nātmāno vedmi kṛāṇaṃ*; 14, 33, 1 *priyo 'smi, mukto 'smi, vanecaro 'smi*; 12, 266, 21 *pitā dharmāḥ, pitā svargaḥ, pitā hi paramaṃ tapaḥ*; 3, 62, 3 (strong emotion) *hā hatāsmi, vinaṣṭāsmi, bhītāsmi vijane vane*; 63, 118; 120; cf. also 14, 35, 21 *sadāparṇaḥ sadā-puṣpaḥ sadā śubhaphalodayaḥ*; Kirfel, P.P. 57, 28 *yad āpnoti, yad ādatte, yac cātti viṣayaṃ prabhuḥ*; 341, 14 *ko me pitā vā bhrātā vā, kā me mātā bhaved iha ?* With chiasmus : MtP. 47, 72 *balir baddho, hato jambho, niha-taś ca virocanaḥ*. These tricola filling up a hemistich in such a way that the last colon coincides with the second pāda are a very common form of this

⁴³ Cf. also Vondel, Noah 503 *geil en trots en trouweloos*; RV. 6, 19, 10 *dhā ratnam mahi sthūram brhantam*; BārU. 6, 3, 5 *sa hi rājeśano (e < ā) 'dhipatiḥ*; Rām. 3, 15, 16 *sālais tālais tamālais ca*.

structure, cf. also AV. 16, 6, 1 *ajaiṣmādyāsanāmādyābhūmānāgasō vayam* "we have conquered today, w. h. won t., w. have become guiltless"; AV. 2, 7, 4; RV. 1, 5, 1 *ā tu etā, nī śidata, indram abhi pra gāyata* "kommet doch heran, setzet euch hin, stimmet auf Indra den Gesang an" (Geldner); Manu 2, 219 I; 3, 64. Kāvya poets often availed themselves of this opportunity presented by the speakers and the previous writers of Sanskrit and related languages : Aśv. Bc. 13, 28 *na dyauś cakāṣe prthivī cakampe / prajajvalus ca diśaḥ saśabdāḥ* (inverted order of words) "the sky lost its brightness, the earth shook, and the quarters blazed, crashing". Many ślokas are entirely filled up by a tricolon, the last member of which is contained in the second hemistich : Mbh. 3, 62, 30 *kasya tvam mṛgaśāvākṣi, katham cābhyāgatā vanam ? katham cedam mahat kṛcchram prāptavaty asi bhāvinī ?* Cf. also the structures Mbh. 3, 59, 3; 60, 23 (= Nala 8, 3; 9, 23). Compare also in prose, AiB. 3, 2, 1 f. *anyānyā devatā praṛge śasyatē, anyad-anyad uktham praṛge kriyate, anyad-anyad asyānnādyam graheṣu dhriyate ya evam veda*.

So, this common form of this structure, to which we shall have to return in discussing the composition of complete stanzas often consists of two parallel or symmetric pādas followed by a double pāda containing a third parallel thought, expressed in less succinct phrasing : Mbh. 14, 39, 10 *ūrdhvaṃ gacchanti sattvāsthā madhye tiṣṭhanti rājasāḥ / jaghanyaguṇasam-yuktā yānty adhas tāmāsā janāḥ* "they who abide in sattva go upwards, they who abide in rajas remain in the middle region; they who abide in tamas characterized by low qualities sink downwards"; AV. 7, 74, 2 *vidhyāmy āsām prathamām vidhyāmy uta madhyamām / idam jaghanyām āsām ā chinadmi stukām iṣa* "I pierce the first of them, I pierce also the midmost; now the hindmost one of them I cut like a tuft"; BārU. 6, 4, 21 *garbham dhehi sinivāli, g. dh. prthustuke, / g. te aśvinau devau ādhattam puṣkārāsrajaḥ*.

Whereas most instances of this very common phenomenon may be attributed to an innate sense of rhythm and alternation, other factors must in particular cases have exerted influence too. Thus, AV. 15, 12, 3 where the same thought is expressed first in a positive, then in a negative way, the negative particle adds a syllable to the second member of the parallel set : *sa cātisrjeḥ juhuyān na cātisrjen na juhuyāt*. The former instance of the following Pāli passage constitutes a natural climax : MajjhNik. 1, 150, 14 *lābhā sabrahmacārīnaṃ suladdhalābhā sabr., ye . . . puṇṇaṃ . . . labhanti dassanāya labhanti payirupāsanaṃ* "lucky the fellow disciples, twofold 1. the f. d. who are allowed to see and serve . . . P."

In this connection attention may be drawn also to structures such as Mbh. 7, 19, 21 *kvāsi pārtha ?, na paśye tvām, kaccij jivasi śatruhan ?* "where are you P., I don't see you, are you alive, killer of enemies ?" ⁴⁴⁾

⁴⁴⁾ Cf. also the well-known type Mbh. 7, 2, 24c *aśmīś ca śaktīś ca gadāś ca gurvīḥ*; 14, 36, 33 *tamo moho mahāmohaḥ*; 5, 107, 1 *nāste na śete nāharaṃ kurute*; Manu 9, 329 *maṇi-muktā-pravālānām*.

There are of course also instances of the opposite order of words, e. g. VS. 32, 12 *tad apaśyat, tad abhavad, tad āsīt* "he saw, he became, he was".

Apart from the above cases of 'contraction' the clause parallelism itself can be affected by a similar tendency to avoid repetition, or to save one or more syllables for metrical, rhythmical, or other reasons. Thus we find beside such pādas as RV. 3, 32, 3 *ye te śuśmaṃ ye taviṣim avaradhan* "who increased your strength, your courage" (the modern expression would be "y. s. and (y.) c.") in which the parallelism, though interrupted and immediately followed by a foreign element, is retained, instances like TB. 3, 7, 9, 8c *ye devayānā uta pitryānāḥ* "which (are) traversed by the gods, also (which are) t. by the Fathers" (and AV. 6, 117, 3c *ye d. p. cā lokāḥ*) in which parallelism in the above sense of the term is absent; AV. 12, 1, 50 ab *ye gandharvā apsaraso ye cārāyāḥ kimīdinaḥ* "the g. (and) a., and the a., k." : g. and a. are very frequently mentioned together, being each other's partners, so they are connected asyndetically; the other group is, by means of *cā* "on the other hand" added to complete the enumeration. Threefold balanced structures are not rarely reduced in the same way : AV. 9, 2, 24b *nāgñiḥ sūryo nota candramāḥ*; 18, 3, 20a; RV. 2, 33, 4 *mā tvā rudra cukru-dhāmā namobhīr / mā duṣṭutī vṛṣabha mā sahūti*; cf. also RV. 2, 33, 10 *arhasi bibharsi + obj. arhan + obj. / arhan idaṃ dayase viśvam abhvam*.

The same phenomenon is often accompanied by contraction : RV. 5, 42, 8c *ye aśvadā uta vā santi godāḥ* (followed by *ye vastradāḥ*); 10, 4, 2c *dūto devānām asi martyānām*; TB. 3, 1, 1, 6c *ye antarikṣaṃ pṛthivīm kṣiyanti* "who inhabit the atmosphere, the earth", a unit which may conveniently be compared to the strictly parallel pāda RVKh. 7, 55, 10c etc. *ye antarikṣe ye divi* and the sequences Kauś. 135, 9d *ye a. ye cā d. śrītāsah* and RV. 6, 52, 13b *ye a. ya upa dyavi śtha*.

It may parenthetically be remarked that for grammatical reasons a balanced structure is often, as to its outward form, incomplete, irregular or, strictly speaking, absent : RV. 1, 26, 10b *imaṃ yajñam idaṃ vacaḥ* "this sacrifice, this word"; AV. 7, 75, 2d; TB. 3, 7, 4, 9a *trīn paridhims tisraḥ samidhaḥ*, cf. RV. 3, 9, 9a. Such cases as TĀ. 6, 9, 1d *anu kāṇḍam atho phalam*, in which one term is replaced by another word so as to make the parallelism deficient must be distinguished from the foregoing type. The former type also often occurs after an introductory element : ChU. 4, 17, 8 *evam eṣāṃ lokānām āsāṃ devatānām asyās trayyā vidyāyā vīryeṇa* (prose, with a secondary caesura after *devatānām*).

Apart from parallel word groups the symmetry (parallelism of the schema) adopted is a phenomenon deserving to be dealt with specially. In AV. 7, 18, 2a both constructions, in a way, combine : *na ghraṃs tatāpa na hīmo jaghāna*; we might easily imagine a parallel set *na tatāpa na jaghāna*, but both members are split up by another element; the terms *gh.* and *h.*, it is true, show a considerable degree of correspondence, occupying the same place and expressing an opposite sense, but they lack any outward conformity : "not heat burned, not cold smote". AV. 11, 1, 30d *uttamaṃ*

nākaṃ paramaṃ vyoma "to the highest firmament, to the furthest vault" is a fine example of parallelism of thought expressed by two well-balanced pairs of words which while showing some outward identity (-*amam*) are mainly characterized by the similarity of their meaning and the correspondence of their rhythm. Cf. also R.V. 10, 164, 1b *apa krāma paraś cara* "go away, walk off"; 10, 90, 6 (after: *vasanto asyāsīd ājyam*) *grīṣma idhmaḥ śarad dhaviḥ*; AV. 6, 55, 2 *grīṣmo hemantaḥ śiśiro vasantaḥ* (see further on); ChU. 4, 3, 7 (metr.) *ātmā devānām janitā prajānām* "the self of gods, the creator of creatures" (second member longer).

The same type of course also occurs with 'insertion' of a term in the parallel word groups : R.V. 1, 160, 3 *dhenum ca prṣṇim vṛṣabhaṃ suretasam* "the spotted cow and the potent bull"; 4, 2, 11d *ditim ca rāsvādītim uru-ṣya*; 6, 16, 44a; or with 'extension' : MŚ. 1, 2, 6, 25 d *divaṃ gacha svar vinda yajamānāya mahyam*.

It may be mentioned in passing that sometimes the sense conveyed by the words does not confirm the first impression that we have to do with the repetition of the same schema. In R.V. 1, 58, 7c *agnim viśveṣām aratim vasūnām* the word group *v. v.* is split up by *ar.* which is an apposition to *agnim*; 3, 1, 10 *pituś ca garbhaṃ janituś ca babhre* "he bore the embryo of the father and generator"; 9, 87, 2 *pitā devānām janitā sudakṣaḥ* "the father and very capable creator of the gods" (cf. the pāda AV. 13, 3, 19b *pitā devānām janitā matinām* "father of the gods, generator of thoughts"). The very strong tendency to express themselves in parallelisms of words and parallelisms of thoughts has, however, doubtless exerted influence on the order of words in general as adopted by these poets.

As an outcome of the same tendency to symmetrical structure of units complementary pairs are not rarely split up so as to occupy, with other elements, alternating places in the usual fourfold sequence : R.V. 5, 43, 2 *dyāvā vājāya prthivī amṛdhre* "heaven and earth, (in order to obtain) *vāja*-("vigour, vital or vegetative power, victorious power"), the unremitting ones . . ."; 10, 46, 9 *dyāvā yam agnim prthivī janīṣṭām* "whom, Agni, heaven and earth procreated"; 1, 185, 2 *dyāvā rakṣataṃ prthivī no abhvat* "h. a. e. protect us from a horror"; 3, 6, 3 *dyaus ca tvā prthivī yajñīyāsaḥ* "h. a. e. worthy of worship, you . . ."; 4, 41, 6 *toke hite tanaya urvarāsu . . .*; 7, 65, 1 *mitraṃ huve varuṇaṃ pītadakṣam*; 1, 151, 6; 4, 1, 18; 8, 18, 20; 1, 94, 5; 4, 3, 3; 16, 19; 6, 68, 4; KS. 35, 11 *sūryaś ca tvā candramāś ca śrīṇītām*; etc. It may be observed that only part of the above instances are, with regard to intelligibility, complete in themselves; in 3, 6, 3 for instance *tvā* syntactically belongs to the next pāda⁴⁵). This feature also explains the in itself remarkable order of words R.V. 2, 27, 2 *mitro aryamā varuṇo juṣanta*, which is usually translated literally : "sollen . . .M., Arya-

⁴⁵) J. Whatmough, Language, London 1956, p. 97 is no doubt mistaken in considering any "illogical" arrangement of the order of words moulded upon this form — e.g. the Latin Verg. Aen. 9, 12 *quid dubitas? nunc tempus equos nunc poscere currus* — artificial.

man, V. gefallen finden" (Geldner), cf. also 1, 186, 2; 7, 60, 4; 51, 2 etc. Although A. is in the great majority of cases mentioned with M. and V. the others — whose names very often constituted a dvandva compound — are a much more intimate pair of highly frequent occurrence. This tendency is on the one hand counteracted by other tendencies which will be discussed elsewhere — among these the predilection for dvandva compounds is worthy of special notice —, and on the other hand intensified by the phenomena covered by Wackernagel's law : the decided preference of enclitic and other 'secondary' words for the place immediately following the first word of a clause, and by other consequences of the 'principle of parallelism' : ŚB. 11, 4, 3, 7 "(may S. bestow gifts on me, and) I. power, and M., V., S., and A. noble rank" is expressed as follows : *indro balaṃ me mitraḥ kṣatram varuṇaḥ somo 'gnir iti* : the other proper names are placed after the object *kṣatram*. Similarly RV. 6, 53, 1 *vāyur naḥ pātu savitā bhagaś ca*.

If compared to YDh. 1, 290 *putrān dehi dhanam dehi* the order of the terms in MG. 2, 13, 6 *putrān paśūn dhanam dhānyam* may perhaps be considered to have been determined, not only by a tendency to alliteration, but also by symmetrical schemata in which *putra-* and *dhana-* occupy the odd places. Cf. also Mbh. 14, 16, 33 *mātaro vividhā dr̥ṣṭāḥ pitaras ca prthagvidhāḥ*; with variation in the order of words : 28, 22 I *akṣaram ca kṣaram caiva . . . / akṣaram tatra sadbhāvaḥ svabhāvaḥ kṣara ucyate*.

The above phenomena regarding the order of words may also account for the structure of mantras and other units such as those following : RV. 8, 25, 13 *mitro yat pānti varuṇo yad aryamā* "which is guarded by M., V., and A."; 10, 98, 1 *mitro vā yad varuṇo vāsi pūṣā* "whether thou art M. or V. (or) P."; 1, 67, 5 *ajo na kṣām dādhāra prthivīm* "like the Unborn One he sustained the earth, the terrestrial world"; VS. 7, 27 *vāce me varcodā varcase pavasva* "O giver of splendour grow thou pure for splendour for my power of speech"; RV. 1, 70, 6 *devānām janma martāṃś ca vidvān*; 10, 149, 4 *dhartā divaḥ savitā viśvavāraḥ*; MS. 4, 12, 4 *ghṛtaṃ pibann amṛtaṃ cāru gavyam* "drinking ghee, the lovely nectar of cows"; TB. 1, 2, 1, 14 *darśam ahaṃ pūrṇamāsaṃ yajñam yathā yajai* "that I perform the sacrifice on the day of new moon and that on the day of full moon" : the pronoun *aham* expressing a certain emotion on the part of the person speaking often tends to occupy a position among the first elements of a sentence⁴⁶). In these instances the first and third (or sometimes the second and fourth) places are occupied by terms which could have formed part of parallelisms of the usual type. This order of words is not limited to the Veda. In Greek we find an exact parallel in, e. g., Od. ζ 230 *μείζονά τ' εἰσδέειν καὶ πάσσονα, καὶ δὲ κάρητος / οὐλας ἤκε κόμας* and cf. ι 324 *τόσσον ἔην μήκος, τόσσον πάχος εἰσοράσθαι*; cf. σ 195 . . . *μακροτέρην καὶ πάσσονα . . .*; and especially Pind. P. 4, 245 *πάχει μάκει τε*.

⁴⁶) See the author's article on the use and the position of the pronouns *aham* etc., Acta Orientalia 19, p. 211 ff.

That is to say : if we analyse the relative frequency of these parallelisms in the ancient Indian literature, we shall find them to enjoy considerable popularity. It can therefore hardly be a matter for great surprise that the above schemata have also made their influence felt when no bipartite or parallel thoughts were to be expressed at all. That means : if such sequences of words as RV. 6, 47, 28 *mitrasya garbho varuṇasya nābhik* "child of M., navel of V." in which both members of the fixed combination Mitra and Varuṇa occupy the a and c, or b and d, places are by their very frequency and popularity part and parcel of the author's inventory, the same words may easily tend to occupy the same places within a pāda consisting of four words or exhibiting a similar rhythm, even if this pāda does not form a bipartite structure. Thus we find : RV. 1, 129, 3 *mitrāya vacam varuṇāya saprathah* (here the pāda is syntactically speaking a unity); 1, 136, 6 m. v. var. *mīdhuse* (here *mī.* is a qualification of *var.*); 10, 65, 5 *mitrāya śikṣa varuṇāya dāṣuse* (here *d.* syntactically belongs to what follows); cf. also 8, 25, 17; 10, 36, 13 etc. etc. In a similar way such sequences as AV. 13, 3, 19 *pitā devānām janitā matinām* may have been, if not the basis upon which such pādas as RV. 9, 87, 2 *pitā devānām janitā sudakṣah* or 9, 86, 10 p. d. j. *vibhūvasuḥ* have been constructed, a mould in which to shape other, non-bipartite, ideas about a father and generator. A systematic examination of the relevant texts would no doubt bring a considerable number of other examples to light. Cf. e. g. AV. 13, 1, 34 *divam ca roha prthivīm ca roha* : 12, 3, 25 d. ca *yanti p. ca lokān*, TĀ. d. *dādhāra p. sadevam*; RV. 7, 75, 4d *divo dṛhitā bhuvanasya patnī*; 4, 53, 2 d. *dhartā bh. prajāpatiḥ* : AV. 2, 2, 1 *divyo gandharvo bhuvanasya yas patiḥ*; VS. 18, 16 *bṛhaspatīś ca ma indraś ca me* : RV. 7, 97, 10 *bṛhaspate yuvam indraś ca vasvaḥ*.

Some epic instances may be added : Mbh. 14, 32, 1 *brāhmaṇasya ca samvādam janakasya ca bhāvinī*; 41, 3 *devānām prabhavo devo manasaś ca trilokakṛt* "it is a deity, the creator of deities and of mind, creator of the three worlds"; cf. also Mbh. 3, 58, 46; 69, 15; 26.

We now come to a more systematic survey of those likewise frequent cases in which the basic schemata of the parallel word groups and the metrical units coincide : AV. 6, 57, 3 *viśvam no astu bheṣajam | sarvam no astu bheṣajam* "be every remedy ours; be all remedy ours"; and, in a bipartite form : 2, 17, 1 – 7 *ojo (saho etc.) asy ojo (saho) me dāḥ svāhā* "creative energy you are, give me creative energy, hail!"; RV. 5, 83, 5 *yasya vrate prthivī namnamīti y. v. śaphavaj jarbhurīti* "in whose ordinance the earth bends low; in w. o. hoofed animals leap about"; cf. 7, 17, 2; cf. also such a type as : AV. 1, 18, 1 *bhrātṛvyakṣayanam asi | bhrātṛvyacātanam me dāḥ svāhā* "adversary-destroying you are; adversary-expulsion give me : svāhā!"; ŚU. 6, 18 *yo vai brahmāṇam vidadhāti pūrvam | yo vai vedāṃś ca prahiṇoti tasmai*; BārU. 4, 3, 19. Cf., in Greek, e. g. B 102 f. As the main peculiarities of these structures will be discussed in the subsequent sections it may suffice here briefly to indicate some points of general interest.

A symmetrical form prevails in half-stanzas such as RV. 2, 12, 2 *yah*

pr̥thivīm vyathamānām adṛmhad / *yaḥ parvatān prakupitām aramṇāt* "who made firm the quaking earth, who set at rest the agitated mountains" — one of those lines which while being impressive for their solemnity are models of archaic literary art. Compare, in Homer, ε 331 f. ἄλλοτε μὲν τε Νότος βορέη προβάλεσκε φέρεσθαι, / ἄλλοτε δ' αὖτε Εἰς Ζεφύρω εἴλασκε διώκειν. Epic cases of hemistichic symmetry are BhG. 2, 56 *duḥkheṣu anudvignamānāḥ* / *sukheṣu vigataspr̥hāḥ* and 3, 3. Cf. also a tripartite structure such as ŚvU. 2, 6 *agnir yatrābhīmathyate vāyur yatrābhīyujyate somo yatrātīricyate* ...; 3, 3.

Very often the verb is not repeated in every member of a parallel set : AV. 1, 13, 1 *namas te astu vidyute* / *n. t. stanayitnave* / *n. t. astv aśmane* — making the insertion of long words easier. Variations in the order of the elements are—likewise partly caused by the requirements of versification—far from rare : AV. 1, 16, 2 *sisāyādhyāha varuṇaḥ* / *sisāyāgnir upāvati* "the lead Varuṇa blesses; the lead Agni favours"; 19, 62, 1 *priyaṃ mā kṛṇu deveṣu* / *p. rājasu m. k.*; RV. 2, 35, 15. Both members may consist of a long compound : ŚvU. 3, 11 *sarvānanaśirogrīvaḥ* / *sarvabhūtaguhāśayaḥ*; 17.

There are many counterparts of this schema in the Avesta : Yt. 13, 153 *imām ēa zām yazamaide, avam ēa asmānam yazamaide* "we worship this earth, we worship yonder sky (heaven)"; V. 19, 19 *yazamnō ahurēm mazdām, yazamnō aməšō spentō*. We might also compare Latin carmina, e. g. Marc. Emp. 28, 16 *sine manibus colligerunt, sine foco coxerunt, sine dentibus comederunt*; Lithuanian funeral lamentations⁴⁷): *neturiū nei jokiōs patėkėlės, neturiū sū kūmī pasidžiaugti* "I have no comfort whatever, I take no delight in anything".

These instances lead us to the occurrence of similar sequences in prose texts; being very frequent they appear—as has already been intimated in the previous chapter—in single, bipartite and serial form : TU. 1, 4, 3 *yaśo jāne 'sāni svaha, śreyān vasyaso 'sāni svāhā*; TS. 3, 2, 5, 7 *devakṛtasya-ainaso 'vayajanam asi, manuṣyakṛtasyain. 'v. a., pītṛkṛtasyain. 'v. a.*; AiU. 1, 2, 4 *agnir vāg bhūtvā mukham prāviśad, vāyuh prāṇo bh. nāsike p., ādityaś cakṣur bh., akṣiṇī p. . .*; BārU. 4, 3, 33; ChU. 1, 1, 4; 2, 8, 2. In the Old Persian inscriptions : NRa 1 *baga vāzrka ahuramazdā, hya imām būmim adā, hya avam asmānam adā* . . . "a great god is A., who has created this earth, who has created yonder sky . . ." may be compared, and in the deliberated literary art of Gorgias, the "Father of the figures of speech" (ὁ εὐρετής τῶν σχημάτων): *λαθὼν μὲν τὴν θείαν νέμεσιν* / *φρυγὼν δὲ τὸν ἀνθρώπινον φθόρον*.

As has already been occasionally intimated these cases of simple parallelism are not foreign to prose texts : AV. 16, 2, 5 *sauparnaṃ cakṣur ajasraṃ jyotiḥ* "eagle-like sight, unfailing light"; PB. 18, 11, 4 *aśrayan vāva śrāyantīyenā 'vārayanta vārayantīyena* "they (the gods) strengthened (Indra) by the ś. (a sāman), they warded off (the bad consequences) by

⁴⁷) Leskien, o.c., p. 34.

the v.”; JB. 1, 247 *tiryāṇṇ ayam vāyuh pavate*, ‘*rvāṇ asāv ādityas tapati* (the numbers of syllables do not always exactly agree); BārU. 6, 3, 7 in a double apodosis : . . . *jāyeran śākhāḥ, praroheyuh palāśānīti*; 2, 3, 1 . . . *mūrtaṃ caivāmūrtaṃ ca, martyaṃ cāmṛtaṃ ca* (forming part of a greater sentence); GobhGS. 3, 1, 18 f. *tiṣṭhed divā, āsita naktam*; 1, 8, 1 *pūrvam ājyam, aparāḥ sthālīpākāḥ*; 4, 1, 2 *prācīm ekasūlām, praticīm itarām*; 10, 11 *pūrvam anyam aparaṃ anyam*; 4, 8, 20 f. *vāsasas tantūn, gor vālān* “threads of garment, hair of an animal’s tail”. The main characteristic of this style is the so-called vertical correspondence : the cola consisting of similar sequences of words which forming syntactic units express parallel thoughts, are each of them arranged in the same way, the first, second (etc.) words of each corresponding to one another, or being even identical; in the former case, the elements occupying the same place very often have the same number of syllables, or they are partly similar.

We may also turn to those parallel syntactic groups the members of which are co-extensive with a metrical or rhythmical unit, without for the moment insisting on special correspondences of words or sounds (symmetry). In the brāhmaṇas parallel sets of this description are very common : JBr. 1, 247 (no. 90 C.) *ūrdhvo hy ayam agnir dīpyate, tiryāṇṇ ayam vāyuh pavate* (with insertion of a particle in the former member) “aufwärts leuchtet ja das Feuer, in der Quere weht der Wind”.

Being free from the limitations of the metrical unit the prose writer is often inclined to repeat a schema of some length : JB. 1, 130 *yadi rāthan-taraḥ somaḥ syād brhan nāntaryād*; *yadi b. s. s. r. nānt.*; BārU. 6, 4, 4.

In the ritualistic and philosophical arguments and discussions this leads to the well-known parallelisms extending over a plurality of sentences or paragraphs : AV. 15, 4, 1—6 *tasmai prācyā* (etc.) *disaḥ, vāsantaru* (etc.) *māsau goptārāv akurvan brhac ca rathantaram ca* (etc.) *anuṣṭhātārau* etc.; 8 f. and 9 f.; cf. 11, 3—6; 14, 1—12. ChU. 1, 2, 2—7 *atha ha nāsikyam prāṇam (vācam, cakṣur etc.) u. u. t. . . etc.*; BārU. 2, 1, 2 ff., 4, 6; 3, 6, 1; 7, 1; 7, 3 ff.; 4, 3, 2 ff.; 31; 33; 4, 2. Not rarely a particle such as *ca*—which expresses the idea of complementary connection⁴⁸⁾—is inserted: GobhGS. 3, 7, 12 *sūrpe saktūn āvapati, camase codakam ādatte*. Or the parallel set is introduced, or followed, by another term : GobhGS. 1, 2, 5 *upaviśya trir ācāmed dviḥ parimṛjita*; 1, 8, 4 *agnaye svāhety uttarataḥ, somāya svāheti dakṣinataḥ prakśo juhuyāt*.

These parallel utterances are often preceded by a ‘preamble’, some opening words which, or the schema of which, are not repeated : BārU. 2, 4, 5 *na vā are patyuh kāmāya patih priyo bhavati, ātmanas tu kāmāya patih priyo bhavati*, a schema much to be repeated in the same paragraph, cf. also 4, 5, 6; 4, 5, 12 . . . *evaṃ sarveṣāṃ sparśānām tvag ekāyanam, e. s. gandhānām nāsike e., e. s. rasānām jihvaik.* etc., 12 times in succession.

In describing the line of conduct to be taken under various circum-

⁴⁸⁾ See the above-mentioned article in Vāk.

stances authors are often inclined to express themselves by means of a series of identical sentence structures : ChU. 1, 1, 9 *aum ity āśrāvayati, aum iti śamsati, aum ity udgāyati*; cf. also 3, 15, 5 ff. GobhGS. 3, 1, 21 ff. *varṣantaṃ brūyād . . . iti, vidyotamānaṃ brūyād . . . iti, stanayantaṃ brūyād . . . iti*; 4, 5, 15 ff. . . . *prāktūleṣu brahmavarcasakāmaḥ, udaktūleṣu putrapaśukāmaḥ, ubhayeṣūbhayakāmaḥ*.

Very often, however, the differences observable between objects, ideas or phenomena which are largely similar, develop on parallel lines, or have in particulars a close resemblance, induce the author to express himself in this way even in those cases in which modern writers would prefer to vary the choice of their words or to omit one of the recurrent elements : ChU. 2, 22, 3 *sarve svarā indrasyātmanaḥ, s. uṣmāṇaḥ prajāpater ā., s. sparśā mrtyor ā.*; 4, 5, 2. GobhGS. 3, 10, 26 f. *prākśīrasam udakpadīm devadevatye, dakṣiṇāśīrasam pratyakpadīm pitṛdevatye*; this construction was without any doubt also common in daily usage, cf. BārU. 2, 2, 4 *imāv eva gotamabharadvajāu, ayam eva g., ayam bh.* "these two here are G. and Bh., this is G., this is Bh."

Here also the insight into the correspondence and resemblance between the phenomena of nature, which was the very basis of man's power to control them, was given utterance to by means of a highly adequate stylistic procedure; however monotonous it may appear to a modern reader, it had the advantages of 'scientific' exactness, and is surveyable; it was, moreover, fully sufficient for mnemonic purposes.

Attention may also be drawn to some particular cases. The term 'interrupted parallelism' might be applied to the stanza BhG. 7, 9 *punyo gandhaḥ prthivyaṃ ca tejaś cāsmi vibhāvasau | jīvanam sarvabhūteṣu tapas cāsmi tapasviṣu* : by this repetition of the schema and part of the elements of the second pāda in addition to the identical structure of the pādas a and c the stanza has become rather symmetrical in construction. Alternations of this kind are far from foreign to the Vedic saṃhitās : AV. 2, 12, 1a : c *dyāvāprthivi urv antarikṣam | kṣetrasya patny urugāyo 'dbhutaḥ | utāntarikṣam uru vātagopam* (cf. the Vedic Concordance); 3, 1, 5a : 6a; 6, 27, 1a : 2a *devāḥ kapota iṣito yad ichan : śivaḥ k. i. no astu* (= RV. 10, 165, 1a : 2a); 6, 48, 1a : 3a⁴⁹); 6, 102, 1c : 2a; 5, 29, 14a : 15a; cf. also 6, 26, 1a : 2a; 60, 2a : c; 78, 2c : 3c; 6, 139, 5a : c, etc. etc. A compound sentence : AV. 4, 4, 1. — For prose texts cf. e. g. BārU. 5, 5, 3. — A Greek instance : K 292 : 294.

Three parallel lines interrupted by a line of different structure : BhG. 14, 18 *ūrdhvaṃ gacchanti sattvasthā | madhye tiṣṭhanti rājasāḥ | jaghanyaguṇavṛttisthā | adho gacchanti tāmasāḥ* : in describing the effects of the three possibilities the poet clings to a strict parallelism, adding in a very usual way a qualification to the third subject by which the last member of the parallelism is extended so as to be by far the longest. Compare also such a rather complicated stanza as BhG. 3, 14.

Prose instances are not wanting : AV. 15, 7, 3 and 5, the latter sentence

⁴⁹) Cf. Whitney-Lanman, o.c., p. 316: "not metrical".

being however longer. A Greek instance may be quoted from Homer, ζ 9 f. . . . καὶ ἐδεύματο οἴκους, / καὶ νηὸς πόλινσε θεῶν, καὶ ἐδάσσατ' ἀρούρας.

Part of these symmetrical word groups express a string or enumeration. In cases like AV. 6, 55, 2a *grīṣmo hemantaḥ śiśiro vasantaḥ* "summer, winter, cool season, spring" (cf. TS. 5, 7, 2, 4a *g. h. uta no vas.*) this copulative character is manifest. The couple *g. h.* often recurs, also *vas. g.* (cf. e. g. KS. 13, 15a *v. g. madhumanti varṣāḥ*) and, in compounds, *hemantaśiśira-* (see V. Conc. 1071); the group *śiś. vas.* which is not known to me from other texts may have arisen under the influence of the parallelism. Cf. also AV. 2, 29, 4a (= 3, 5, 4b) *indreṇa datto varunena śiṣtaḥ* "given by I., instructed by V."; 4, 11, 7a *indro rūpeṇāgnir vahena*; 5, 5, 1a *rātrī mātā nabhaḥ pitā*; 28, 14a *ghṛtād ulluptaṁ madhunā samaktaṁ* "taken out of ghee, anointed with honey". In these instances rhyme and other varieties of identity of sound are again apt to appear. Another instance of a fourfold enumeration is 5, 29, 6a *āme supakve śabale vipakve*. In the Rgveda we similarly find 6, 47, 28 *indrasya vajro marutām anikam / mītrasya garbho varuṇasya nābhīḥ* "child of M., navel of V." In prose texts these symmetrical groups are very frequent : BārU. 3, 9, 2 *aṣṭau vasavaḥ ekādaśa rudrāḥ dvādaśa-dityāḥ*; 3, 8, 3 *yad ūrdhvaṁ yājñavalkya divaḥ, yad avāk prthivyāḥ, yad antarā dyāvāprthivī ime*. We can compare here such well-known German enumerations as MHG. *Lotringen unde Brabant, Vriesen unde Hollant* (rhyme)⁵⁰.

It may be parenthetically observed that in forming 'strings' vertical correspondence is always apt to turn up: *B* 102 ff. "H. μὲν δῶκε Διὶ Κρονίωνι ἄνακτι, / αὐτὰρ ἄρα Ζ. δ. διακτόρῳ ἀργεῖφόντῃ" / "E. δὲ ἄναξ δ. Πέλοπι πληξέπῳ / αὐτὰρ ὁ αὖτε Π. δ. Ἀτρεΐ, ποιμένι λαῶν, after this verse the poet changes the schema; or in a brief enumeration : *A* 24 f. A series of 12 parallel phrases of endearment is put by Plautus into the mouth of one of his characters : *Poen.* 365 ff. *mea voluptas, mea delicia, mea vita, mea amoenitas* etc.

As has already been observed this device is also used to express contrasts : AV. 5, 20, 2 *vṛṣā tvam vadhrayas te sapatnāḥ* (notice the alliteration) "virile are you, impotent your rivals". The ancient literatures of the cognate languages provide us with many instances. In Greek the antithetic construction τῷ μὲν κλέος, ἄμμι δὲ πένθος (*A* 197) is well known. Cf. also the type Hes. Op. 319 αἰδώς τοι πρὸς ἀνολβίῃ, θάρος δὲ πρὸς ὄλβῳ; 586. But apart from antithesis we come across such pithy and powerful parallelisms as *K* 226 βράσσων τε νόος, λεπτή δέ τε μῆτις; Hes. Op. 762 ἀργαλέη δὲ φέρειν, χαλεπή δ' ἀποθέσθαι; 789 αἰμυλούς τε λόγους κρυφίους τ' ὀαρισμούς; cf. also 404 φράζεσθαι χρεῶν τε λύσιν λιμοῦ τ' ἄλεωρήν. Other Sanskrit examples are: BārU. 4, 4, 23 *nāinam pāpmā tarati, sarvam pāpmānam tarati* "evil does not overcome him; he overcomes all evil". ŚB. 3, 5, 1, 15 is a fine example of a longer structure : *śvāhsutyām vai tvam asmabhyam agne prāvoco 'tha vāyam adyasutyām eva tubhyaṁ prabhrūmaḥ* "you have announced to

⁵⁰) See Strümpell, o.c., p. 173.

us a soma-feast for tomorrow; but we announce you a s.-f. even for today". Cf. also *Manu* 3, 136 *āśrotṛīyaḥ pitā yasya putraḥ syād vedapāragaḥ* / *a. vā putraḥ syāt pitā s. v.*; and in the form of a compound sentence : *Mbh.* 11, 17, 13 *yaṃ purā paryupāsīnā ramayanti varastṛīyaḥ* / *taṃ viraśayane suptaṃ r. aśivāḥ śivāḥ*.

Some remarks may be made on the type represented by *AV.* 3, 18, 1 *yayā sapatnīm bādhathe* / *yayā saṃvindate patiṃ* "with which one drives off a rival, with which one wins completely one's husband". This construction whilst on the one hand joining the above instances in that two complementary thoughts are fitted together is on the other hand characterized by a variation (chiasmus). Cf. also 4, 5, 7 *otsūryaṃ anyānt svāpayāvyaṣaṃ jāgrtād aham*. Two complementary thoughts expressed in an unbroken sequence : 3, 18, 2 *sapatnīm me parā nuda patiṃ me kevalaṃ kṛdhi* : notice the correspondence : *me — me, nuda — kṛdhi*. The concatenation of thoughts may in a way be considered to express a climax in cases such as *AV.* 3, 23, 1 *yena vevad babbhūvitha nāśayāmasi tat tvat* / *idaṃ tad anyatra tvad apa dūre nī dadhmasi*. Elsewhere the poet combines two slightly different thoughts : 5, 25, 5 *yathā mama kratāv aso mama cittam upāyasi*.

Repetition of the same schema is also a very apposite means of expressing reciprocity : *BārU.* 2, 5, 1 *iyaṃ pṛthivī sarveṣāṃ bhūtānām madhu, asyai pṛthivyai sarvāṇi bhūtāni madhu* "this earth is honey for all creatures, and a. c. are h. f. the e.". A well-known sequence of words is *AV.* 2, 11, 3 *yo 'smān dveṣṭi yaṃ vyaṃ dviṣmaḥ* etc.; 3, 6, 1 *yān ahaṃ dveṣmi ye ca mām* "whom I hate and who (hate) me" : although the parallelism is (3, 6, 1) not perfect the repetition of the pronouns and the chiasmic repetition of their case forms does not fail to suggest reciprocity. Cf. also *RV.* 10, 14, 3 *yāṃs ca devā vāvṛdhur* / *ye ca devān*. A tripartite structure is *BārU.* 3, 9, 27 *yo vaḥ kāmāyate, sa mā pṛcchatu, sarve vā mā pṛcchata*; *y. v. k., taṃ vaḥ pṛcchāmi, sarvān v. vaḥ pṛcchāmi*. Some of these instances are strikingly similar to Egyptian examples occurring in the pyramid texts : "bitten is the female snake by the male snake / bitten is the m. s. by the f. s."⁵¹). Attention might also be drawn to passages such as *ŚB.* 5, 4, 3, 21 "the earth is afraid of him, thinking: "... I fear lest he may rend me asunder" (*yad vai māyaṃ nāvadrñīyāt*) and he also is afraid of her, thinking: "I f. l. she may shake me off" (*yad vai meyaṃ nāvadhūnvīta*)". It is not surprising to find cases of 'contraction' : *ŚB.* 5, 4, 3, 20 *na hi mātā putraṃ hinasti, na putro mātaram* "for a mother does not injure (her) son, nor (does) a son i. (his) m."

Complementary ideas or processes are in a similar way distributed over a balanced binary structure : *AV.* 6, 115, 2 *yadi jāgrad yadi svapan*; 5, 14, 6 *yadi strī yadi vā pumān*; 23, 13 *sarveṣāṃ ca krimiṇām* / *sarvāsāṃ ca krimiṇām*.

In many cases there are slight deviations from a strictly parallel repe-

⁵¹) Firthow, o.c., p. 118.

tition of the same schema : AV. 6, 109, 3 *asurās tvā ny akhanan / devās tvad avapan punaḥ*; 5, 14, 7 *yadi vāsi devakṛtā / y. vā puruṣaiḥ kṛtā*; 4, 12, 7 ab; 4, 9, 10 ab; 2, 14, 5a-c; 5, 23, 7 *ṛṣṭas ca hanyatām krimir / utāḍṛṣṭas ca h.*; cf. also 5, 8, 7 (chiasmus) *yān . . . cakāra / kṛṇavac ca yān*; 6, 37, 3 = 7, 59, 1 *yo naḥ śapād aśapataḥ / śapato yaś ca naḥ śapāt*; 4, 36, 2.

In repeating pronouns may be used to refer to an idea which has been mentioned explicitly in the preceding member of the parallelism. Although this device is very common in non-primitive expression of thought, it is not foreign to the primitive style in which it is however apt to combine with parallelism. Cf. e.g. BārU. 5, 12, 1 *kim svid evaivam viduṣe sādhu kuryām, kim evāsmā asādhu kuryām*. In other cases the parallelism has almost been given up : AV. 2, 32, 1 *udyann ādityaḥ krimīn hantu / nimrocan h. raśmibhiḥ*.

After the general survey made, in the preceding section, of those parallel groups which in their simplest form do not exceed the limits of a metrical or rhythmic unit, we now come—in addition to what has already been said on this subject—to discuss those series of syntactically allied words which while filling the whole of a unit are arranged in such a way as to form a parallel group with a similar phrase. It may be remarked at the outset that, the word group being longer, the correspondences of sound and form can be more complex and show greater variations.

Instances of repetition of a large part of the words concerned, one term being substituted by a word of the same semantic category, are not rare. The style of the brāhmaṇas which under the influence of the schematic formulation of thoughts indulges in various kinds of reiteration in order to throw light upon all aspects of the subject under discussion, or to emphasize the existence, or presumed existence, of connections or parallels, of identity or similarity, quite naturally led the authors to make the most of the opportunities presented by the traditional language of the intellectual circles. The inclination of the ancient singers, poets, priests and magicians to couch their lays, traditions, prayers and formulas in 'carmina' was readily shared by the mystics and ritualists who are speaking in the brāhmaṇas; they felt no objection whatever to reiterating even long sentences or to repeating the same schemes and sequences of words in order to assert the importance of the identity of, or the correspondence between, the facts and phenomena to the study of which they had devoted their lives. The few examples given below could easily be multiplied.

When formulating the wish to obtain a homestead in the terrestrial sphere, in the intermediate space and in heaven, the author of the JB. 1, 219 expresses himself in this threefold way : *yāś catasro diśo 'smiml loke, tāsu sarvāsu pratitiṣṭhāma*; y. c. d. 'ntarikṣe l., t. s. p.; y. c. d. 'muṣmiml loke, t. s. p.; when explaining, by means of etymological arguments that the hare as well as the god Yama resides in the moon, he says, 1, 28, *eṣa vai śaśo ya eṣo 'ntaś candramasy*; *eṣa hīdam sarvaṃ śāsti. eṣa vai yamo ya eṣo 'ntaś c.*; *eṣa hīdam s. yamati*, continuing, in order to make clear the

identity of the latter : *eṣa vai mrtyur yad yamo* . . . Cf. e. g. also 2, 98; 135; 249 f. A succession of parallel regulations is preferentially related by means of identical and closely corresponding terms : GobhGS. 1, 9, 14 *ā sāyamāhuteḥ prātārāhutir nātyety, ā prātārāhuteḥ sāyamāhutir; ā 'mā-vāsyāyāḥ paurṇamāsaṃ nātyety, ā paurṇamāsyā āmāvāsyam*. Contrasts, pairs of opposites, in short any parallelism may be described in a similar way : JB. 1, 297 *tad yad rathantarasyarcaivāpariṣṭubhya prastauti, tasmād rāthantarāḥ paśavo 'sthipratiṣṭhānā ādyāḥ; atha yasmād brhataḥ stobhena pariṣṭubhya prastauti, t. bārhatāḥ p. māṃsap. attārah* : here *yad* (often *tad*) is replaced by *yasmād*. Cf. also ŚB. 3, 1, 3, 16 *sa dakṣiṇaṃ sakrd yaḥ yajūṣānakti sakrt tūṣṇīm, athottaram s. y. a. dvis t*. The close correspondence between the mythical past and actuality is also described and explained by the literal repetition, not only of the same schema, but also of as large a number of words as possible : ŚB. 3, 3, 3, 16 *ta etena yaḥ yajūṣā nāṣtrā rakṣāṃsy apāhatyāitasya yaḥ yajūṣo 'bhaye 'nāṣtre nivāte svasti samāśnuvata; tatho evaiṣa e. y. n. r. a. y. 'bh. 'n. n. s. samaśnute* "having warded off the evil spirits by means of that formula, they attained well-being . . . ; and so does he, after having w. o. . . attain . . ."; 3, 2, 1, 28; JB. 1, 123 *yaudhājayena vai devā asurān samvicya rauravenaiṣāṃ ravamāṇānāṃ svam ādadata. y. eva dviṣantaṃ bhrātṛyaṃ s. r. asya ravamāṇasya s. ā. ya evaṃ veda*. Such a binary structure may also be introduced by a . . . *ca* . . . *ca* group : JB. 1, 5 . . . *ahaś caiva rātriś ca; te ye naktam juhvati, rātrim eva te samudram praviśanti. atha ya udite j., ahar e. te s. p.* ; here both sentences are clearly complementary. Instances of longer and more complicated parallel structures are likewise very numerous : JB. 1, 296 the characteristics of the rathantara and the brhat are contrasted : *tad yad rathantarasyarcaivāpariṣṭubhyordhvam iva prastauti, tasmād ayam ūrdhvo loka ūrdhvo 'yam agnir dīpyata ūrdhvā oṣadhaya ūrdhvā vanaspatayaḥ sarvam evōrdhvam. atha yasmād brhataḥ stobhena pariṣṭubhyau ho ity arvān p., t. asāv arvān loko 'rvān asāv ādityas tapaty arvān candramā arvāñci nakṣatrāṇy arvāci vṛṣṭir eti sarvam evārvāk*.

In describing the formed and the formless brahman BārU. 2, 3, 1 f. compares them in the following way : *tad etan mūrtaṃ yad anyad vāyoś cāntarikṣāc ca : athāmūrtaṃ v. cānt. ca; etan martyam, etat sthitam, etat sat : e. amṛtam, e. yat, e. tyat; tasyaitasya mūrtasya, etasya martyasya etasya sthitasya etasya satā eṣa raso ya eṣa tapaṭi etc. : tasyaitasyāmūrtasya, etasyāmṛtasya, e. yataḥ etasya tasyaiṣa raso ya eṣa etasmin mandale puruṣaḥ* etc. Cf. also 4 f. It is interesting to notice how the author of BārU. 4, 4, 3f. in illustrating a difficult point by some comparisons does, in the main, not depart from the schema chosen for expressing the first one : 3 *tad yathā trṇajalāyukā . . . gatvā, anyam ākramam ākramya, ātmānam upasaṃharati, evam evāyam ātmā, idaṃ śariraṃ nihatya, avidyāṃ gamayitvā, anyam ākramam ākramya, ātmānam upasaṃharati* : 4 *t. y. peśaskārī . . . upādāya anyam . . . rūpaṃ tanute, e. e. ā., i. ś. n., a. g., anyam . . . rūpaṃ kurute*. The definitions of brahman proposed in ch. 4, 1, 2 ff. of the same upaniṣad

are, all six of them, similar and as far as possible, identical. Each definition is called forth by exactly the same question : *yad eva te kaścīd abravīt tat śṛṇavāma*, each answer introduced by the same formula "X told me that brahman is y.", which is criticized in exactly the same way, etc. etc.

Sometimes the parallelism is interrupted by a foreign clause : ŚB. 9, 5, 1, 35.

Side by side with these comparatively simple instances we also find multiple parallel word groups in which more than one term is replaced by a similar word. This may be occasioned by context and situation : AV. 15, 2, 1 etc.; 15, 6 : nine times in succession *sa dhruvām (uttamām etc.) diśam anu vyacalat* "he moved towards the fixed (upward etc.) quarter" followed by "after him moved both earth and fire (right and truth etc.)" and a longer sentence exhibiting similar variation. This variation often concerns long litanies or enumerations : GobhGS. 2, 6, 7 we find 7 times in succession *yady asi saumī (vārunī, vasubhyah etc.) somāya (varuṇāya, vasubhyas etc.) tvā parikrīṇāmi*. BārU. 3, 2, 2—9 it reads, 8 times in succession : *prāṇo (vāg, jīhvā etc.) vai grahaḥ. sa gandheṇa (nāmnā, rasena etc.) atigraheṇa grhītaḥ : prāṇena (vācā, jīhvayā etc.) hi gandhān (namāny, rasān etc.) jighrati (abhivadati, vijānāti etc.)*; 8, 9; cf. also ChU. 5, 1, 8 ff.

In the brāhmaṇas partially identical repetitions of compound sentences are no rarity : AiB. 1, 14, 6 *prāci tiṣṭhaty ādadhati, tena prāciṃ diśam jayati; tam dakṣiṇā parivahanti, t. dakṣiṇām d. j.; tam pratyañcam āvartayanti, t. pratiṣṭhā d. j.; tam udicas tiṣṭhata upāvaharanti, tenodiciṃ d. j.*; cf. also 8, 10, 1 *ta etasyām prācyām (dakṣiṇasyām etc.) diśi yetire, tāms tato 'surā ajayan*; 8, 12, 4; BārU. 2, 4, 6.

Space does not permit quoting such interesting structures as for instance AiB. 2, 8; 2, 41; 7, 9; 8, 14; 19 etc.; ŚB. 3, 5, 1, 1ff.; 8, 5, 2, 7ff.; 13, 3, 7, 1 ff; PB. 1, 9 f.; ChU. 2, 24, 3 ff.; 3, 1, 2 ff.; 6, 6. A very remarkable instance of a longer parallelism was already briefly dealt with by Minard ⁵²): ŚB. 12, 7, 1, 2 ff.

Sometimes an initial parallelism changes into an extreme form of variation : JB. 1, 11 *sa yat kiṃ ca parācīnam ādityāt, tad amṛtaṃ, tad abhi-jayati; atha yad arvācīnam ā., ahorātre tad upamathatnītām ito yathā . . . evam*; ChU. 5, 24, 1f.; ŚB. 3, 1, 1, 2.

In addition to the above types of sentence parallelism the brāhmaṇas offer a variety which deserves special attention. ŚB. 3, 3, 2, 14 after having stated *sa vā udācam nyācam mimīte* "he metes out while bending up and down (the fingers) and having given an exposition of the reasons why the person concerned has to act in this particular way (*sa yad udācam nyācam mimīte . . .*), concludes in this way: *tasmād vā udācam nyācam mimīte* "this is why he metes out . . ." (cf. also 15; 16; 17). This is an instance of 'ring composition' : "man bringt den Anfang einer Reihe fast wörtlich noch

⁵²) A. Minard, *Trois énigmes sur les Cent Chemins*, Paris 1949, p. 30 f.

einmal, um anzudeuten, dass damit der Kette abgeschlossen sein soll"⁵³); "la composition trahit la raideur d'un art primitif; mainte tirade notamment s'encadre entre deux formules, l'une posant le thème, l'autre, en termes presque identiques, le rappelant pour conclure"⁵⁴). This structure which was doubtless borrowed from colloquial usage is a well-known feature in archaic literary composition⁵⁵). Cf. also ŚB. 4, 3, 4, 8 *sauribhyām ṛgbhyām juhōti. tamasā vā asau loko 'ntarhitah sa etena jyotiṣā tamo 'pahṛtya svargam lokam upasamkrāmati. tasmāt sauribhyām ṛgbhyām juhōti*; 3, 3, 3, 5; 12; 3, 3, 4, 6; 3, 6, 3, 16; 3, 6, 4, 2; 4, 4, 2, 11; 4, 4, 3, 2; 4 etc. etc.

Special mention may be made here of those cases, in which a subordinate and a principal clause are modelled on the same pattern, part of the words of the former returning as a ruler in the latter. Gārgī asking her husband after the foundation of the phenomena in nature commences a series of questions in this way: BārU. 3, 6, 1 *yad idam sarvam apsu otaṃ ca protaṃ ca, kasmīn nu khalv āpa otāś ca protāś ca ?* "since all this here is woven, like warp and woof, in water, on what pray is water woven l. . . ." In theoretical discussions, arguments and philosophical speculations this structure may render useful services: ChU. 3, 9, 4 *sa yāvad ādityaḥ paścād udetā, purastād astam etā, dviś tāvad uttarata udetā, dakṣiṇato 'stam etā*; 8, 1, 3 *yāvān vā ayam ākāśaḥ, tāvān eṣo 'ntarḥdaya ākāśaḥ*. AiB. 3, 6, 6 *yādr̥g iva vai devebhyāḥ karoti, tādr̥g ivāsmāi devāḥ kurvanti*: in the former clause the subject corresponding with *devāḥ* is left unexpressed. One might compare, in Latin, a sentence such as Plaut. M.G. 79 f. *mīhi ad enarrandum hoc argumentum est comitas, / si ad auscultandum vestra est benignitas*.

How the parallelism between the 'mythical past', the reality before the beginning of time, and actuality, the manifestation or repetition of the mythical truth is expressed may be exemplified by a few instances which could be multiplied almost infinitely: ŚB. 3, 2, 4, 21 *tām yathāivādo devāḥ prāhiṇvant somam accha sainānt saha somenāgacchad evam evainām eṣa etat prahiṇoti somam accha sainam saha somenāgacchati* "even as, at that time, the gods sent her to Soma, and she returned to them together with Soma, so does he now send her to Soma and she returns to him together with Soma". Similarly, 3, 2, 4, 22. Similes and comparisons are in numerous cases formulated in this way. Pointing to more familiar events or phenomena they are a means of elucidating difficult questions in the discussions of the authorities: TS. 7, 5, 9, 2 *yathā bandhān mumucānā utkrodam kurvata evam eva tad yaḡamānā utkrodam kurvatē* "as men being freed from bonds cry aloud, so the sacrificers freed from the bonds cry aloud". Whereas in this case (cf. also 5, 2, 8, 5 "just as one who knows a place leads straight (to it), so the tortoise leads him straight to the world

⁵³) H. Fränkel, Eine Stileigenheit der frühgriechischen Literatur, NGGW. 1924, p. 97 f.

⁵⁴) P. Mazon, Éschyle, I, Paris 1920, p. 3.

⁵⁵) Cf. e.g. W. A. A. van Otterlo, Untersuchungen über Begriff, Anwendung und Entstehung der griechischen Ringkomposition, Amsterdam 1944.

of heaven") is fairly complete, in other cases some words or ideas of the upameya are found in the upamāna; often the verb, emphasizing the identity of the processes : JB. 2, 83 *yathā dṛtim ubhayata ādṛtya nikṣālayed, evaṃ haivāsyā sarvaṃ pāpmānaṃ nikṣālayāṃ cakāra* "even as one empties a leather bag by splitting it up on both sides thus he emptied all evil out of him"; ibid. 2, 422; BārU. 2, 1, 18 *sa yadā mahārājo jānapadān gṛhītvā sve janapade yathākāmaṃ parivarteta, evaṃ evaiṣa etat prāṇān g. s. śarīre y. parivartate*; 4, 3, 21; 5, 13; ChU. 8, 1, 6. The main clause, though essentially parallel, is sometimes longer: BārU. 2, 5, 15 (fourfold subject); ChU. 1, 2, 8 (complex clause); cf. 4, 1, 4. In other cases the schema is considerably modified : ChU. 8, 3, 2. Cf. also BārU. 2, 4, 2.

For those who believe in magic the close contact and parallelism existing, or supposed to exist, between the phenomena in, and beyond, nature on the one hand and those in man's mind, body and immediate surroundings on the other hand is an object for conscientious study and uninterrupted investigations. With untiring energy they attempt to penetrate the mysteries of the cosmos and the infinite in order to control the forces of nature. A favourite method in pursuing this object is a study of identities and, what amounts to the same thing, to parallels. If they know, i. e. control a phenomenon which was considered to be parallel, or identical, they believe themselves to be able to exert influence on one or another natural process. ⁵⁶⁾ JB. 1, 11 an authority in explaining how to obtain a foothold on the back of the sun says : *yathā hasti hastyāsanam upary āsinam ādāyottiṣṭhed, evaṃ evaiṣā devatāitad vidvāmsam juhvataṃ ādāyodeti* "even as an elephant stands up together with the one who sits on the seat on its back, thus this deity arises together with the one who, knowing thus, sacrifices".

Or an event, a potency, activity, phenomenon known to the author and his visible and invisible audience is, by a formula in the outward form of a simile or comparison, activated in order to achieve a particular end : AV. 19, 50, 4 *yathā śyāmākāḥ prapatann aparaṃ nānuvidyate | evā rātri pra pātaya . . .* "as the millet-seed flying forth, is not found, so . . . make him fly forth . . ."; 5, 25, 2 *yatheyam prthivī mahi bhūtānāṃ garbham ādadhe | evā dadhāmi te garbham*. The repetition of the verb no doubt subserved the purpose to enhance the coercive power of the incantation. This effect is intensified by clause parallelism : AV. 17, 1, 20 *sa yathā tvam bhrājatā bhrājo 'sy evāhaṃ bhrājatā bhrājy āsam* "as you are shiny by the shining one, so may I be shining by the shining one"; 4, 39, 7 *yathā dikṣu candrāya samanāman | evā mahyam saṃnamah saṃ namantu* lit. "as in the quarters they paid reverence to the moon, so let the reverencers pay reverence to me ⁵⁷⁾; cf. also 6, 70, 1 *yathā puṃso vṛṣaṇyata striyāṃ nihanyate*

⁵⁶⁾ The reader may be referred to the author's book *Remarks on similes in Sanskrit literature*, Leiden 1949, p. 73 ff.; H. Oldenberg, *Religion des Veda*, p. 515; A. Hillebrandt, *Ritualliteratur*, § 88.

⁵⁷⁾ The 'figure' *saṃnamah saṃnamantu* will be discussed in chapter XI.

manah / evā te aghnye mano 'dhi vatse nihanyatām "as of a lustful man the mind is fastened on a woman, so let your mind . . . be fastened on your calf"⁵⁸). See also 6, 105, 1 etc. and the type MGS. 1, 2, 13 *yathā dyaus ca prthivī ca / na bibhito na riṣyatah / evaṃ me prāṇa mā bibha / evaṃ me prāṇa mā riṣah* (the idea to be expressed in the principal clause is analytically distributed over two clauses) "as sky and earth do not fear nor perish, likewise must my breath not fear, likewise must my breath not perish".

This antique type of sentence structure has been retained in those texts in which an exact wording is appreciated. The dharma texts exhibit many traces of it : Manu 2, 218 *yathā khaṇan khaṇitreṇa nara vāry adhigacchati / tathā gurugatām vidyām śūśrūṣur adhigacchati* "as a man who digs with a spade obtains water, even so an obedient pupil obtains the knowledge which lies (hidden) in his teacher"; 6, 90 *yathā nadīnadāḥ sarve sāgare yānti samsthitim / tathāivāśramiṇaḥ s. grhasṭhe y. s.* (notice the responsio); 7, 129; 8, 44. Among kāvya poets it was especially the Indian Ennius, the "rough, but vigorous" Aśvaghōṣa, who had a marked predilection for this mode of expression: e. g. Saund. 14, 49, although he allows himself greater freedom in the choice of words and the order of the elements : Saund. 11, 26 *cikriṣanti yathā paṇyam vaṇijo lābhalipsayā / dharmacaryā tava tathā paṇyabhūtā na śāntaye* "as merchants wish to buy merchandise for the sake of profit, so you practice the Law, not for tranquillity, but to obtain something to barter". As already stated proverbs are formulated symmetrically : Rām. 2, 109, 9 *yadvṛttāḥ santi rājānas tadvṛttāḥ santi hi prajāḥ*, another form of which occurs 7, 43, 19 *yathā hi kurute rājā prajāḥ tam anuvartate*. A series of positive ideas constituting predications in the form of a catena is Mbh. 12, 190, 5 ff. followed by the corresponding negatives : *yat satyam sa dharmo yo dh. sa prakāśo yaḥ p. tat sukham iti . . . yad anṛtam so 'dh. yo 'dh. tat tamo yat t. tad duḥkham*⁵⁹).

⁵⁸) Many other instances of the *yathā . . . evaṃ* similes in Remarks on similes, p. 102 ff. One *yathā* clause followed by a plurality of *evaṃ* clauses BārU. 2, 4, 11.

⁵⁹) Cf. e.g. E. W. Hopkins, The great epic of India, New York 1902, p. 266.

IV

POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE EXPRESSION OF THE SAME THOUGHT

In a detailed article on the technique of the medieval German poets Otto Behaghel¹⁾ at the time discussed the various ways in which they often repeated the same thought, styling this preference "freiwillige Wiederholung derselben Vorstellungsreihe". One of those devices which was much liked by these poets and which has not failed to attract Behaghel's special interest consisted in repeating an affirmative thought or statement by a thought or utterance to the same effect couched in negative terms : Lanz. 1311 *nu enwolten sine gesellen / mit im nicht lenger twellen / si wolten heim ze lande*, etc. etc. Although the learned author provides us with an abundance of instructive examples borrowed from various languages and literatures he does not seem to have exhausted the subject. He, for one thing, omitted classifying a sufficient number of instances according to stylistic principles, focussing the attention on the various motives which may be supposed to underlie the phenomenon, throwing light upon the contexts in, and the circumstances under, which it is apt to turn up. Moreover, some remarks made by previous authors seem to have escaped his attention. As C. Weyman²⁾ rightly observed this variety of repetition had already in the XVIIIth century attracted the attention of some scholars concerned with the study of the language of the Bible; besides, Immanuel Bekker³⁾ and Jacob Grimm⁴⁾ had collected a number of instances in their dissertations on the poetic diction of Homer and the choice of words and phrases characteristic of the German 'Rechtsaltertümer' respectively.

It may safely be asserted that the phenomenon under discussion is widespread in natural language and well known in literary works of various styles and periods. Yet, some authors or individuals appear to have a predilection for it. Behaghel was acquainted with a gentleman "der ganz nach der Formel sprach : *ich habe vergessen, ich habe nicht daran gedacht*", and heard, inter alia, the following utterances : *komm nur bald heim! dasz*

¹⁾ O. Behaghel, Zur Technik der mhd. Dichtung, in Paul und Braune's Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur, 30, p. 431 ff.

²⁾ C. Weyman, Studien über die Figur der Litotes, in Jahrbücher für klassische Philologie, Supplement 15, p. 478 ff.

³⁾ See Weyman, o.c.

⁴⁾ See also K. Kinzel, Zur Charakteristik des Wolframschen Stils, Zs. f. deutsche Phil. 5 (1874), p. 12.

du mir nicht zu lang bleibst ! ; nein, ich gehe nicht fort, ich bleibe hier ; es ist gar nicht nasz heute drauszen, es ist ganz trocken. It should be noticed that in the last two instances the negative turn precedes. Some French examples are: *laissez donc ce crépuscule ; n'allumez pas la lampe ! ; je ne reste plus ici, je m'en vais ! adieu ! ; o quel parfum ! mais je n'ai jamais senti un parfum si fort que cela ! vraiment, c'est le plus fort parfum que je connaisse.* A common Dutch phrase or catchword is *zo is het, en niet anders*. Who has ears to hear may in a short time gather such fine instances as : *'t mag niet, 't is verboden ; ik ben zo terug, ik blijf niet lang weg ; een bed op hoge poten dus niet laag bij de grond* (here the word *dus* "so, accordingly" reveals the wish of the person speaking to express himself in an unequivocal way and as explicitly as possible); the other day my dentist said : *dat het even droog blijft, dat er geen vocht bij komt*, and while lecturing I heard myself say : *ook deze leer was door Buddha geopenbaard, maar in het verborgen, niet in het publiek*. In the directions for use printed on the packing of a well-known Dutch cleaning powder it reads : *Vim* (the name of the product) *moet op natte doek of borstel worden gebruikt, derhalve nooit droog* "Vim must be used on a wet cloth or brush, never dry". This direction, which may in a sense be called typical, shows us that this variety of repetition often constitutes a didactic device of considerable importance, an almost indispensable means of bringing the purport of our words home to our audience, especially if this consists of comparatively uneducated people. Hence also the direction printed on the Dutch postcheques : *dit advies — derhalve niet de cheque — verzenden aan het girokantoor*. In didactic passages of ancient literatures the same schema is not rare : Avesta, Nir. 98 *vī.barō fra.vāχšō ratufriš nōiṭ avī.barō* "wenn er die Stengel verteilt, ist er r., nicht wenn er es nicht tut" (Bartholomae); 85 *aiwyāsta mazdayasna gāṇā srāvayaṭ nōiṭ anaiwyāsta* "wearing the girdle the M. must recite the gāthās, not without it", and, in Vedic, ŚB. 1, 8, 3, 18 *aṅgulibhir eva yoyupyerana kaṣṭhair dārubhir vā* "with the fingers only they should smooth it down, not with pieces of wood". Persons who are accustomed to formulate their thoughts in a concise form and to avoid all repetition and superfluity soon become aware that they run serious risks of being misunderstood. Teachers on the other hand may easily fall into the habit of 'pleonastically' repeating their dicta. In almost all the circumstances hitherto mentioned the main function of this device is to express emphasis, to underline the thought expressed in the first half of the utterance.

At one time written language tends to retain phrases and expressions current in colloquial speech, at another it tries to evade and to expel them. There is, however, a third attitude : literary language not infrequently organizes and regularizes the tendencies prevalent in natural and common usage.

Thus many authors of rank adopted this popular alternation of affirmative and negative wording of the same thought. The Dutch poet Vondel (XVIIth century), for instance, liked to use it in a somewhat free and

polished form : Gijsbrecht 1530 *ick ben den adem quyt, ick kan niet langer sprecken*; Adam in Ballingschap 1177 *ay zucht niet, staeck dit droef gezucht*; 1500 *zij vlucht gestadigh voor en voor, en wil niet staen*; 1642 *beken de misdaet vrij, ontzie ze niet te noemen*. Shakespeare has, *Romeo* 4, 5 *death . . . / ties up my tongue, and will not let me speak*. In translating BhagG. 6, 10 (Mbh. 6, 1074) the author of the OJav. Bhīṣmaparwa writes (p. 52 G.) *śūnya tika sthāna nira, tar dadi masahāya* "he remains in a lonely place, so that he has no companions". Greek literature provides us with an abundance of instances⁵⁾, cf. e. g. *Iliad* A 416 *ἐπεὶ νύ τοι αἴσα μινννθά περ, οὐ τι μάλα δῆν; Γ 59 ἐπεὶ με κατ' αἴσαν ἐνεέκεις οὐδ' ὑπὲρ αἴσαν; E 287 ἡμῖροτες, οὐδ' ἔτυχες; Ψ 378 οὐδέ τι πολλὸν ἀνευθ' ἔσαν ἀλλὰ μάλ' ἐγγός; 574 ἐς μέσον ἀμφοτέροισι δικάσσετε μηδ' ἐπ' ἀρωγῇ; Ω 563 καὶ δὲ σὲ γιγνώσκω Πρίαμος φρεσίν, οὐδέ με λήθεις; *Odyssey* τ 269 νημερτέως γάρ τοι μνθήσομαι οὐδ' ἐπιτεύσω, cf. ψ 265; *Soph. OR.* 58; 1229 ἐκόντα κοῦκ ἄκοντα; 1275 πολ- λάκις τε κοῦκ ἄπαξ; *Hdt.* 8, 79 ἐόντα μὲν ἐωντῶ οὐ φίλον ἐχθρόν δὲ τὰ μάλιστα; *Eur. Alc.* 45 πῶς οὖν ὑπὲρ γῆς ἔστι κοῦκ κάτω χθονός; *Plato, Phaedo* 79 A ἀλλ' ἐστὶν αἰδιῇ τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ οὐχ ὁρατά; *Crito*, 46 A ἀδύνατον καὶ οὐκέτι οἶόν τε. In a former publication⁶⁾ I already drew attention to *I* 70 *εἰκὲ τοι, οὐ τοι αἰετός; E* 816 *ἔρῳ ἔπος, οὐδ' ἐπιτεύσω*, referring to *Fr. ne ferme pas la fenêtre! laisse-la ouverte!* and *Germ. du kannst jetzt gehen, du brauchst nicht mehr hier zu bleiben*⁷⁾. Similarly, in the Veda, *PB.* 1, 5, 5 *jṣasva lokam mārvaṅ avagāh* "keep thy place, do not descend downward". As this construction was also known to the authors of the Avesta—cf. *Yt.* 5, 65 *mošu tat ās nōišt darəyem* "soon it happened, not long (it was)"—and in ancient Latin—cf. also *Cic. Verr.* 2, 3, 177 *timide nec leviter*—we may suppose it to have been inherited and to have already been known to the prehistoric bards of the Indo-European peoples. That the ancient Greeks, who had a special predilection for antithetic expression of thought and related constructions⁸⁾, should have appreciated the value as a stylistic element of this combination of the affirmative and the negative, for which they even created the name *σχῆμα κατ' ἄρσιν καὶ θέσιν* is far from surprising⁹⁾.*

Turning now to the ancient religious texts of the Indians we may assert that they have this *σχῆμα* in a considerable number of passages. Compare *RV.* 10, 60, 8 ff. *jīvātave na mṛtyave* "(he has fixed your mind) in order to

⁵⁾ See the above-mentioned paper by Weyman; E. Bruhn, *Sophokles*, Anhang, 18, 30.

⁶⁾ J. Gonda, *Stilistische studie over Atharvaveda I-VII*, Wageningen 1938, p. 33, § 14.

⁷⁾ Ed. Schwyzler-A. Debrunner, *Griechische Grammatik*, II, 1950, p. 704 dispatch this variety of 'pleonasm' in only three lines. Compare, however, also C. Rehdantz-F. Blass, *Demosthenes' Phil. Reden*⁴, 1886, p. 8 f.; H. Skerlo, *Philologus* 38 (1879), p. 1 ff.; Wackernagel, *Vorlesungen über Syntax*, II², p. 299.

⁸⁾ See e.g. Ed. Norden, *Die antike Kunstprosa*², Leipzig-Berlin 1909, I, p. 15 ff.; J. D. Denniston, *Greek prose style*, Oxford 1952, p. 70 ff.

⁹⁾ Cf. Rehdantz-Blass, o.c.; in the succession negative-affirmative this construction is very frequent in Herodotus and the ancient orators.

live, not to die . . ."; Cf. also PB. 1, 5, 18; RV. 1, 164, 16 *paśyad akṣaṇvan na vi cetad andhaḥ*; 9, 55, 4 *yo jīnāti na jīyate* "who overpowers, is not overpowered"; 8, 1, 27 *gamat . . . na sa yoṣat*; AV. 4, 22, 5b *yena jayanti na parājayante* : in this text, which was recited with a view to obtain success and prosperity for the king and was used, according to the Kausikasūtra 14, 24, in a rite for victory in battle, Indra is requested to increase the power of the prince on whose behalf the ceremony is conducted, to make him chief, to unman his enemies, to bestow his favours upon him and to withhold them from his adversaries : the poet expressly states that this king is superior, his rivals are inferior. With this succession of antithetic prayers and statements the assertion that "by Indra men conquer, are not conquered" is in perfect harmony. It recurs, as *yena jayāsi na parā jayāsai* in TB. 2, 4, 7, 8b. The antithesis to conquer: to be defeated apparently haunted the princes and their priests : AV. 6, 98, 1a *indro jayāti na parā jayātai* (= TS. 2, 4, 14, 2a). In these magical texts this explicit negation of a preceding positive assertion may have acquired, in addition to the functions mentioned above, another significance : the occurrence of adverse and unwished events is expressly excluded from the range of possibility : they are mentioned by name – and this implies that they are known by the person speaking – and rejected or exorcized. Another frequent pair of opposites was staying or being here : leaving or going away : AV. 6, 87, 2a *ihaivaidhi māpa cyoṣṭhāḥ* : with these words "be just here, do not fall" the nobleman who is to be installed in kingship is addressed and another injunction of similar purport precedes in 1a : *dhruvas tiṣṭhāvi-cācalat* "stand thou fixed, not unsteady". As the idea of standing firm, being well-established, is the main theme of this short text, this double occurrence of the *σχημα* under discussion may be considered an important element in its structure. Both pādas recur in other texts¹⁰) : *dhruvas* . . . inter alia ŚB. 6, 7, 3, 7 to accompany a ritual act which is intended to furnish a person with firm vital power¹¹); TBr. 2, 4, 2, 8a *has iha . . . mā vyatiṣṭhāḥ*. AV. 6, 73, 3a *ihaiva sta māpa yātādhy asmat* "be ye just here, go not away from us", followed by "let Pūṣan make (it) pathless for you in the distance; let the lord of the homestead call aloud after you (to bring you back)" which likewise constitutes a double, and accordingly, emphatic expression of the same purport : "stay here". A more frequent variant is found 7, 60, 7a *ihaiva sta mānu gāta* literally "be just here, go not after", i. e., according to the commentary : "do not follow me as I go away"; these words were pronounced in front of the house by a person who had been absent (Kauś. 24, 11)¹²). AV. 14, 1, 22a (= RV. 10, 85, 42 a and ĀpMB.

¹⁰) Cf. also RV. 10, 173, 1 ff. The Atharvan text is also used in a rite of expiation for earthquakes; see also Whitney-Lanman, o.c., p. 345 and my Rgvidhāna (translation), Utrecht 1951, p. 116 f.

¹¹) The pāda *ihaivaidhi* is e.g. prescribed ĀpŚS. 14, 27, 7a: see W. Caland, Das Śrautasūtra des Āpastamba, II, Amsterdam 1924, p. 413.

¹²) Cf. also ŚatapathaBrāhmaṇa, 2, 3, 4, 26 (translated by J. Eggeling, I, Oxford 1882, p. 353).

1, 8, 8a) the bridal couple is addressed with the formula *ihaiva staṃ mā vi yaūṣṭam* "be you two just here, be not separated", which is an injunction to remain, in conjugal harmony, in the same home: cf. pāda d in R.V. and AV. Paipp. *modamānau sve gr̥he*. The words R.V. 10, 85, 25 *preto muñcāmi nāmutaḥ* which are to accompany the departure of the bridal couple from the house of the bride are another instance of ritual exactitude: the formula prevents the hearers understanding—and the divine powers promoting—the bride's being loosened also from her husband's house, to which she should on the contrary be 'fastened'. The words *ihaiva bhava mānu gāh* in AV. 5, 30, 1 which is intended to be recited in a ceremony for length of life, are no doubt elucidated by 3, 31, 9 which is likewise a spell for long life: *ihaiva bhava mā mṛthāh*; we easily understand that the eager desire to elude death leads to this emphatic 'pleonasm', to a refrain ending in "to union with life-time" and to another kind of repetition which is discussed in one of the succeeding sections of this book. A similar instance of the same pleonasm is found in a number of love-spells (1, 34, 5 II; 2, 30, 1 de, 6, 8, 1—3 de *yathā māṃ kāmīny aso / yathā man nāpagā asaḥ* "that you may be one loving me, that you may not be one going away from me", where it together with other repetitions of the same tenor, comparisons, and various appropriate ceremonies serves to bring a woman under one's control. When placed at the end of a sūkta this *σχημα* is especially impressive: 1, 1, 4d, to be recited in a ceremony for the retention of sacred learning: *saṃ śrutena gamemahi / mā śrutena vi rādhiṣi* (notice the responsio).

Apart from these instances which may be said to represent the 'figure'¹³⁾ under discussion in a strict sense¹⁴⁾, we come across passages where the idea expressed in the first member of the utterance is subjected to variation in the negative second member, or, rather, repeated in the negative by means of a variation. An example is R.V. 5, 2, 10 *māde cid asya pra rujanti bhāmā / na varante paribādho adeviḥ*; cf. also 8, 31, 6. AV. 7, 37, 1 II may be quoted as another instance to go by: addressing her husband a wife is made to say: "that you may be wholly mine, may not make mention of other women": *yathāso mama kevalo / nānyāsāṃ kīrtayās cana*; the urgent character of the request is likewise obvious, the idea of mentioning other women, though natural, is new in the second member. 13, 1, 56 II *tasya vṛścāmi te mūlaṃ / na chāyāṃ karavo 'param*, used by Kauś. 49, 26 at the conclusion of a series of witchcraft ceremonies and directed, as appears from I, against a man who kicks a cow and urinates with face towards the sun¹⁵⁾: "(if) you (are such) a man I hew off your root; you shall not further cast shadow", i. e. "I shall destroy you". Compare also

¹³⁾ This term is, of course, not used in the meaning given in some dictionaries: "deviation from ordinary usage for the sake of ornament".

¹⁴⁾ Some other instances will be mentioned further on. See also Renou, *Études védiques et pāṇinées*, I, p. 64.

¹⁵⁾ See Whitney-Lanman, p. 718.

3, 8, 4 I *ihed asātha na paro gamātha*, immediately followed by a rather broad variation upon the same theme : *iryō gopāh puṣṭapatir va ājat* “do not go away, let an active herdsman drive you hither”. The negative statement occupies the first rank in 4, 36, 7 *na piśācaih saṃ śaknomi* . . . “I cannot (bear) with piśācas”, / *piśācās tasmān naśyanti* / *yam ahaṃ grāmam āviśe* “the p. disappear from that village which I enter”; in the next stanza the same thought is, in another order of words and in an amplified way, reiterated : *yaṃ grāmam āviśata* / *idaṃ ugraṃ saho mama* / *piśācās tasmān naśyanti* / *na pāpam upa jānate*.

Generally speaking it does not appear to be in doubt that this method of repeating and emphasizing an idea, which is an essential element in the style of these Atharvanic texts, must be connected with the character of the subject-matter dealt with, with the very purport to which these compositions served, and with the circumstances under which they came into existence. While reciting these texts, while addressing the numerous invisible demons and impending evil powers, while composing these spells the priests and poets were haunted by fear, by the desire to escape death and misfortune, by the wish to avert these calamities from their masters. These emotions often assuming an almost paroxysmal character and the desire to persuade the invisible powers and to restrain them from doing harm leading the poets to the ever-renewed application of their mighty spells and formulas, the ‘figures of speech’ and ‘schemata of expression’ used by ordinary man under comparable circumstances increased both in frequency and intensity. “D’abord la pensée spontanée est souvent hésitante et n’arrive pas toute faite à son expression; elle s’énonce par à-coups; elle se cherche; on pense en parlant, ou on ‘parle’ sa pensée . . . Une autre cause de répétition est l’afflux des mouvements affectifs accompagnant la pensée; les pulsations émotives se répercutent dans l’expression, et le langage tend à répéter la pensée autant de fois qu’il y a de pulsations. Ex. : une dénégation indignée peut prendre cette forme : *Ah! ça, non, par exemple, jamais!* On peut dire que cela équivaut à quatre *non*, et l’on pourrait encore allonger la phrase”¹⁶). Compare for instance A 380 where Paris with a merry laugh vauntingly exclaims : *βέβληαι, οὐδ’ ἄλιον βέλος ἔκφυγεν*; cf. also 451; Ω 563 Achilles angrily saying “I know that some god led you to me”, parenthetically adds : *(καὶ δέ σε γιγνώσκω)* . . . *οὐδέ με λήθεις*; cf. Soph. OR. 58 *γνωτὰ κοῦκ ἄγνωτα*; Hdt. 2, 172 *μετὰ δὲ σοφίῃ αὐτοῦς ὁ Ἀμασις, οὐκ ἀγνωμοσύνη προσηγάγετο* (“durch das negative *οὐκ* ἄ. wird das positive *σ.* bekräftigend wiederholt”¹⁷). Compare in Sanskrit, Aśv. Bc. 13, 49 *babhrāma tatrāṇiyatam na tasthau*; Lalitav. p. 122 L. *jihmīkṛtāny abhūvan na bhāsante sma*. A third cause is the desire to be clear and explicit, to penetrate the minds of those addressed. Thus AV. 5, 13, 4 which accompanies a rite for healing poisoned wounds, reads as follows : *cakṣuṣā*

¹⁶) Ch. Bally, *Traité de stylistique française* I², p. 100.

¹⁷) H. Stein, *Herodotos*, I, Berlin 1856, p. 332.

te cakṣur hanmi / viṣeṇa hanmi te viṣam / ahe mriyasva mā jīvih / pratyag abhyetu tvā viṣam. Here the schema under discussion in its most concise form¹⁸⁾ was incorporated into a larger unity with other variations on the same theme : “die”. AV. 11, 1, 33 I ārṣeyeṣu ni dadha odana tvā / nānārṣeyānām apy asty atra ; 11, 4, 25 I ūrdhvaḥ suptēṣu jāgāra / nanu tiryāṇi ni padyate are likewise instances of this, both of them being followed by additional emphatic statements¹⁹⁾.

We have now reached a point at which we are ready to deal with this schema in other texts and to show its frequency and the variety of its applications. Before proceeding to do so, we shall, however, do well to survey some wide-spread aspects of the use of negative phrases which appear to shed some light upon the ‘negative repetition’. Negative phrases are, in general, frequently heard in ordinary speech. They are not only used to deny, to assert that an object does not exist, an event has not come to pass, etc., but also to express, in a more or less emotional way, resistance or opposition²⁰⁾. Besides, they serve to state or affirm a positive meaning or quality in a circumlocutional way : such phrases as : *I cannot do otherwise*; *I cannot but*; (the effect can be) *no other than* (demoralizing); *I can’t do other than accept*, the tenor of which is affirmative, have counterparts in many languages²¹⁾. Denying what is different these expressions are (at least originally were) emphatic. Far from exhausting all possibilities, the following choice of examples is no more than a brief indication of some of the most frequent phrases formed by means of *na* + *anyathā* in Sanskrit : Hitop. p. 21. S. L. *yadi nānyathā manyase* which is a somewhat emphatic duplicate of *yadi manyase*²²⁾; Kathās. 22, 51 *mamecchāṃ mānyathā kṛthāḥ* i. e. “comply with my wish”; Mbh. 3, 65, 71 *ato ’nyathā na me vāso varitate hrdaye kvacit*; cf. also KSS. 5, 76 *na hi dharmo ’nyathā bhavet* “dharma cannot be undone”, and Pañc. 1, 15 *vinā malayam anyatra candanam na prarohati*. In the outward form of an interrogation we find e. g. : KathUp. 6, 12 *astiti bruvato ’nyatra katham tad upalabhyate* i. e. “he cannot be comprehended otherwise than by . . .”, “one’s saying ‘he is’ is the only way to. . .”. A Greek instance is Eur. Hec. 302 *σφῆεν εἰμι τοῦκ ἄλλως λέγω*; cf. also Plato, Alc. I, 130 A *οὐκ ἄλλως οἶμαι μὴ οὐ . . .*

Now negation very often appears, in spoken language as well as in literature, in the well-known ‘figure’ of the litotes. In discussing this phenomenon scholars have often been inclined to call attention to no more

¹⁸⁾ See further on.

¹⁹⁾ The schema under discussion also occurs in the incantations of non-Indo-European peoples: see e.g. B. J. Bijleveld, *Herhalingsfiguren*, p. 15.

²⁰⁾ I refer to my book *La place de la particule négative na dans la phrase en vieil indien*, Leyden 1951, p. 59 ff.

²¹⁾ See e.g. G. S. Overdiep, *Stilistische grammatica van het moderne Nederlandsch*, Zwolle 1937, p. 68; E. Kerkhoff, *Ausdrucksmöglichkeiten neuhochdeutschen Prosastils*, Thesis Amsterdam 1949, p. 166.

²²⁾ See my paper *Quelques observations sur l’emploi du verbe simple ‘au lieu d’un composé’ etc. dans la langue sanskrite*, *Acta Or.* 20 (1948), p. 201.

than one or two of its aspects : formerly they used to consider it a figure of rhetoric mainly consisting in understatement or in the use of a negative instead of its opposite ²³); in modern times they not rarely emphasize its social function ²⁴) or its origin in a religious taboo ²⁵); sometimes its voluntary character is especially mentioned ²⁶), sometimes, on the other hand, its aptness to become a mechanical means of expression ²⁷). A litotes, in the general meaning of the term, indeed, often appears under the influence of modesty or "soziale Rücksichtnahme" which lead us (especially when we are no exuberant personalities, guarded in our speech, or inclined to dissimulation) to soften our utterances. When we say, in Dutch, that we have read something *niet zonder enige verbazing* (lit. "not without some surprise") we express ourselves with studied moderation. Although *niet zonder* may theoretically be equivalent to *met* "with" the emotive value of the litotes is different from that of the corresponding affirmative construction. Kālidāsa therefore appropriately put two instances of this figure into the mouth of the court dancing-master Haradatta when introducing him into the royal company : Mālav. 1, 11 *na ca na paricito na cāpy agamyah* "(the king) is neither unfamiliar to me, nor is he difficult to be approached—yet . . .". Often, however, the modesty is simulated or the double negation a means of expressing a rather high degree of a quality : Mbh. 13, 70, 32 *satām samāgamah sadbhir nāphalah pārtha vidyate*, i. e. "will (certainly) bear fruit"; 3, 54, 7 *kimartham duhitā me 'dya nātisvastheva laksyate*, i. e. "looks, so to say, rather ill". Such turns are often heard in ordinary speech : Dutch *dat is niet gek*; *dat ziet er niet kwaad uit*; *'t is niet onmogelijk*; *hij is geen Croesus*; *dat is niet aardig van je*; Germ. *nicht übel*; Eng. *he is no fool*; *not bad*. Authors and even poets of rank feel no objection to using these expressions in their works, though they may endeavour to add some entirely new instances ²⁸).

Many mechanized cases came to be introduced in the standard speech : Lat. *inimicus*, from which the Engl. *enemy* derives, originally meant "who is no friend", and Skt. *avadya*- "not to be praised" came so firmly to mean "blameworthy" that it gave rise to *anavadya*- "irreproachable". Many Sanskrit words and phrases which are as to their outward appearance negative must, or should, be rendered by a positive or affirmative expression in our languages : *na sidhyati* "he is past recovery" (cf., however,

²³) The term 'figure of rhetoric' is still used in H. C. Wyld's Universal dictionary of the English Language⁶, London 1946, p. 679.

²⁴) For instance: W. Havers, Handbuch der erklärenden Syntax, 1931, p. 190 f.

²⁵) Thus J. B. Hofmann, in Stolz-Schmalz, Lateinische Grammatik⁵, 1928, p. 28 f.

²⁶) See J. Marouzeau, Lexique de la terminologie linguistique, Paris 1933, p. 114: "expression volontairement atténuée par laquelle on fait entendre plus qu'on ne dit . . .".

²⁷) See J. B. Hofmann, Lateinische Umgangssprache², Heidelberg 1936, p. 146 ff.; H. Paul, Prinzipien der Sprachgeschichte³, Halle a. S. 1920, p. 101.

²⁸) See e.g. A. van der Lee, Der Stil von Hartmanns Erec, Thesis Utrecht 1950, p. 54 ff.

our incurable)²⁹). Compare also such instances as Rām. 3, 52, 18 *tasyās* (viz. Sītā's) *taḍ vimalaṃ vaktram . . . / na rarāja vinā rāmam* and 22 . . . *tasyās taḍ vadanam śubham / śuśubhe na vinā rāmam* where a 'literal translation' is recommendable, with Varāh. BS. 77, 1 *sraggandha . . . ādyaṃ na śobhāte śuklaśīroruhasya* "wreaths, perfumes etc. appear to a disadvantage in a man with white hairs". In a comparable way *na smṛtam* often means "it has been forbidden"; *apramāda-* is a usual term for our "care, vigilance"; *apraśasta-* seems to have been a fashionable word for "dirt, excretions" (lit. "not praised"); *ahiṃsā* also implies the positive aspect of "harmlessness" to wit "love, sympathy"; *abhāya-* is not only "absence of fear", but also "security, freedom (from fear)"; *asaṅgāt* "repeatedly, often" (lit. "not once"), *anekaśaḥ* "in great numbers, several times".

The Indian predilection for such terms—cf. e.g. also *advaita-*, *asteya-*, *akṣara-*, *acyuta-* etc.—is well known³⁰). It is, however, also important to remember that the litotes often meets the needs of those inclined to prolixity. The many long, and sometimes artificial, compounds with *ati-* preceded by *na*, some of which already appear in the epics (*nātikovidha-* "not very familiar with or clever in") are especially liked by the authors of prose *kāvya* and other highly elaborate compositions: *nātiviprakṛṣṭa-* "not very long"; *nātikrūramṛdu* "neither too strong nor too weak"; *nātiprakāśam* "not too openly" etc.³¹).

Now, the negative member of the *σχημα* under discussion is often a litotes and the phrase in its entirety a longer and, at least originally, more emphatic substitute for the latter³²); resulting from the natural inclination to repetition in the form of more or less parallel enunciations, from the predilection for strong phrases and similar motives. Such fixed phrases as *no doubt, without doubt*, Skt. *na saṃśayaḥ*³³) *nāsti s.*, *nātra s.* etc. have a very wide distribution in various languages. They may be more or less parenthetically inserted: Rām. 4, 9, 92 *śaro na saṃśayo 'trāsti vidūrayiṣyati*, but very often they appear at the end of an enunciation: Manu 2, 87 *japyenaiva tu saṃśidhayed brāhmaṇo nātra s.* "by muttering prayers only a brahman undoubtedly reaches the highest goal"; BhagG. 8, 5; 12, 8. When,

²⁹) For other such instances see La place de la particule négative . . . , p. 55 f.

³⁰) Cf. also, in Pāli, *anaññatha* "truth, certainty", *anāgāmin*, *anāḷhiya* "miserable, poor, destitute" (<"not rich") etc. Cf. the Italian *meno male*. For these compounds with the private *a-* (I.E. *n-* see HJ. Frisk, Über den Gebrauch des Privativpräfixes im Indogerm. Adjektiv, Göteborgs Högskolas Årsskrift 47 (1941), 11; the same, Substantiva privativa im Idg., ibid. 53 (1947), 3; L. Renou, Sur certains emplois d'a(n)-priv. en sanskrit, BSOAS. 10, p. 1 ff.; J. Wackernagel, Vorlesungen über Syntax, II², Basel 1928, p. 290 ff.; and an article by the present author on *ahiṃsā* and similar words in Disputationes Rheno-Trajectinae III, The Hague 1958.

³¹) See, e.g. A. Scharpé, Bāṇa's Kādambarī, Thesis Utrecht 1937, p. 467 f.

³²) I deliberately reject Hofmann's explanation, Lat. Umgangssprache, p. 149: "Ein vorgeschrittener Typus ist auch das Nebeneinander positiver und negativer Ausdrucksweise im Sinne einer starken Bekräftigung".

³³) See also Lingua, 5 (1956), p. 290.

in the latter position they follow a phrase expressing a wish, opinion, or statement to which they are, explicitly or implicitly, in opposition, they help to produce a special variety of the general schema : Mbh. 1, 3, 100 *bhaksayasvottan̄ka mā vicāraya* "eat (it), U., don't hesitate"; 175, 21 *yathecchasi tathā ksipraṃ kuru mā tvaṃ vicāraya*³⁴). The above *nānyathā* is likewise among the most common phrases of this category. In Javanese writings it is one of the usual catchwords: Bhom. 14, 2 "(a man) called G. not otherwise"; cf. also 29, 9 "by my courage and by nothing else"; 73, 5 "I intend to march out against K., thus, and not otherwise"; 76, 4 "Your Majesty's welfare is my aim and nothing else"³⁵; Nāgar. 17, 9 *atutur asewa tan salah* "to wait upon (the king) obediently, without failing"; 56, 1 "he is the one whose body has been entombed; it is not otherwise" (*tan hana waneh*); often at the end of a stanza, e. g. Kid. Pam. 1, 133 *edan sira tan eling* "he was mad, not quite sane". In a similar way we come across in Kāl. Śak. 7, 31 + *dhyānād avagūto 'smi durvāsasaḥ śāpād iyaṃ tapasvinī . . . twayā pratyādiṣṭāṃ nānyatheti* "I knew by meditation that the poor girl . . . was repulsed by you because of D.'s curse and on no other account". Cf. also Mbh. 14, 31, 12 *etad rājyaṃ nānyad astiha rājyam*.

The word *anya-* itself is likewise often used in this way, quite naturally, because we all are inclined for instance to emphasize that it is somebody else and not I myself who has done this or said that (cf. e. g. also Soph. Ai. 1136, dial. *ἐν τοῖς δικασταῖς κοὐκ ἐμοὶ τόδ' ἐσφάλη*), that it was A not B, that it ought to be in this way and not in the other : ŚB. 3, 7, 1, 8 *tad yad eṣa eva bhavati nānyaḥ . . .* "the reason why it is this (chip) and no other, is . . ."; 9, 4, 24 *tvam eveto janayitāsi nānyas tvat*; 1, 2, 1, 6; KathU. 5, 12, likewise in an emphatical passage: *teṣāṃ sukhaṃ śāśvataṃ netareṣāṃ* "to them is eternal bliss, to no others"³⁶). Cf. also Mbh. 3, 76, 21 *tato 'ham iha cāgataḥ / tvadartham . . . na hi me 'nyat prayojanam*; 1, 232, 11 (with insistence) *tvam evaikas tapase . . . nānyas taptā vidyate . . .* Or the person speaking wishes to leave no room for doubt: Pañc. 4, 33 + K. Commentators like to conclude their explanations with a *nānya-* by which they wish to preclude any ambiguity : cf. e. g. Mallinātha, Kāl. Ragh. 6, 22 *nakṣatrair . . . jyotiḥ . . . nānyena jyotiṣety arthaḥ*; 34 *nityajyotsnāvihāratvam etasyaiva nānyasyeti bhāvaḥ*; Māgha Śiś. 2, 24 *asyaiva vākyaṣya nānyasya*. Didactic

³⁴) For *tvam* see my paper *Bemerkungen zum Gebrauch der Pronomina der 1. und 2. Person als Subjekt im Altindischen*, Acta Orientalia 19, p. 211 ff. — It may be added that according to the Petr. Dict. *avicārayan* is always found at the end of a hemistich, cf. e. g. Manu 7, 212 *parityajen nrpo bhūmim ātmārtham avicārayan*.

³⁵) The Bhomakāwya was edited by R. Friederich, in the Proceedings of the 'Bataviaasch Genootschap' vol. 24, 1852, and translated by A. Teeuw, Thesis Utrecht 1946.

³⁶) Compare also the well-known constructions Mbh. 3, 76, 30 *tvām rte na hi loke 'nyaḥ . . . samarthah*; Kathās. 13, 7 *sā cānugantūṃ vegena śakyā nānyena dantīnā / muktvā nadāgirim*, and, besides, the phrase Pañcat. 3, 4, 119 + *tavādeṣo nānyathā kartavyah*; a turn of speech like Mbh. 1, 3, 97 *evam hi kurvataḥ śreyo bhaviṭā 'nyathā kutaḥ śreyah*; ViPur. 1, 4, 31 *nānyat paramaṃ ca yat padam*.

and juridical texts have it for similar reasons : Manu 9, 181 *yasya te bījato jātās tasya te netarasya tu* "from whose seed they sprang to him they belong, not to another" (here Kullūka's commentary explains *netarasya*); 157 ... *savarṇaiva nānyā* ... (notice the strengthening particle *eva* : *notkr̥ṣṭāva-kr̥ṣṭā vā*); 162; 191; 2, 16. Although a somewhat emphatic character is, perhaps, not foreign to most instances it easily developed into an automatic device for filling up the last quarter of a stanza : ViṣṇuPur. 1, 12, 30 *ekāgracetāḥ satataṃ viṣṇum* ... / *dr̥ṣṭavān* ... *nānyat kathamācana*; 3, 8, 12 *brāhmaṇaḥ* ... *viṣṇum ārādhayati nānyathā*, cf. Bhāg. Pur. 7, 13, 16 *bhōgināṃ khalu deho 'yaṃ pīvā bhavati nānyathā*; Īśvarag. 4, 24 *yo hi jñānena mām ārādhayati nānyathā*. We also find longer phrases : Hariv. 2764 *tvam eko 'sya* ... *hantā nānyaḥ kaścana vidyate*; Īśvarag. 9, 4 *aham eva param brahma, matto hy anyan na vidyate*; in Pāli, Therag. 81 *idh' eva taṃ veda-niyaṃ vatthu aññaṃ na vijjatīti*. Sometimes this construction develops into a complicated series of parallel sentences : BārUp. 3, 8, 11 *adr̥ṣṭaṃ draṣṭr, āsrutaṃ śrotṛ* ... *nānyad ato 'sti draṣṭr, nānyad ato 'sti śrotṛ*. . . .; 7, 23. Sometimes an author chooses to cast the same thought in an interrogative mould : Budhasvāmin, BK. 15, 66 *pariśeṣo 'yaṃ kim anyat kriyatām* "il ne reste que lui; aucun moyen de faire autrement"³⁷⁾, or to vary the traditional wording : Aśv. Bc. 3, 23 *śuddhamanobhiḥ khalu nānyabhāvāt* "with pure minds and from no other (i. e. baser) motive". An interesting idiom is also ŚatB. 3, 1, 1, 7 *dikṣitasyaiva prācīnavamśā nādikṣitasya* "the p. belongs to him who has been consecrated, not to him who has not been consecrated" (notice the emphatic particle *eva*); similarly, 3, 2, 2, 10 *śṛtaṃ vai devānāṃ havir nāśṛtaṃ* "cooked is the oblation for the gods, not uncooked"; 3, 2, 2, 12 *jūhvad u haiva manyeta nājūhvāt*; 3, 3, 3, 18 *tasmād daśabhir eva kr̥ṇīyān nādaśabhiḥ*. Here a widespread feature of colloquial speech has been adopted and utilized for reasons of accuracy. Similar phrases are also ŚatB. 3, 3, 2, 2 *dvayaṃ vā idaṃ na tṛtīyam asti* "twofold is this, there is no third" and 3, 5, 1, 21 *yad etaṃ pratyagrahīṣṭa na mām*. The type 2, 6, 2, 14 *urvārukam iva bandhanād ito mukṣīya māmuta*.

In commenting upon these and other phrases of this class we do well to take into account the well-known copulative alternative, or disjunctive combinations : true and false, truth and falsehood, pleasure and pain, joy and sorrow, light and dark, good and bad and so on, which are, in Sanskrit, so closely united as to combine into compounds : *satyānr̥te*, *sukhadurh̥kha-*, *śuklakṛṣṇa-*, *bhadrāpā-* etc.³⁸⁾. Not rarely the latter member of these phrases is as to its outward form a negative substantive or adjective : *satyānr̥te*, *priyāpriyāni*. Now, side by side with these fixed phrases or compounds we sometimes find such dilated or expanded³⁹⁾ schemata as

³⁷⁾ F. Lacôte, Budhasvāmin, Bṛhat-kathā-ḥloka-saṃgraha, II, Paris 1908, p. 111.

³⁸⁾ See ch. XVII.

³⁹⁾ This is not to subscribe to the view presented by W. Krause, Die Wortstellung in den zweigliedrigen Wortverbindungen, Kuhn's Zs. 50 (1922), p. 87 ff.: such word groups as Wahrheit und Unwahrheit were in the course of time replaced by the type

MHGerm. *diu wîse, niht diu tumbe; den jungen nicht den alten* (cf. the widespread *jung und alt*)⁴⁰), Yt. 5, 65 *mošu tat ās nōit darəγəm* "soon it happened, not long (it was)"...; Eur. Tr. 446 *νυκτός, οὐκ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ* "by night, not in the day-time", and in India : JaimBr. 3, 18 *adya vāva tvam vettha na śvāh*. Thus we find : AV. 4, 9, 7 *idaṃ vidvān āñjana satyaṃ vak-śyāmi nānṛtaṃ* "... I shall speak truth, not falsehood" (the compound occurs AV. 1, 33, 2); RV. 8, 62, 12 *satyaṃ id vā u taṃ vayam indraṃ stavāma nānṛtaṃ* "nur der Wahrheit gemäsz wollen wir traun den Indra preisen" (Geldner) (the compound 7, 49, 3); Rām. 2, 34, 48 *tvām ahaṃ satyaṃ icchāmi nānṛtaṃ puruṣarṣabha*; ViPur. 1, 18, 15 *pitā ca mama sarvasmiñ jagaty utkr̥ṣṭaceṣṭitaḥ | etad apy avagacchāmi satyaṃ atrāpi nānṛtaṃ*. A favourite phrase is also ChU. 6, 2, 1 *ekam advitīyam* "one only with a second"; Mbh. 14, 26, 1 *ekah śāstā na dvitīyo 'sti śāstā*.

Instances of a more elaborate wording are not wanting : AiB. 4, 1, 7 *vāco vāva tau stanau, satyānṛte vāva te. avaty enaṃ satyaṃ, nainam anṛtaṃ hinasti ya evaṃ veda*, in the common antithetic way of the brāhmaṇas⁴¹).

The schema under discussion is beyond any doubt often an adequate means of inculcating a difficult idea, of precluding ambiguity. As already stated teachers and educators spontaneously resort to it : Dutch (an older child in speaking to a younger sister) *hou je goed vast, hou je goed vast, niet loslaten!* and scientific works not rarely contain counterparts of Deussen's (Gesch. Ind. Phil. I, 1, p. 131) *welches somit in ihm, nicht ausser ihm ist*. Mbh. 14, 19, 34 it reads : *purasyābhyantare tasya manah sthāpyaṃ na bāhyataḥ*. Compare the well-known device of Indian commentators in explaining the sense of a word : Mallinātha, Bhār. Kir. 8, 4 *ghanāni* (which is in the text) *sāndrāṇi, na tu viralāṇi*, or, to revert for a moment to the words for "other", their paraphrase of the forms : Mall. Kāl. Ragh. 6, 38 *saṃgrāmeṣu yuddheṣu nirviṣṭā anubhūtāḥ sahasraṃ bāhavo yasya sa tathoktaḥ; yuddhād anyatra dvibhuja eva dr̥śyata ity arthaḥ*, and Mammata, Kāvyaapr. 8, 1 (66) *tathā rasasyaiva mādhyūdayo guṇā na varṇānām* "... thus sweetness and the other excellencies belong to the rasa, not to the words". Indian teachers and scholars are much inclined to mould their lessons into antithetic statements. Hence, the frequent mode of expression

Wahrheit und Lüge, in which the second member is, as to its outward form, positive; at the latter stage of development it became, he holds, possible "irgend einen Begriff durch die Figur der vollen Litotes stark hervorzuheben: das ist Wahrheit (und) nicht Lüge". I am not convinced that we can, in general, trace any chronological relation of the kind between these types. As to Wahrheit und Lüge and their equivalents in many other languages (cf. Lat. *verum* : *falsum*; Gr. *ψεῦδος* : *ἀλήθεια* etc.) the expression of the opposition by two etymologically unrelated words seems to be old: see a paper by the present author on *ahimsā* and similar words which is to be published elsewhere.

⁴⁰) K. Kinzel, Zs. f. deutsche Phil. 5, (1874), p. 12.

⁴¹) These texts frequently mention *satyaṃ* and *anṛtaṃ* in the same context: ŚatBr. 1, 1, 1, 4 *dvayaṃ vā idaṃ na tritīyam asti, satyaṃ caivānṛtaṃ ca*; 2, 2, 2, 19; 3, 3, 2, 2; 4, 2, 8; 6, 3, 1, 34 etc. etc.

SauraPur. 64, 23 *mumukṣūṇām brahmatvam api kākṣiṇām / bhaktir eva virūpākṣe nānyaḥ panthā iti śrutih* "for those who wish to be emancipated ... bhakti is the way, no other ..."; ViPur. 3, 8, 9 etc. may be considered to be, in a sense, an abbreviated form of longer passages in which the various ways to final emancipation are contrasted with a view to prefer bhakti : cf. e. g. BhagG. 11, 53 f. The wish to be clear and to do full justice to the importance of the subjects with which they had to deal inducing them to an antithetic parallelism — which in a very concise form appears in BārUp. 3, 2, 13 *pūṇyo vai pūṇyena karmaṇā bhavati, pāpaḥ pāpena* — also led them to word an instruction of great importance in the following way : ChUp. 4, 17, 10 *tasmād evaṃvidam eva brāhmaṇam kurvita, nānevaṃvidam*; Manu 9, 86 *dharmakāryam ... / svā caiva kuryāt ... / nāsvajātiḥ kathamcana* "the wife of equal caste alone ... , not a wife of different caste .. shall perform work founded on dharma" (cf. also 82). Exact symmetry is however often avoided to such an extent that we had better speak of a negative repetition of thought : BārUp. 3, 2, 13 *āvām evaitasya vedīṣyāvah, na nāv etat sajana iti*; 2, 1, 8 *pratirūpaṃ haivainam upagacchati, nāpratirūpaṃ*; 2, 4, 12.

It is therefore not surprising to find many instances of this schema in direct speech, especially in orders, addresses and emotional utterances : BhG. 6, 5 *uddhared ātmanātmānam / nātmanān avasādayet* (cf. also 2, 70); Mbh. 3, 72, 8 *sarvaḥ sarvaṃ na jānāti, sarvajño nāsti kaścana*; Aśv. Bc. 13, 11 *bhava sthiro mā vimucaḥ pratijñām*; ViPur. 3, 7, 15 *harigurovaśago 'smi na svatantraḥ*; Budhasv. BK. 18, 48 *etāvad eva tatrāsīn nātiriktam iti bruvaṇ*; Śukas. orn. 34, 18 *etādṛśa eva śabda uccāraṇīyaḥ, nānyat kim api vyāhartavyam* (cf. 22). Similar passages occur in other literatures : Γ 82 (emotionally) *ἵσχεσθ' Ἀργεῖοι μὴ βάλλετε*; A 573; Eur. Cycl. 211 *βλέπετ' ἄνω καὶ μὴ κάτω*; Alc. 45; Ψ 265 *δαίμονίν, τί τ' ἄρ' αἶ με μάλ' ὀτρύνονσα κελεύεις / εἰπέμεν; αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ μνηθήσομαι οὐδ' ἐπιχεύσω*. In Javanese, Tantu Panggelaran, p. 96 "verily, he shall go to hell, not ascend to heaven" (parallel members); Nawaruci, p. 29 "go off at once, don't choose a moment" (urgency); Wirātap. p. 3, 4 F. "to tell the truth, not to embellish (your narrative)".

In a narrative style this mode of expression is an excellent means of dwelling upon a topic, of impressing the truth or importance of the record or statement of giving a more vivid and detailed description. Cf. Mbh. 3, 57, 9 where it is related that Damayanti, while entering the place of assembly where the princes had gathered, stole their eyes and minds (st. 8); lingering over this detail, the poet continues : *tasyā gātreṣu patitā teṣāṃ drṣṭir mahātmanām / tatra tatraiva saktābhūn, na cacāla cā paśyatām*. In the description of a fight : Rām. 3, 27, 20 *dravanti sma na tiṣṭhanti vyādhatrastā mṛgā iva* "they ran away, did not stay, like forest animals frightened (because of the presence) of hunters". When describing how Nanda's passion was inflamed by the apsaras Aśv. Bc. 10, 40 ff., in a series of similes and reflections, inserts the following stanza (42) *yathā manusyo malinam hi*

vāsaḥ kṣāreṇa bhūyo malinikaroti / malakṣayārthaṃ na malodbhavārthaṃ... (notice the parallelism). This pleasant and precise style was already known in R̥gvedic times : R̥V. 7, 103, 8 (addressed to the frogs) *āviri bhavanti, guhyā na ke cit* (notice the variation : "they appear, none of them are hidden").

In a similar way, Hesiod, when describing Pandora's jar says: Op. 97 *μοῦνη δ' αὐτόθι Ἑλπίς . . . / ἔνδον ἔμιμνε πίθον ὑπὸ χεῖλεσσι, οὐδὲ θύραζε / ἐξέπτει;* cf. Theog. 551 *γυνὼ δ' οὐδ' ἠγνόησε δόλον.* In the unaffected and long-winded manner of telling stories of the Malays and other Indonesian peoples such more or less tautologic twin-formulas as : he became dreamy (his thoughts wandered), became deprived of consciousness; broken up (dispersed), in indescribable confusion; disappeared, not a trace of it to be found, the second member being put into a negative phrase, are highly common. The *amṛta*, being taken into the mouth by Rāhu, the Jav. Tantu Panggelaran, p. 69 relates, *wahu kahēmu duruñ tēka riñ awaknya* "had just entered his mouth, had not yet passed into his body (stomach)"; p. 90 *rēp kinukuban ira tan wineh katona* (in a vivid style) "he concealed it, did not let it become visible". It can, however, not be said that the second member of this schema is always inconsistent with the requirements of a matter-of-fact style or superfluous from a 'logical' or objective point of view. When it is stated (ŚatBr. 6, 1, 1, 2; BārUp. 4, 2, 2) that the gods are fond of the cryptic, this does not necessarily imply that they dislike the evident; the second member is, therefore, no merely tautologic addition : *paroḥṣapriyā iva hi devāḥ pratyakṣadviṣaḥ* in the BārUp. as against *paroḥṣakāmā hi devāḥ* in the ŚatBr. Although in a combat between the *devas* and the *asuras* a victory of the former means a defeat of the latter, the deeper sense conveyed by this mythical occurrence which BārU. 1, 3, 7 is explained after the statement *tato devā abhavan, parāsurāḥ* requires, for the sake of clearness, the complete formulation : "he increases himself, a hateful enemy becomes inferior for him who knows this". Hence also 2, 1, 8 *pratirūpaṃ haivainam upagacchati, nāpratirūpaṃ*. Compare also JB. 2, 152 *anu ha tāṃ śriyaṃ vindate, nāsmāt sā śrīr apakrāmati ya evaṃ veda* "wer solches weiss, der bekommt das Ansehen zurück, das Ansehen weicht nicht von ihm" (Caland), and similar texts. Such instances as Manu 9, 157; BhagG. 6, 5 (see above) may likewise be interpreted from this point of view. In scientific works we come across : Coomaraswamy, Gēsch. Ind. Indon. Kunst, p. 63 *Das Haupt ist geschoren, niemals mit Locken bedeckt*; Bhānuachandra on Bāṇa's Kād. p. 18 (as to the urnā) *sa ca cakravartiprabhṛtīnām eva nānyajanāsyā*; or without using the negative particle : Śaṅk. BhagG. 13, 25 *śrutipārūyaṇāḥ : kevalaparopadeśapramāṇāḥ svayaṃvivekarakatāḥ*.

The same desire for exactitude is not rarely proper to such ritual texts as the above R̥V. 10, 85, 25 (= AV. 14, 1, 18 etc.) *preto muñcāmi nāmutaḥ* "I release (her) from here, not from yonder" (followed by : "I make her well-bound yonder"), pronounced on the occasion of a wedding in order

to attach the bride to the family of her husband; 7, 59, 12 *urvārukam iva bandhanān mṛtyor mukṣīya māmṛtāt*, or to religious writings in general. Cf. also, in the Avesta, Y. 46, 8 "and keep him far from good life, not from evil life"; 17 "where I shall recall your merits, not your faults".

It is therefore not surprising that we have also sufficient evidence of a predilection for this figure in peremptory, authoritative, or self-complacent speech : in the Buginese mythological text I la Galigo it reads "your words are true, my younger brother, I declare that they are not false"; and G. Duhamel, *Cécile parmi nous*, p. 179 *Mais, comme je l'avais prévu, Maîtresse, et pas autrement*. It can also serve to press a person for an answer : K 85 φθέγγεο, μηδ' ἀκέων ἐπ' ἐμ' ἔρχεο · τίπτε δέ σε χρεώ; or to persuade him to do something I 70 (after an imperative :) δαίνυ δαῖτα γέρονσιν · εἰσικέ τοι, οὗ τοι αἰκνές. It lends itself also very well to concluding a chapter or a pericope, not only on account of the element of repetition which it contains, but, as a rule, also because of its length ⁴²). Thus, in the BārUp. at the end of 1, 3 (28) *tad dhaṇīta lokaṇid eva, na haivā-lokyatāyā āśāsti, ya evam etat sāma veda* "This (sāman), indeed, is world-conquering. There is no prospect of his being without a world who knows thus this sāman"; Īśvarag. 6, 51 *aham hi bhagavān īśaḥ . . . / matto hy anyo na vidyate* "I am the holy Lord . . . there is no other than I". Compare e. g. Herodotus 7, 119 in fine τὰ ἐπιπλά πάντα λαβόντες οὕτω ἀπελαύνεσκον, λείποντες οὐδὲν ἀλλὰ φερόμενοι.

There is however no denying that the preference for this figure often indicates a tendency to verbosity. An old man showing me the way added some particulars with regard to the street which I wanted to find : it was a rather broad street, he said, adding : *het is een stille straat, er is niet veel passage in*, "it is a quiet street, there is not much traffic in it". Sophocles repeatedly put the schema into the mouth of a messenger : O.R. 1230 ἐκόντα κοῦκ ἄκοντα; 1275 πολλάκις τε κοῦχ ἄπαξ; O.C. 1653 βαίων οὐδὲ σὸν χρόνον. The often prolix Indonesian poets like to speak of artifices that are subtle and not manifest : OJav. Hariv. 10, 15 *anūkṣma tan kara*; of love that was concealed and not revealed : 12, 2 *kinēkēs in ati tan wināhyakēn*; of princes who are weak and without force : Sorāndaka 1, 12 *kṣaya tan tēman* ⁴³); of preventing and not allowing (3, 46; cf. 79), of letting go and not holding, of separating and not being together, and so on. In the long-winded songs and litanies of the people of Nias (to the West of Sumatra) in which the tendency to repeat words and thoughts in endless parallel systems has become the most characteristic principle of style ⁴⁴), passages such as : "he began to starve, he did not want to eat" are very frequent, and in the

⁴²) JainBr. I, no. 90 C. in fine the authoritative character and this concluding force combine in *tasya na bhūty alpakeva cañśāsti, paraiva bhavatīti*.

⁴³) The short litotes with *tan* "not" is often found, and sometimes assumed a mechanical character.

⁴⁴) A number of these texts have been edited by W. L. Steinhart, Niassche teksten, Proc. Batav. Gen. 73, Bandung 1937.

proverbs, sayings and short poems of the cognate peoples it has, without spreading to such an extent, likewise, free scope : "open your mouth, do not shut it, that I put in a betel quid" (Bare'e, Celebes). The didactic passages of the purāṇas often contain such twofold statements as ViPur. 1, 4, 18 *tvām ārādhya param brahma yātā muktiṃ mumukṣavaḥ | vāsudevam anārādhya ko mokṣaṃ samavāpsyasi*. Similarly in discourses in the epic and purāṇic style : Hariv. 49, 60 *tvam eko 'sya mrdhe hantā, nānyaḥ kaścana vidyate*. In the Milindap. 53 T. it reads : *na tāni bhājanāni abhavantāni jātāni, bhavantāni yeva jātāni* "the pots do not spring into being without a becoming, it is by a process of becoming that they spring into being". Cf. in Greek e. g. Hdt. 7, 40. Compare also Daṇḍin. Dke. 4th u., p. 180 *eṣa me patis tavāpakartā na veti daivam eva jānāti. na me 'nayāsti cintayā phalam*, and similar modes of expression.

It is convenient here to say a few words on the phenomenon of the so-called Gesetz der wachsenden Glieder in connection with the schema under discussion. As may appear from the instances quoted on the preceding pages the second member is not always longer. Yet the very occurrence of the negative particle or of a similar element often makes it somewhat more extended. The negative particle is not infrequently followed by an emphatic element : Aśv. S. 15, 43 *praheyaḥ sa tvayā saumya | nūdhivāsyah kathamcana* "it must be abandoned, my friend, and not be entertained by any means". Compare, in French, Duhamel, *Entretiens dans le tumulte* (1919), p. 80 *cette lutte gigantesque, héroïque, et non sans péril*. Compare also the type Mbh. 1, 232, 11 *tvam evaikas tapase jātavedo | nānyas taptā vidyate* "thou alone givest out (destroys by) heat, there is no other heater".

Sometimes the greater length of the second member is a natural consequence of a variation of thought : BārUp. 1, 3, 28 *tad dhaital lokajid eva, na haivālokyatāyā ūśāsti*. Cf. in the Malay Hik. s. Boma, p. 69 "they were in retreat, and did not dare to offer resistance".

Cases are, however, not wanting in which the second member, though striking us as comparatively long or even as ponderous, has no more syllables than the first member : Mbh. 3, 298, 36 *evam etad yathā vettha; saṃkalpo nānyathā hi vaḥ* "it is as you know it to be; your desire can never prove otherwise (i.e. fruitless)". As has already been intimated such extended members are, especially when they are co-extensive with the last quarter of a stanza, much liked by epic and other poets : Mbh. 3, 76, 21 *na hi me 'nyat prayojanam; Bhāravi, Kir. 1, 11 na bādhate 'sya trigāṇaḥ parasparam* etc.

Now, it is worthy of attention that some of the above instances contain an element of explanation, motivation, or correction. In "they were in retreat, and did not dare to offer resistance", the motive of their lack of resistance is explicitly given; in Hom. α 410 *ὅλον ἀναίτας ἄφαρ οἴχεται οὐδ' ὑπέμεινεν | γινώμεναι* the last words likewise essentially add to the understanding of the passage, although an intelligent reader might have supplied it if it

was not there; cf. also ι 189; Ψ 574; Therīg. 486 "King M. was the first of those who enjoyed the pleasures of the senses" / *atitto kālaṅkato na c'assa paripūrītā icchā* "he, however, died unsatisfied, his desire was not satiated".

Sometimes the whole of the second member seems to have been added for the sake of explaining the first part of the utterance : "it is not allowed to play truant, to stay away from school", when said to someone who is ignorant of the meaning of the phrase to play truant. Cf. RV. 10, 94, 12 *dhruvāḥ . . . sadaso na yuñjate*.

Incidentally an author even proceeds to give a formal philological explanation of that word in the former part of the schema which could lead to misunderstanding : a very typical instance is Homer K 293 (= γ 383) *ἀδμήτην* (viz. *βοῦν*), *ἥν οὖ πω ὑπὸ ζυγὸν ἤγαγεν ἀνὴρ* : Porphyrius, Schol. Z 201 already pointed out that here *ἄδμητος* does not mean "unwedded" (*ἄγαμος*), but "unbroken (of cattle)"⁴⁵. JBr. 3, 261 the second member is essential to a full understanding : *devā vai sattram upayanto 'bruvan : yan naḥ krūram ātmanas, tan nirmimāmahai, mā sakrūra upagāmeti* "die Götter, eine Opfersitzung unternehmend, sagten : "Was von unserem Körper furchtbar ist, das wollen wir (ausscheiden und daraus ein Wesen) herausbilden. Nicht mit dem Furchtbaren wollen wir (das Opfer) unternehmen" (Caland). Now and then we might be tempted to consider the schema in its entirety an effort to bring out the exact meaning of the foregoing part of the utterance : AthV. 3, 15, which was (according to Kauś. 50, 12; 59, 6) used in rites for success in trading, reads, in st. 5, like this : *yena dhanena prapaṇam carāmi | dhanena devā dhanam icchamānaḥ | tan me bhūyo bhavati mā kanīyaḥ . . .* "the riches with which I practise bargaining, seeking riches with riches, O gods, let that become more to me, not less". Does Yama, RV. 10, 10, 12 after refusing to marry his sister and pointing out the guilt of incest add the words *anyena mat pramudaḥ kalpayasva | na te bhrātā subhage vaṣṭy etat* "with another than me help yourself to have pleasures; your brother does not wish that, O charming one", with a view to exclude the possibility of being misunderstood?

This application of the figure is, moreover, also made a subtle device for dwelling upon a detail with a view to make us supply a point in the narrative. When Homer, X 289 ff. in a detailed description of a single combat, says : . . . *ἀμπεπαλὼν προΐει δολιχόσκιον ἔγχος, | καὶ βάλε Πηλεΐδαο μέσον σάκος, οὐδ' ἀφάμαρτεν | τῆλε δ' ἀπεπλάγχθη σάκος δόρυ* "... he hurled the missile, threw it so as to hit the very middle of the shield, he did not miss his mark, but the spear glanced off far from the shield" he apparently desires us to supply "he did not miss his mark; (it is true, but in vain, for) the spear glanced off"⁴⁶. Cf. also N 160 where in a similar situation the spear is broken; Plato, Lach. 191 A; 190 E.

We do not realize the full meaning of the first pāda of RV. 10, 19, 1

⁴⁵ See L. Ph. Rank, *Etymologiseering en verwante verschijnselen bij Homerus*, Thesis Utrecht 1951, p. 82 f.

⁴⁶ The reader might be referred to H. Skerlo, in *Philologus* 38 (1879) p. 1 ff.

ni vartadhvam mānu gata before we have heard the next words : *asmān siṣakta* : “turn back, do not follow (others), be associated with us”. Cf. also Kāl. Kum. 2, 34 *sarvābhīḥ sarvadā candras taṃ* (viz. Tāraka) *kalābhir niṣevate* / *nādatte kevalāṃ lekham haracūdāmaṇīkṛtām*.

The above tendencies may even lead to an accumulation of similar phrases : RV. 8, 1, 27 *gamat sa śiprī na sa yoṣad* / *ā gamad dhavaṃ na pari varjati* “he should come . . . , he should not keep aloof, he should approach, not neglect the call” (cf. 33, 9 *yadi stotur maghavā śṛṇavad dhavaṃ nendro yoṣaty ā gamat*). When the elements of the phrase are, in the negative member, repeated in the reverse order the author’s desire for unambiguous speech is realized in the most explicit way possible : Avesta N. 21 *surunoiti zaota upasraotaranqm, nōiḥ upasraotārō zaotarō* “the z. listens to the u., not the u. to the z.” In a Bare’e stanza “open the mouth, do not close it . . . , do not close the mouth, open it . . . ” the complete schema is repeated in a chiasmic way.

Another characteristic of this schema is that it can serve to lay stress on a difference between reality and expectation. Thus Mbh. 3, 68, 20 *duṣkaraṃ kurute ’tyantam hīno yad anayā nalaḥ* / *dhārayaty ātmano dehaṃ na śokenāvasīdati* “Nala achieves something very difficult by preserving his life without her and without succumbing to sorrow” (lit. “. . . and he does not s. to s.”) the negative member expresses what would have been probable; Aśv. Bc. 3, 17 *śighraṃ samarthāpi tu gantum anyā gatiṃ nija-grāha yayau na tūrṇam* “but another, though well able to move with speed, checked her steps and went not rapidly”; 13, 39 stones, trees etc. *tasthur nabhasy eva na cāvapetuḥ* and 47 arrows *tasthur nabhasy eva munau nā petuḥ* (notice the repetition). In Malay writings such constructions as “he was silent and did not answer”, “it was in accordance with established practice, they had not introduced any alteration”; “they came forward and would not retreat” were used under similar circumstances. When, in the Javanese Tantu Panggĕlaran, p. 89, it is reported that a princess is blind, the answer is given : “go back, . . . she is seeing, no longer blind”. In Greek : Eur. Hel. 1185.

We now come to those cases in which the negative member precedes. As far as I am able to see they are, in Sanskrit, in a minority⁴⁷). Sometimes the very context leads the author to put his thoughts first into negative phrase : JaimBr. 1, 149 *gotamād vai mano ’pākrāmat. so ’kāmayata : na man mano ’pakrāmet, punar mā mana āviśed iti* “from G. his mind went away; he desired : ‘may my mind not leave me, may it enter me again’”. The continuation of the mythical narrative has the same clauses in the reverse order, which, there, is no less natural : *sa ete sāmanī apaśyat; tābhyām astuta. tato vai taṃ punar mana āviśan, nāsmān mano ’pākrāmat*. And in 1, 148 *te* (viz. cattle) *’smāt sṛṣṭā apākrāman. so ’kāmayata : na mat paśavo ’pakrāmeyur, abhi māvarterann iti*, and further on : *tad etat paśa-*

⁴⁷) This is also the case in the ancient Egyptian documents examined by Firchow, o.c., p. 91.

vyam sāma . . . abhy enam p. āvartante, nāsmāt p. 'pakrāmānti ya evam veda. In both cases the person speaking wishes to be saved from evil experiences, the undoing and averting of which is more emphasized than the opposite situation which is in agreement with his desires. Yama insisting on further questions being left unposed : KāṭhUp. 1, 21 *mā moparotsīr ati mā srjainam*. Here the *mā* clause which rejects the realization of the interlocutor's desires is in a natural way given the first place, the positive second clause is mainly to give evidence of the speaker's insistence. The god's presence is ardently wished for : RV. 8, 33, 9 *nendro yoṣaty ā gamat* "dann möge Indra nicht fernbleiben : er soll herkommen!" (Geldner). Compare also RV. 8, 84, 9; 4, 18, 3 *na nānu gāny anu nū gamāni* "ich will nicht nicht folgen, ich will doch folgen", d. h. "ich will nicht zurückbleiben, ich will doch nachgehen" (Geldner: "der Entschluss wird erst negativ, dann stärker positiv ausgedrückt"). In other cases the negative member is a litotes or phrase of frequent occurrence : in Old-Javanese BhK. 17, 11 "it is no mean . . ., it is exceptional"; Tantu Pangg. p. 111 "they did not refuse it, they gave it him" (in part of the manuscripts a new "they did not refuse it" is, in a significant way, added); and with a variation consisting of a 'rhetorical' question and an enumeration : Sor. 3, 143 "it was not different from the fishes in the sea. To what should it be compared? The . . . were like the pe-fishes etc."; in an OJav. mystic text translated by Zoetmulder, *Pantheïsme en monisme*, p. 244 "these words do not differ in the least, in their deepest sense they are completely identical with . . .". And in a modern novel : H. de Montherlant, *Les célibataires*⁶², p. 114 *il n'y a plus de temps à perdre, il est temps que je me trouve une place* (variation).

Refusals, prohibitions etc., which are often expressed in the same phrases, likewise tend to occupy the first place : Fr. *ne ferme pas la fenêtre! laisse-la ouverte!*; OJav. Sor. 1, 61 *aywa kinubda / ala ayu kawruhi* "don't suppress anything, mark well what is good and evil" (at the end of an address, pronounced in an authoritative tone, notice the 'polar' phrase *ala ayu*); 3, 81 "don't let him pass, let (them) stop him"; Sri Tanj. 1, 50 "don't embrace me too tightly; your arms should bear me, for my breasts are pinched"; in a Manggarai folk-tale (island of Flores) "don't mix the parts . . . together, let them be kept apart". In Sanskrit we find : Budhasvāmin, BK. 5, 121 (an order given to emotionally disturbed people) *mā palāyadhvam, āsyatām*; KāṭhUp. 1, 21 (concluding a flat refusal) *mā moparotsīr, ati mā srjainam* "press me not! let it pass me over! (i.e. refrain from exacting that from me)". Compare also, in peremptory speech, Mbh. 1, 47, 25 *samīpe te na vatsyāmi / gamiṣyāmi yathāgatam* (the person speaking feels offended) : one of those cases in which this order of the members is perfectly natural : "I shall no longer live with you: I shall go away where I came from". Concluding an argument or prediction of a minatory purport : JaimBr. 1, 248 (I, no. 90 C. in fine) *tasya na bhūty alpakeva canāśāsti, paraiva bhavatīti* "für ihn gibt es auch nicht die geringste Hoffnung auf Wohlfahrt : er geht zugrunde" (Caland). Compare also RV. 9, 96, 4.

Not infrequently the first member denies that there is reason to fear, or declares that there is no ground for cherishing definite hopes etc. The two instances quoted first are remarkable for a complication, the negative part of the schema being, strictly speaking, placed between two affirmative utterances of similar tenor : Homer ι 144 f. ἀὴρ γὰρ περὶ νηυσὶ βαθεῖ ἦν, οὐδὲ σελήνῃ / οὐρανόνθεν προύφαινε, κατείχετο δὲ νεφέεσσιν; AthV. 5, 30, 6 (in a text used in a ceremony for length of life) : *ihaidhi puruṣa / sarveṇa manasā saha / dūtau yamasya mānu gā / adhi jīvapurā ihi* "be here, O man, together with your whole mind, do not follow Yama's two messengers; go unto the strongholds of the living here". In the *Odyssey* ι 164 the poet first, and minutely, meets an objection which, it is true, is not actually raised : (they spent the day in eating and drinking) οὐ γάρ πω νηῶν ἐξέφθιτο οἶνος ἐρυνθός, / ἀλλ' ἐνέην (mark the brevity of the positive member). This example shows that the use of these constructions may also spring from the desire to emphasize that a well-known process or state of affairs — *in casu*, that the wine has run out — is entirely out of the question. OJav. Sor. 2, 85 (they were disposed to die for the sake of their lord) *tan tṛṣṇeṇ anak rabi / tṛṣṇā eṇ tuhan kagugu* "they evinced no affection for their wives and children, they stuck to their affection for their lord". In a short schema: Gr. Herod. 4, 7 "thousand years" οὐ πλέω ἀλλὰ τοσαῦτα (cf. Stein's commentary). Cf. also R. Wagner, Tr. u. I. 3. Aufz. *Hei nun, wie du kamst? / Zu Rosz rittest du nicht; / ein Schiffllein führte dich her . . .* In this way the second member may sometimes be regarded as following a non-expressed "what is more": RV. 2, 41, 11 *indrāś ca mṛlayāti no / na naḥ paścād aghaṃ naśat / bhadram bhavāti naḥ puraḥ* (or : "not only not — but (also)"); AV. 7, 20, 3 II *tasya vyaṃ heḍaśi māpi bhūma / sumṛḍīke asya sumatau syāma* "let us not come to be within his wrath, may we be in his very gracious favour"; BhāḡPur. 11, 5, 3 *ya eṣāṃ . . . īśvaram / na bhajanty, avajānanti / sthānād bhraṣṭāḥ patanty adhaḥ*.

This particular use seems, on the one hand, to underlie the well-known type of often hyperbolic affirmation : Plautus Poen. 361 *iuravisti haud semel, sed centiens* (cf. Antipho 1, 3 μὴ ἅπαξ ἀλλὰ πολλάκις) which developed into such more elaborate and 'learned' constructions as Plautus Stich. 163 *ego non paucillulam in utero gesto famem, verum . . . maximam; non modo non . . . sed ne . . . quidem*; Cic. Or. 221 *non modo non frequenter, verum etiam raro*⁴⁸⁾. It can, on the other hand, keep the reader or listener in suspense: in a Javanese instance *aku ora mulih, aku arep lunga* "I don't want to return, I want to go away"⁴⁹⁾ both members may be regarded as connected by a silent thought : "what is it you do want ?" Cf., in the ancient Fr. Roman d'Eneas 1782 *ge ne porrai mie oblier. memberra m'en tant com vivrai*. The relation between the two parts of the schema can, however, very satisfactorily be expressed by our *but* in such cases as Mi-

⁴⁸⁾ See J. B. Hofmann, in Stolz-Schmalz, Lateinische Grammatik⁵, 1928, p. 685; 835.

⁴⁹⁾ See Bijleveld, o.c., p. 15.

lindap. p. 44T. *na ca arahanto apakkam pātentī, paripākam āgamenti paṇḍitā* "the a.'s do not shake down the unripe fruit, but await the full time of their maturity". One of the constructions nearly related to the phenomenon at issue is that represented by RV. 1, 84, 19 *tvam aṅga pra śamsiṣo devaḥ ... martyam / na tvad anyo maghavann asti marḍitā* "Thou alone, the god will estimate the worth of the mortal man . . . ; there is no other than Thee to pardon him, O bountiful one" : although the relation of both members of the utterance is not the same as the positive : negative relation in the above instances, here also a negative sentence follows a positive statement of similar purport. Compare, in Greek, instances such as Aesch. Suppl. 90 *πᾶντε δ' ἀσφαλὲς οὐδ' ἐπὶ νότῳ*.

It should in this connection be observed that in almost all cases exact symmetry between the positive and the negative member of these constructions is avoided by a change of order, the choice of words or a variation of thought or structure. Even the works of those authors who are not averse to certain forms of repetition exhibit fine instances of variation : Aśv. Bc. 8, 83 *tyaja naravara śokam ehi dhairyam / kudhrtir ivārhasi dhira nāśru moktum*. Passing mention may also be made of those cases in which no negative particles are used. We have already come across the passage BārUp. 4, 2, 2 *parokṣapriyā iva hi devāḥ, pratyakṣadviṣaḥ* "for the gods are fond of what is concealed, they dislike the evident" where an antithesis is expressed by two adjectives of opposite meaning. Cf. also ChUp. 5, 2, 2 *lambhuko ha vāso bhavati, anagno ha bhavati*; BārUp. 3, 4, 2 *sākṣād aparokṣād brahma*. Śukas. orn. 26 (p. 38, 4S.) *bhavatsadṛśāḥ samāyānti yasmīn dine tad eva sudīnam, itarāṇi durdīnānīti*. The Old-Jav. poet of the Bhomak. 48, 4 speaks of "faithful and unswerving loyalty". A frequent means of expressing a complementary thought consists in a construction with the above-mentioned *anyathā* in combination with a pair of opposite nouns : BhagG. 13, 11 *etad jñānam iti proktam / ajñānam yad ato 'nyathā* "this is called knowledge, ignorance is what is other than that". This turn of speech can, of course, be subject to variation : Mbh. 1, 3, 97 *evam hi kurvataḥ śreyo bhavitā, anyathā kutaḥ śreyaḥ ?* : here the person speaking wants to inculcate the tenor of his allocution in the listener.

Occasionally a special dialectic effect is obtained by subjoining a negative conclusion to a statement formulated in the positive : Mbh. 7, 2, 11 *jagaty anitye satatam pradhāvati pracintayann asthīram adya lakṣaye* "in this transient world . . . I regard (anything) as unsteady". The complementary character of this turn of speech is especially obvious in such well-known phrases as Mbh. 3, 64, 73 *samāśvasiḥi, mā śucaḥ* directed to a person who, being sorrowful and afflicted (*śuc-*), needs to recover breath and take courage (*samāśvas-*); RV. 10, 18, 11a = AV. 18, 3, 50a *uc chvañcasva prthivi mā ni bādhatāḥ* "open yourself (receive in open arms), O earth, do not press down" (belonging to a series of burial-stanzas).

In this connection a passage like JaimBr. 2, 152 can also be regarded as a fine instance of 'completion' : *tad yasmāc chrīr apakrāmet, sa etena*

yaajeta. śrīr vai teṣāṃ sāvākrāmad yad eṣāṃ śreṣṭhy apākrāmat. tām etenai-vānvavindann anu ha tām śriyaṃ vindate, nāsmāt sā śrīr apakrāmati ya evaṃ veda. Cf. also 3, 18 *adya vāva tvam vettha na svaḥ* "you know but the to-day, not the tomorrow".

Sometimes the poet himself has endeavoured to elucidate the meaning of a short double sentence of this character by a simile or comparison : Aśv. S. 15, 3 *kṣeptavyo nādhivāsyah sa vastre renur ivāgataḥ* "it must be shaken off, not be tolerated, like dust which has lodged on one's clothes". Some passages may finally be quoted in order to illustrate the attitude of the great poets of the classic period towards the possibilities contained in this widespread schema, extending and modifying it : Aśv. Bc. 3, 23 *śuddhair manobhir* (two words, instr.) *khalu nānyabhāvāt* (compound, abl.); Kāl. Kum. 2, 34 *sarvābhīḥ sarvadā candras taṃ kalābhir niṣevate | nādatte kevalāṃ lekhāṃ haracūdāmaṇīkṛtām*; Ragh. 14, 66 *bhūyo yathā me jana-nāntare 'pi tvam eva bhartā na ca viprayogaḥ* "that in my next birth you will again be my husband and there would be no separation"; Hitop. Introd. 47 *guṇā guṇajñeṣu guṇā bhavanti te nirguṇaṃ prāpya bhavanti doṣāḥ*; Budh. BK. 5, 79 *alaṃ cātiprasaṅgena saṃkṣepād avadhāryatām* "enough of this indulgence in relating details, let it be heard briefly".

There are however also fine instances of variation and complication in pre-classic works : e. g. BhagG. 2, 41 *vyavasāyātmikā buddhir ekeha . . . / bahuśākhā hy anantās ca buddhayo 'vyavasāyīnām*. Extension and variation of this 'figure of speech' is also found in the Avesta : Yt. 1, 24 "Do Thou protect, O Zarathustra, the loyal man from the opponent, Thou shouldest not hand over the friend to one who thrashes him, not to the ill-treatment of the suppressors, not . . ."

CHIASMUS

Much of what, in books and articles on syntax and stylistics dealing with various languages, has been written on chiasmus concerns the formal and outward aspects of this important phenomenon rather than its value and function. It seems even difficult to imagine what authors of commentaries scattering their works with notes such as chiasmus!, or notice the order of words! would have their readers understand¹⁾. Although it is not to be supposed that the rhythmic, psychical and purely syntactic motives which lead speakers and writers to use 'chiasmus' are completely understood and satisfactorily distinguished one from the other²⁾, there can be no doubt whatever that it is not only a rhetorical device³⁾. Chiasmus is not foreign to natural speech and colloquial usage⁴⁾. It may even be said that in plain and simple speech, in sequences of similar structures, in strings of very common arrangements of words any deviation from fixed types, any unexpected change in the order of the elements tends to arrest the hearer's attention and to become important. Those authors who considered the occurrence of chiasmus to be dependent on a prevailing symmetrically balanced sentence structure⁵⁾ seem to be right in that chiasmus very often appears in predominantly 'parallelistic' passages, in which it acts as a type of variation. Examples of 'Kreuzstellung'⁶⁾ in passages of this character are—as will be shown further on—a very suitable means of expressing antithesis⁷⁾. It is, however, often found in other circumstances, unconnected with binary balanced structures. Generally speaking, the idea conveyed by the sentence is often expressed with greater force by changing the order of words; this procedure, while counteracting or interrupting

¹⁾ See also H. Seidler, *Allgemeine Stilistik*, Göttingen 1953, p. 180.

²⁾ Cf. e.g. E. Richter, *Grundlinien der Wortstellungslehre*, *Zs. für romanische Philologie* 40, § 2; A. Beth, *Variatieverschijnselen in het Oud-Indisch*, Thesis Utrecht 1943, p. 11 f.

³⁾ This is not to deny that this phenomenon also was often deliberately adopted and cultivated by those authors, poets, orators who make conscious efforts to arrange their words and sentences with impressiveness. See e.g. Steele, *Anaphora and chiasmus in Livy*, *Trans. American Phil. Ass.* 32 (1901), p. 166; 185.

⁴⁾ Cf. also Kr. Nyrop, *Gramm. hist. de la langue française*, Copenhagen 1925, p. 431; H. Frei, *La grammaire des fautes*, Paris 1929, p. 278.

⁵⁾ See e.g. R. Strümpell, *Der Parallelismus als stilistische Erscheinung in der frühmhd. Dichtung*, Paul u. Braune's *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur*, 49, p. 165, n.

⁶⁾ See also R. M. Meyer, *Deutsche Stilistik*, § 142.

⁷⁾ See also (Leumann-)Hofmann, *Lat. Grammatik*, p. 797; Biener, *Deutsche Wortstellung*, *Zs. f. deutsches Altertum* 59 (1922), p. 138.

monotony, meets an innate desire for variation ('Variationsbedürfnis'⁸)); it is apt to create a certain tension, to arrest the hearer's attention, to underline a contrast or opposition—Plautus, Pseud. 1320 *ni doleres tu, ego dolerem*—and to lend enhanced significance to one or two of the ideas mentioned by the speaker. Cf. Plautus, Pseud. 1124 f. *quia praeda haec meast: scortum quaerit, habet argentum*. The very distance between the two substantives in the Homeric *B* 289 (cf. *B* 199; 479) *παῖδες νεοαῖοι χῆραί τε γυναικες* helps to preclude any chance of monotony, and to keep the hearer, for a while, in suspense. Thus chiasmus may substantially add to the vividness of a passage⁹), or even suggest a certain unrest or commotion: BhG. 11, 25 *dišo na jāne na labhe ca śarma | prasida deveša . . .* Like all transpositions of words it may render services in emphasizing one of the terms of the utterance: *dans ces conditions, le commerce des livres était fructueux et considérable le nombre de ceux qui le pratiquaient*¹⁰). A picture of this phenomenon cannot however be considered complete without the observation that in many cases the final term of a preceding colon or sentence evokes, by way of association, the corresponding term of the following syntactic unit—especially when it runs parallel to the former—, so as to make it appear, not at the end, but at the beginning of that subsequent unit. This 'attraction' which is frequent in the Semitic languages—cf. e. g. in Hebrew Gen. 12, 3; Jes. 5, 7¹¹)—is no doubt also the main factor in determining such arrangements of words, e. g. in spoken Dutch, as: *morgen gaan we naar A., naar B. overmorgen*; cf. e. g. GobhGS. 1, 4, 19 *stri ha sāyam, prātaḥ pumān* (quotation) "the wife at night, in the morning the husband"; cf. also in an asymmetrical binary structure Gobh. 1, 7, 3 *iti. . . sakṛd, dviṣ tūṣṇim*. In a dialogue a chiasmus is not rarely, in a comparable way, the result of a speaker's resuming the last word or words spoken by his partner: Shakespeare, K. L. 2, 4 *no, I say : : I say, yea*; Plaut. Trin. 375 *eam cupio. . . ducere uxorem sine dote : : sine dote uxorem?*¹²)

First of all we may consider those types of chiasmus which are based on the employment of identical terms. In the mantra literature even the sequence *a b b a* is represented by a sufficient number of examples¹³). Compare e. g. AV. 6, 123, 3 *devāḥ pitarāḥ pitaro devāḥ | yo asmi so asmi* "O gods! O Fathers! O F.! O g., who I am, he am I"; 16, 9, 3 *aganma svah, s. a.* In ritual formulas of greater length: VS. 38, 11; ŚB. 14, 2, 2, 17 etc. *divi dhā imam yajñam, imam yajñam divi dhāḥ*; JB. 1, 362 *kāmāvakirṇo 'smy,*

⁸) Havers, Handbuch, p. 180.

⁹) See e. g. G. S. Overdiep, *Stilistische grammatica van het moderne Nederlandsch*, Zwolle 1937, p. 568.

¹⁰) A. Puttemans, *La censure dans les Pays-bas autrichiens*, Bruxelles 1935, p. 338.

¹¹) For other examples see C. Brockelmann, *Hebräische Syntax*, Neukirchen 1956, p. 137.

¹²) Cf. also Spitzer, *Italien. Umgangsspr.* p. 178 f.; Hofmann, *Lat. Umgangsspr.*, p. 123.

¹³) See also H. Frei, *La grammaire des fautes*, Paris 1929, p. 278; H. Haffter, *Unters. z. altlatein. Dichterspr.*, Thesis Freiburg i. B. 1934, p. 58 f.

avakīrṇo 'smi kāma, kāmāya svāhā; kāmābhidrughdho 'smy, abhidrugdho 'smi kāma, k. s. 14); BārU. 6, 4, 20; GobhGS. 4, 3, 21 *namo vaḥ pitarah, pitaro namo va iti*; cf. also PB. 1, 7, 7 *gidaiṣa te ratha eṣa vām aśvinā rathah*. Compare e. g. Shakespeare, Rom. 3, 3 *blubbing and weeping, weeping and blubbing*; and nursery rhymes of the type *Old King Cole was a merry old soul, and a m. o. s. was he*.

The question may arise as to what factors this type of chiasmus owes its origin. There can be hardly any doubt that the strong tendency to variation, to change and deviation from a given model often counteracts the other no less universal tendency to repeat the schema adopted in the former part of the utterance. Any spoken language or literature may provide us with examples: Mauriac, *Le noeud de vipères*, Gr. 1932, p. 227 "*Les deux messieurs*" *lui dis-je, "le gros et le maigre, le m. et le g."*¹⁵) Behaghel¹⁶) is on the other hand perfectly right in arguing that under the influence of strong emotions a word may occupy, even in repetitions, which are themselves signs of emotion, an 'Erregungsstellung': in repeating a sentence the element which is the main 'bearer' of the emotion is not rarely pronounced first: *du wirst staunen, staunen wirst du*¹⁷); in Dutch colloquial: *hij is gek—gek is-ie*; the other day, a Dutch girl at play added to the traditional cry or formula *ouwe, ouwe toverheks!* the 'inversion' *toverheks, ouwe!*; in a conversation: Shakespeare, Hamlet 1, 5 *in faith, my lord, not I*: : *nōr I, my lord, in faith*. Compare Mbh. 12, 266, 54 *cirakārika bhadraṃ te, bh. te c.*! How expressive a chiasmus may be appears e. g. from Mauriac, *ibid.* 268 *ceux que je devais aimer sont morts; morts ceux qui auraient pu m'aimer*.

Another factor is, to all appearance, the desire to view the contents of an utterance from two sides or not to neglect one element for the other. In the Dutch sentence *zij huilde en lachte, lachte en huilde tegelijk* "she wept and laughed, l. and w. at the same time" both processes are evidently conceived of as equivalent and synchronous. The above statement that an utterance often gains in force by changing the order of words is especially true if it is literally repeated: "*what was sung by the daughter to-day the same was sounded by the clever man, and what was sounded by him the same was sung by the girl.*"¹⁸) In a Dutch street-song *the boys are said to be with the girls, the girls with the boys.*¹⁹) There is further the factor usually defined as vividness or liveliness²⁰).

¹⁴) See also Miss Beth, o.c., p. 26.

¹⁵) For other examples see Miss Beth, o.c., p. 16.

¹⁶) O. Behaghel, *Deutsche Syntax*, IV, Heidelberg 1932, p. 256.

¹⁷) L. Hanke, *Die Wortstellung im Schlesiſchen*, Breslau 1913.

¹⁸) Translation of a Prākṛit sentence (Vasudevahinī 132, 8) quoted by A. M. Ghatage, *New Indian Antiquary* 1939, p. 55.

¹⁹) D. Wouters'en J. Moormann, *Het straatlied*, Amsterdam 1934, p. 38: *als jongens bij de meisjes, meisjes bij de jongens zijn*.

²⁰) Cf. e.g. also Th. Birt, *Erklärung der Catalepton*, Leipzig-Berlin 1910, p. 133 (on Verg. Cat. 12).

A transposition of words may in a repeated utterance expressing reciprocity be also subservient to underlining that idea: AV. 16, 6, 5 *uṣā devī vācā samvidānā | vāg devy uṣasā s.*; and 6; cf. also Homer, *Δ 63 σοὶ μὲν ἔγώ, σὺ δ' ἐμοί*. In technical literature enumerations are, for intrinsic reasons, sometimes repeated in the reverse order: ChU. 2, 2, 1 and 2 *prthivī himkāraḥ, agniḥ. . . , antarikṣaḥ. . . , ādityaḥ. . . , dyaur. . . . athāvr̥tseṣu* (i.e. now in the reverse order) *dyaur. . . , ādityaḥ. . .* etc. Diagonal repetition may, finally, be determined by the very contents of the utterance: GobhGS. 1, 4, 29 *yavebhyo 'dhy ā vr̥hibhyo, v. 'dhi ā y*. "from the barley season till the rices. . . ."; cf. ChU. 8, 13, 1. With variation, in question and answer: Plaut. M. G. 19 *istuc quidem edepol nihil est : n. hercle hoc quidemst. . .* Mention may also be made of the types AV. 2, 30, 4 *yad antaram tad bāhyaṃ | yad bāhyaṃ tad antaram* and MS. 4, 14, 7 *indrah pr̥ṇantam papurim cendraḥ*.

Beginning, for obvious reasons, our investigations of chiasmus in a more general sense of the term with prose texts it should be observed at the outset that the connection between chiasmus and 'parallelism' is often unmistakable. That is to say: many instances of an inverted word order are, in substance, variations in an otherwise balanced or parallel repetition of a given schema. Compare: AiB. 5, 30, 4 *rātham̐tarī vai rātry, ahar bārhatam* "the night is connected with the r., the day with the b."; JB. 1, 153 *taro vai yajñāḥ, stomo vidadvasuḥ*; 2, 249 (quotation) *iyam eva mama, yuwayor etad itarad iti*: words of the same grammatical category often follow each other immediately, a device suited to express, inter alia, an opposition; cf. also ŚB. 3, 5, 1, 14 . . . *yathāsmān evāṅgirasō yājayān na vayam aṅgirasā iti* "how the A. shall minister unto us, and not we unto the A."; cf. JB. 3, 187. Sometimes this order of words seems to have been determined also by the tendency of the 'increasing magnitude': ŚB. 3, 3, 3, 4 *atha yad adhvaryur eva gor vīryāṇy udācaṣṭe na somasya somavikrayi* "and the reason why only the a. enumerates the virtues of the cow and not the s. those of the soma . . .". Thus we find in Latin, Plaut. St. 222 *qui cena poscit? ecqui poscit prandio?*

At times a chiasmic pair of utterances is followed by a similar pair: JB. 1, 224 *anto vai payasām ghr̥tam, a. svargo lokānām; a. v. rasānām madhv, a. s. l.*

In a longer succession of parallel utterances the order of words may change half-way: JB. 1, 27 *tasya bahispavamānam eva rathamukhaṃ, br̥hadhrathantare aśvāv, ājyāni yoktrāṇy*—and with chiasmus—*abhiṣi pavamānau, pakṣasī auśanakāve, āṇi naudhasakāleye*; 2, 129. Sometimes the order changes twice: AiB. 7, 2, 8 *adhyardhaṣatam kāye, sakthini dvipaṇcāṣe. . . . , ūrū dvipaṇcaviṃṣe, ṣeṣam tu śirasy upari dadhyāt*; ŚB. 3, 1, 2, 18 *agneḥ paryāso bhavati, vāyor anuchādo, nīviḥ pitṛnām, sarpāṇam praghāto, viśveṣām devānām tantava, ārokū nakṣatrāṇām*, no doubt mainly under the influence of the tendency to place words of the same grammatical form side by side. Compare also TS. 3, 1, 6 b . . . *jyotiṣā saha, . . . antarikṣeṇa te saha, . . . saha sūryeṇa te*, cf. PB. 1, 2, 1.

Not infrequently the order is not changed until the last, or last but one, member of a series of parallel utterances is reached: "Der Architekt, welcher eine Reihe von gleichen Gliedern nebeneinanderstellt, bringt an dem letzten eine Variation an; eine Reihe von gleichen Takten wird in der Musik durch einen ungleichen zum Abschluss gebracht . . ." ²¹). Thus we find: ŚB. 11, 4, 1, 5 . . . *yasmād adhara evāgre jāyante 'thottare, yasmād anīyāmsa evādhare prathīyāmsa uttare, yasmād daṁṣṭrā varṣīyāmsa, yasmāt samā eva jambhyāḥ*; cf. 13; JB. 2, 129 *aṣṭau prātaḥsavane dadāty, ekādaśa mādhyamādyine savane, dvādaśa tṛtīyasavane, 'nūbandhyāyām ekām, udava-sānīyāyām ekām*; GobhGS. 4, 7, 41 eight times formula + quarter of the sky, then: formula + *adhastād, ūrdhvam* + formula followed, it is true, by *divi*. Cf. also Pañcatantra 4, 3 *tasya bhūpater vīrasambhāvanāyām kriyamānāyām vīgrāhe samupasthite prakalpyamāneṣu gajeṣu saṁnahyamāneṣu vājiṣu yodheṣu praguṇīkriyamāneṣu* . . . European authors have often resorted to chiasmus at the end of a long sentence or pericope, thus e. g. Plato, in describing beatitude: Phaedo 114c *καλὸν γὰρ τὸ ἄθλον καὶ ἡ ἐλπίς μεγάλη*; Duhamel, *Jardin des bêtes sauvages* (L. D. 1938), p. 41 . . . *de respirer dans chaque pelouse une savane, une forêt vierge dans chaque bosquet*.

Curiously enough an inverted order of elements introduced in the first repetition of a schema is sometimes adopted without any further change in the following lines: JB. 1, 7 *brāhmaṇam eva śraddhayā praviśati, payasā paśūṁs, tejasāgnim, ūrjauṣadhī, rasenāpaḥ, svadhayā vanaspatīm*; VaikhSmS. 2, 8.

A similar conflict between unaltered repetition of the same schema and variation occurs in word groups such as JB. 1, 22 *āvavrajoptvā keśasma-śrūṇi nakhān nikṛtyāyābhyaṣṭya* . . . ; cf. VaikhSmS. 1, 3; 1, 14 etc. ²²); Mbh. 1, 3, 693 *bhagavacchabdam śrutvaiva sahasā vidārya kedārakhaṇḍam bhavantam upasthitam*.

The conflict between the opposite tendencies of symmetry and chiasmus may indeed be regarded as one of the striking features of ancient Indian literary expression. BārU. 5, 1, 1 *kham brahma, kham purāṇam, vāyuram kham*, which probably means "b. is space, space primeval, space that blows", is conspicuous by the chiasmus in the third colon, which is probably determined by the desire to emphasize the adj. *vāyuram*; ChU. 4, 17, 2 . . . *agner rač, vāyor yajūṁsi, sāmāny ādityāt*; why? in § 1 and 3, which run parallel, the order of words remains unaltered; GobhGS. 4, 9, 13–15 *paśukāmo vatsamithunayoḥ puriṣāhutisahasraṁ juhuyāt, avimithunayoḥ kṣudrapaśukāmaḥ. vṛtyavicchittikāmaḥ kumbūkān sāyamprātār juhuyāt*.

The variation shown by BārU. 3, 2, 13 was already noticed by Delbrück ²³):

²¹) J. Minor, *Allerhand Sprachgrobheiten*, Stuttgart 1892, p. 28 f.

²²) Miss Beth, p. 35.

²³) Delbrück, *Die altind. Wortfolge aus dem ŚB. dargestellt*, Synt. Forschungen III, Halle 1878, p. 59 f.

yatrāsyā puruṣasyā mṛtasyāgniṃ vāg apyeti, vātaṃ prāṇaḥ, cakṣur ādityaṃ, manaś candraṃ, diśaḥ śrotraṃ, pṛthivīm śarīraṃ . . . : agniṃ “wird vorgeschoben”, because, Delbrück rightly remarks, the places where the components of a human being come are thrown into relief. This observation does not however account for the double change in the word order.

Another interesting passage was discussed by the same scholar²⁴) in connection with the usual order of the two components of an absolute locative: BārU. 4, 3, 4—6 *astam ita āditye . . . candramasy astam ite* (three times in succession); it must however be remarked that the sequence *astam ita āditye* alone occurs in § 3; in the succeeding paragraphs this order is automatically repeated; the inverted order *c. a. i.* lays some emphasis on the moon, and may be translated by a weak “also”. After a perfectly natural beginning *tasya prāci dig juhūr nāma*, the author of ChU. 3, 15, 2 continues: *sahamānā nāma dakṣiṇā* and so on, obviously preferring to draw attention first to the names which are new to his audience and not to the quarters of the sky which, after the introducing colon, may just be expected. “Chiasmus ergibt sich auch sonst gelegentlich aus natürlicher Gruppierung des Wichtigen vor dem Unwichtigen: Plaut. Rud. 344 L. *ad prandium vocavit Plesidippum | erum meum erus vester*”.²⁵)

The very textual variations occurring in parallel quotations of the same or similar formulas are, at times, also instructive. Thus beside TB. 3, 7, 9, 1 *vagnunendraṃ hvayata ghoṣṇāmivāms cātayata* PB. 1, 2, 5 has *endraṃ vagnunā vahata, gh. . . cātayadhvam*. One might also compare, e. g., the formula VS. 11, 29 etc. *apām prṣṭham asi yonir agneḥ* with TB. 3, 7, 14, 2 etc. *apām puṣpaṃ asy oṣadhīnām rasaḥ*.

Emphasis is not rarely laid on the last terms of a communication which are opposed to the first: ŚB. 2, 5, 4, 9 *indro vā eṣa purā vṛtrasya vadhād, atha vṛtraṃ hatvā yathā mahārājo vijigyāna evaṃ mahendro 'bhavat*.

Some instances of ‘chiasmus’ may be added here in order to show that words of similar meaning, form, or structure are often placed at the end of the first and the beginning of the second member of the bipartite utterance: GB. 2, 1, 17 *tābhyāṃ vā eṣa bhāgaḥ kriyate ujjityā evātho pratiṣṭhityā eva yo dyāvāpṛthiviyāḥ*. VaikhSmS. 2, 8 . . . *brāhmaṇebhyo bhaikṣam, āmam itarebhyo grhṇīyāt*, here “raw food” (*āmam*) which is opposed to *bhaikṣam* conveys enhanced significance; cf. 1, 11; 3, 9. In a long enumeration of formulas accompanying about 20 acts of putting objects in specified places, *ibid.* 5, 4 (p. 75, 9ff. C.), the order: formula acc., loc. is interrupted half-way: form. *kapālāni śiraḥsthāne, lalāṭa ekakapālam*: thus the words *ekakapālam* and *kapālāni* are more intimately connected: both acts, being accompanied by a single mantra, form unity. Cf. also Mbh. 1, 3, 705 *bhagavate nivedya pūrvam aparaṃ carāmi*.

Sometimes the meaning of the words or of other words with which they

²⁴) Delbrück, o.c., p. 41 f. See also Miss Beth, o.c., p. 28 f.

²⁵) Hofmann, Lat. Umgangssprache, p. 121 f.

are connected may have been an important factor. An instructive passage is JB. 1, 128 discussing the nature of the *br̥hat* and *rathantara* *sāmāns*: whereas *r.* has, in the rites, a definite precedence, the shorter word is, in the compound, pronounced first (Pāṇini 2, 2, 34); the reason for this is, the text argues: *mano vai br̥had, vāg rathantaram* 'b. is mind, r. is word'; mind existed earlier, but the word was pronounced, i. e. employed: therefore *r.* is employed before *b.* The text however continues: *ṛg vai r., sāmā b.; b. vai r., kṣatram b.; idam vai r., ado b.* with an inverted order of words which is however in harmony with the usual order *brahma : kṣatram* etc. Cf. also JB. 2, 98 *rajatasuvarṇe bhavato, 'har vai suvarṇaṁ rātri rajatam: ahorā-trayor evābhijityai.*

Thus a more or less 'inverted', or rather changed, order of words is often determined by the desire to emphasize one of the terms of the utterance or to mark a contrast or opposition ²⁶⁾. The two inner terms which belong to the same lexical or semantic category and often are opposites follow each other immediately, bump so to say against each other, forcing the hearer to jump from one idea to the other; the outer terms, enclosing as it were the whole utterance in a clip, add an element of tension to it. Chiasmus, conveying relief or emphasis by the very variation from the normal or expected arrangement, produces the most marked effects in the juxtaposition of strongly contrasted terms. ²⁷⁾ Cf. e. g. ŚB. 4, 4, 7-8 ... *ity apraśastāḥ. atha praśastāḥ* ...; Mbh. 12, 266, 26 *mātrlābhe sanāthatvam, anāthatvam viparyaye.* An antithesis is marked in ChU. 8, 6, 5 ... *viduṣāṁ prapadanam, nirodho 'viduṣāṁ* " ... an entering in for the knowers, a shutting out for the non-knowers"; GobhGS. 3, 4, 9 f.; 5, 23 *teṣāṁ uttamāḥ śreṣṭhas, tulyau pūrvau*; 3, 3, 26 with *tu* in the second member. ChU. 4, 16, 2 *tayor anyatarām manasā samśkaroti brahmā, vācā hotādhvaryur udgātānyataram*; cf. also 4, 16, 3. In the simile ChU. 7, 15, 1 *yathā vā arā nābhau samarpitāḥ, evam asmin prāṇe sarvaṁ samarpitam* the word *prāṇa-*, which being the thema of this paragraph recurs many times anaphorically, is thrown into relief. The same effect may be attained by inserting one or more words. Sometimes a pair of sentences creates the impression of an inverted order without containing a chiasmus proper: JB. 1, 167 *atha hedam upary uṣṇo bhavaty, adha u ha tadā śīto bhavati.*

The very conspicuous change in the order of words in the 'śloka' quoted ChU. 7, 26, 2 *na paśyo mṛtyuṁ paśyati, na rogaṁ nota duḥkhatām, sarvaṁ ha p. p., sarvaṁ āpnoti sarvaśaḥ* is without any doubt due to the desire to emphasize the repeated idea of "all". In ChU. 1, 2, 9 *etam u evāntato 'vittvotkrāmati, vyādadāty evāntata iti*, the verb *vyād.* is emphasized (*eva*).

A frequent type of chiasmus may be exemplified by JB. 1, 7 *vyamrucad*

²⁶⁾ Cf. also Behaghel, *Deutsche Syntax*, IV, p. 8.

²⁷⁾ Greek, Latin and German instances are quoted by Miss Beth, o.c., p. 13; cf. also Norden, *Ant. Kunstprosa*, p. 18. For ŚB. 3, 1, 3, 28 see A. Minard, *Trois énigmes sur les cent chemins*, II, Paris 1956, p. 325 (and 341).

iti ha sma vā etaṃ pūrve purāṇina ācakṣate, 'thaitarhi nyamrucad iti lit. "‘it (the sun) has spread’ the ancients who were expert in knowledge of the things of the past used to say, but now (one says:) ‘it has disappeared’". The two opposite terms on which the hearer’s attention should be focussed are thrown into relief by placing them at the very end and beginning of the utterance, and this position underlines the contrast. Formulas are not rarely quoted or repeated crosswise : ŚB. 2, 1, 4, 28 ... *dyaur iva bhūmnā ity evaitad āha, yad āha dyaur iva bhūmnēti* etc.

The same procedure, but in inverted order, is found e. g. JB. 1, 23 *agnim upadiśan vācedaṃ yaśa ity ado yaśa ity ādityam* (similarly 23; 25 etc.): sun and fire are contrasted and, in the context, regarded as complements; both of them are at the same time in an answer given to an interrogator explicitly identified with *yaśas*. A striking example is ChU. 1, 8, 3 ... *uvāca hanta tvā prcchānīti : : prcchēti hovāca*; cf. 1, 8, 3; 4, 1, 8; 5, 1; 6, 2 *tam agnir abhyuvāda satyakāma iti, bhagavaḥ iti ha pratiśuśrāva*; 7, 2; 5, 2, 1 etc.; Mbh. 3, 198, 9 *tam abravīd atiyāto dāsyāmi, tvaritam eva diyatām ity abravīd brāhmaṇaḥ*. Compare, in modern English, A. Thirkell, *The Brandons* (Guild), p. 146 ... *said Mrs. B. . . . "but I have freed myself from the tyranny of string" "The t. of s. ?" the Vicar repeated.*

Of special interest are the examples of variation in the choice of words: ŚB. 11, 4, 1, 10 *dvāv āghārau pañca prayājā āgneya ājyabhāgo 'ṣṭamaḥ*, the use of an ordinal number being in perfect harmony with Vedic usage²⁸); GobhGS. 3, 2, 11 f. *nānupasprśya bhojanaṃ prātaḥ, sāyam upasprśyā-bhojanam . . .*; cf. also 4, 8, 3—4 *ity ūrdhvam udikṣamāṇo devajanebhyaḥ, tiryāṇi itarajanebhyo 'rvāṇ avekṣamāṇaḥ*. Cf. Shakespeare, *Much ado* 5, 1 *until to-morrow morning, lords, farewell : : farewell, my lords : we look for you tomorrow.*

Elsewhere chiasmus combines with other forms of variation: ChU. 8, 1, 3 *ubhāv agniś ca vāyuś ca, sūryācandramasāv ubhau*. In an enumeration of formulas TS. 5, 5, 11 f. it reads (12): *mayuḥ prājāpatyaḥ* "the ape (?) belongs to P. (adj.)", *ūlo halikṣṇo vṛṣadaṃśas te dhātuh* "the owl, grasshopper (?)", *cat are for Dh. (gen.)*", *sarasvatyai śāriḥ śyetā puruṣavāk* "to S. (dat.) the white starling . . ." etc.

There are apparent exceptions to the tendency to repeat a given schema if the second occurrence is enlarged by a 'subordinate clause' : AiB. 7, 20, 5 *uttarottariṇīm ha śriyam aśnute, 'śnute ha prajānām aiśvaryaṃ ādhipatyam, ya evaṃ upasthāya . . . dikṣate kṣatriyaḥ san*; JB. 3, 171 *avānnādyam runddhe, vṛṇkte dviṣato bhrātrvyasyānnādyam ya evaṃ veda*; ChU. 3, 18, 3—6 *so 'gninā . . . bhāti ca tapati ca, bh. c. t. c. kīrtiyā . . . ya evaṃ veda*; ŚB. 11, 2, 1, 2 *daśa vā ime puruṣe prāṇā ātmaikādaśo yasminn ete prāṇāḥ*

²⁸) See Wackernagel-Debrunner, *Altind. Grammatik* III, p. 400; Gonda, *Observations on ordinal numbers*, in Bingkisan Budi, 'Festschrift'-van Ronkel, Leiden 1950, p. 135 ff.; E. Benveniste, *Noms d'agent et noms d'action en I.-E.*, Paris 1948, p. 144 ff.

pratiṣṭhitāḥ "there are these ten vital airs in man, and the body in which these vital airs are established is the eleventh".

This inversion may also occur in connection with nominal or compound predicates: ŚB. 5, 5, 3, 7 *sarvaṃ vā eṣa idam upary upari bhavaty arvāg evāsmād idam sarvaṃ bhavati yo rājasūyena yajate*.

As may appear from some of the above instances the tendency of 'increasing magnitude' plays an important part in these variations: BārU. 1, 1, 1 *uṣā vā aśvasya medhyasya śīraḥ, sūryaś cakṣuḥ, vātaḥ prāṇaḥ, vyāttam agnir vaiśvānaraḥ* (inverted order), *saṃvatsara ātmā* (the original order); 4, 3, 7 *yo 'yam vijñānamayaḥ prāṇeṣu, hr̥dy antarijyotiḥ puruṣaḥ*; GobhGS. 3, 2, 51 *āgneye 'ja, aindre meṣo, gauḥ pavamāne*.

There are, however, curious exceptions: in an enumeration and identification of the 16 parts of the body of a horse (ŚB. 10, 6, 4, 1) 1–10 exhibit the order *dyauh prṣṭham* "the sky is the back" ... *nakṣatrāṇy asthīni, nabho māṃsāni*, 11 has the inverted order *ūvadyaṃ sikatāḥ*, 12 the normal order *sindhavo gudāḥ* (rhyme! *sik. sindh.*), in 13 the longer *yakṛc ca klomānaś ca* precede, with inverted order, *parvatāḥ*, but in 14 the likewise longer *oṣadhayaś ca vanaspatayaś ca* come, in the original order, before *lomāni*: thus 13 and 14 are in a way symmetrically constructed.

Many instances of a chiasmic order of words have, however, little or nothing to do with balanced sentence structure. JB. 1, 87 *ādityo vā etad atrāgra āsīd yatra itac cātvalam, ado 'gniḥ* the two parts of the utterance containing 9 and 2 words form a chiasmus so as to underline the two opposite terms "sun" and "fire"; 1, 121 *tato vai te pūtā medhyāḥ śritā abhavann, agacchan svargaṃ lokam*; AiB. 7, 1, 2 *yaḥ śvaḥsutyām prāha tasyājīnam, ilā sarveṣāṃ hotur vā*; here *ilā* which is a very short word seems to have taken precedence of the long word group *s. h. v.*; however, the last sentence constitutes the end of a very long enumeration which, though interrupted, forms unity and is constructed in a rather uniform way; ChU. 2, 24, 4 *lokadvāram apāvṛṇu, paśyema tvā vayaṃ rājyāya*: the second clause is virtually subordinated "that we may see ...". In passages such as Gobh. 1, 4, 1 the order of words is in the first place determined by reasons of relief and mutual opposition: *atha vāgyato balin haret; bhāṣetānnasamsiddhim, atithibhiḥ kāmam sambhāṣeta*. Cf. also 2, 9, 22–24 *etayaivāvṛtā striyāḥ, tūṣṇīm; mantreṇa tu homaḥ*; cf. also 3, 9, 4–5.

In 'contracted' or 'reduced' parallel structures a chiasmic position of words is likewise far from rare; BārU. 2, 2, 2 *adharayainam vartanyā prthivy anvāyattā, dyaur uttarayā*; 4, 5, 1 *tayor ha m. brahmavādini babhūva, striprajñāiva tarhi k.*, the antithetical character of both clauses being obvious; ChU. 4, 16, 2; 8, 1, 5 *nāśya jarayaitaj jīryati, na vadhenāśya hanyate*. A complicated case is e. g. the formula PB. 1, 2, 6 *idam aham amuṃ yajamānam paśuṣv adhyūhāmi paśuṣu ca mām brahmavarcase ca*; GobhGS. 4, 7, 27–28; VaikhSmS. 2, 8; BārU. 1, 4, 4 may be quoted in order to show that chiasmus accompanied by curtailment may, in narrative style, suggest the idea of immediate succession: *sā gaur abhavat, ṛṣabha itaras ...*

It would however be incorrect to explain all instances of chiasmus from factors of a stylistic character. The order of words was also varied under the influence of syntactic tendencies. In many cases, although a repetition of the main schema adopted in the former of two sentences might a priori be expected, the order of words is changed. Not infrequently the first sentence is virtually subordinated and the verb of the following parallel utterance placed in the initial position²⁹⁾. Compare e. g. JB. 1, 121 *tato vai te pūtā medhyās śrītā abhavann, agacchan svargam lokam*: although Caland was right in translating: "da wurden sie rein, opferfähig, gestützt, und kamen in den Himmelsraum" a translation "and as they had become pure . . ., they entered into . . .", though overshooting the mark, might perhaps be preferred; 2, 117 *tato vā ādityāḥ pūrve svargam lokam agacchann, ahiyantāṅgirasah* "whereas . . ."; cf. 2, 122 etc. Compare e. g. the type JB. 1, 256 *na haivaṁvido 'nṛtaṁ cana vadato yajñāḥ sravati, sravati ha vā anṛtaṁ vadato yajño 'tha ha pūyati, no ha tv evaṁvido yajñāḥ sravati na pūyati*.

However, the initial position of a verb may also be determined by a well-known tendency to emphasize the immediate succession of the processes, their simultaneity, the 'dramatic' nature of the events, the affirmative character of the verbal idea and so on.³⁰⁾ In these cases also it was an ancient and wide-spread syntactic tendency which induced speakers and writers to express themselves 'chiastically': ŚB. 3, 3, 3, 16 *yena viśvāḥ pari dviṣo vṛnakti vindate vasu*. Placed crosswise in a similar way are the elements of a nominal sentence of the type JB. 1, 294 *ye rāthantarā āsan, rathantaram te 'nvasṛjyanta; ye bārhatā, bṛhat te*; cf. 295 etc.: the word *r.* is obviously thrown into relief.

Special attention may be drawn to the structure of so-called compound sentences, because they often exhibit peculiarities in the order of words. BārU. 1, 4, 14 *yo vai sa dharmaḥ, satyaṁ vai tat*. Two correlatives are however often found combining in the middle of such a bipartite 'period': BārU. 3, 3, 2 *agacchan vai te tatra, yatrāśvamedhayājino gacchanti*; further on in the same paragraph it reads: *tatrāgamayad, yatra . . .*, probably in order to lay some emphasis on *tatra*, or rather on the locality; cf. ChU. 3, 13, 7. For later prose see e. g. Pañcat. 4, 4, 40 +. Other words or combinations of words are also often repeated in the middle of a bipartite structure so as to constitute a chiasmus: ChU. 1, 7, 5 *tasyaitasya tad eva rūpaṁ yad amuṣya rūpaṁ, yāv amuṣya geṣṇau tau geṣṇau*.

To what extent the order of words adopted in a given utterance may be varied when a parallel utterance is made to follow may for instance appear from AV. 2, 7, 4 *arātir no mā tārīn | mā nas tāriṣur abhimātayaḥ*

²⁹⁾ See Remarques sur la place du verbe . . ., p. 12; 67 ff. For the type Plaut. Trin. 250 *nox datur: ducitur familia tota*, and other constructions see also Hofmann, Lat. Umgangssprache, p. 122 f.

³⁰⁾ For 'Anschlussstellung' and so on see also Remarques . . ., p. 67 ff.

which exhibits a double chiasmus (cf. RV. 9, 114, 4 *arātivā mā nas tārīt*). A formula repeated in a varying order of words is embedded in another chiasmus: VaikhSmS. 2, 8 *bhavati bhikṣāṃ dehīti brāhmaṇo brūyāt, kṣatriyo bhikṣāṃ bhavati dehīti, vaiśyo bhikṣāṃ dehi bhavati*. A complicated example is, in Latin, Enn. Ann. 269 *spernitur orator bonus, horridus miles amatur*; o. b. : h. m. and s. (o. b.) : (h. m.) a.

A curious instance is ChU. 3, 13, 6 *sa ya etān evaṃ pañca brahmapuraṣāṇ svargasya lokasya dvārapān veda, asya kule viro jāyate, pratipadyate svargaṃ lokam, ya e. e. p. bp. s. l. dp. v.*, with 'Anschlussstellung' of *pratipadyate*, which moreover is followed by a subordinate clause.

Although no example of chiasmus proper, mention may also be made of the more or less exegetical repetition of a term in Ch. 7, 7, 1 *viññānena va ṛgvedaṃ viññāti* (8 lines) : . . . *lokaṃ amuṃ ca viññānenaiva viññāti*; the repetition conditioned by the considerable length of the sentence creates the impression of a chiasmus.³¹⁾

Chiasmus has even become a striking feature in the composition of larger units. There is no fundamental difference between the inverted order of the second part of a communication as occurs e. g. ChU. 3, 18, 1 *mano brahmety upāsītety adhyātmam, athādhidaivatam ākāśo brahmety (upāsīta)* or BārU. 4, 1, 2 . . . *dadāmi iti hovāca j. v. . sa hovāca y. pitā me . . . iti* (cf. 4, 1, 1; 2, 4) on the one hand and ŚB. 4, 4, 7—8 . . . *ity aprasastāḥ. atha prasastāḥ . . .*; BārU. 4, 4, 6 *tad eṣa śloko bhavati . . . iti nu kāmaya mānaḥ; athākāmaya mānaḥ: yo . . . iti*, or 2, 3, 1—3 ending with *ity adhidaivatam* and 4—6 beginning with *athādhyātmam*, the former half of this chapter describing the two forms of brahman with reference to the divinities, the latter with reference to the self of man; and a similar structure of 3, 7 (cf. 15); ChU. 2, 7, 8 (cf. 2, 7, 2)—cf. also ChU. 1, 5, 2; 1, 6, 8: 7, 1; 3, 18, 2; 4, 3, 2 : 3;—on the other hand. These crosswise constructed descriptions of two successive parallel events, of parallel cases or objects is not foreign to the narrative style of common people. The other day I heard a man who obviously had been regaled with a copious lunch and dinner enumerate the food and drink which he had partaken of: " . . . *dat was het middageten. nou krijg je het avondeten: . . .*". Compare, in Greek e. g. Hdt. 1, 149 *αὐται μὲν αἱ Ἰάδες πόλιές εἰσι, αἷδε δὲ αἱ Αἰολίδες . . .*

Another feature in the composition of certain chapters of early upaniṣads is the tendency to construct a twofold argumentation chiasmically: ChU. 3, 14, 2—4 *manomayaḥ . . . sarvakāmā . . . anādarāḥ, eṣa me . . . vā; eṣa me . . . sarvakarmā . . . anādarāḥ* etc.; "the soul, qualified by many adjectives is smaller than a grain, and greater than the earth", both thoughts are developed, but in the first sentence the subject follows the epithets, in the second it precedes them³²⁾.

From the frequency of this device in ancient prose texts it may be con-

³¹⁾ Miss Beth, o.c., p. 30 is right in comparing 7, 5, 3 and 7, 6, 2.

³²⁾ For post-Vedic prose texts see Miss Beth, o.c., p. 37 ff.

cluded that its use in metrical texts was no 'invention' of poets, no 'poetical adornment'. Before turning to the metrical mantra collections and other 'poems', mention may be made of some relevant observations of the Indian theorists.³³⁾ Mammāṭa, in dealing with akramatā, i. e. "absence of uniformity" gives Kāvyaṣr. 7, 252 the following example : *dvayaṃ gataṃ saṃprati śocanīyatāṃ samāgamaprārthanayā kapālināḥ | kalā ca sā kānti-matī kalāvataḥ tvam asya lokasya ca netrakaumudī*, on which he adds the comment that the occurrence of the particle *ca* would be proper after *tvam* in order to make the two correlated clauses more uniform. Rāghavabhaṭṭa even suggested altering the text of Kāl. Śak. 5, 11 *abhyaktam iva snātaḥ śucir aśucim iva prabuddha iva suptam | boddham iva svairagatir janam iha sukhasaṅginam avaimi* in order to avoid *prakramabhaṅga-* or lack of symmetry. Elsewhere however the same authority gives evidence of understanding one of the main functions of chiasmus : in Kāl. Śak. 4, 13 it underlines the importance of an idea. Compare also Vāmana, Kāv. 2, 2, 22.

Before turning to a survey of the main types and functions of chiasmus in ancient Indian metrical texts, two notes may be inserted here. An interesting order of words which should not be left undiscussed is R.V. 3, 6, 5 *vratā te agne mahato mahāni* "grosz bist du und grosz ist dein Walten" (Geldner). It reminds us of the concluding words of Gorgias' Epitaphios : *τοιγαροὺν αὐτῶν ἀποθανόντων ὁ πόθος οὐ συναπέθαινε ἀλλ' ἀθάνατος οὐκ ἐν ἀθανάτοις σώμασι ζῆν οὐ ζώντων*. Although a somewhat different order of words manifests itself often in two- three- or four-fold parallelisms, it is not possible to regard any crosswise varied binary structure as a marked example of chiasmus.³⁴⁾ In AV. 3, 13, 5 *āpo bhadṛā ghr̥tam id āpa āsan* the adj. *bh.* and the subst. *gh.* are, syntactically and semantically speaking, not on a par. Cf. also 4, 9, 10; 6, 63, 1 etc. In other cases there is a chiasmus, but two terms do not belong to the same class of words and one member of the structure is 'incomplete' : AV. 2, 3, 6 *saṃ no bhavantu apa | oṣadhayaḥ śivāḥ*.

Not rarely the initial term of a preceding sentence occupies the last place in the subsequent parallel sentence. This structure which may be exemplified by Shakespeare, *Macb. 2, 3 I'll to England : : To Ireland I, may render yeoman service* in emphasizing a strong contrast or opposition. The opposite ideas placed in each other's immediate neighbourhood are so to say made to collide with each other. Cf. also AV. 8, 9, 9 *paśyanti tve na tve paśyanty enām* "some see her, some see her not". Association or 'attraction' may have given rise to such metrically easy arrangements of words as Mbh. 12, 266, 23 *mucyate bandhanāt puṣpam | phalaṃ vṛkṣāt pramucyate* ; 14, 16, 32 *punaḥ punaś ca maraṇam | janma caiva p. p. | āhārā vividhā bhuktāḥ | pītā nānāvidhāḥ stanāḥ*; cf. also such enumerations

³³⁾ See also Miss Beth, o.c., p. 14 f.

³⁴⁾ See for a discussion of the relevant facts in the Atharvaveda Miss Beth, o.c., p. 17 ff.

of similar terms as e. g. AV. 2, 10, 6 *amukthā yakṣmād duritād avadyād | druhaḥ pāśād grāhyāś codamukthāḥ*; cf. 3, 28, 3. In AV. 6, 73, 1 I two groups of names are placed in the middle of the line, preceded and followed by the invocation "let come here": *eha yātu varuṇaḥ somo agnir | bṛhaspatir vasubhir eha yātu*.

AV. 1, 23, 3 *asitaṁ te pralayanam | āsthānam asitaṁ tava : p. and ā.* are semantically related: "dusky is your place of repose, d. is your place"; cf. 3, 19, 4; 4, 10, 6 c d; (cf. also the type 4, 12, 5 *loma lomnā saṁ kalpayā | tvacā saṁ kalpayā tvacam*): to all probability rhythmical variations based upon popular usage and preferred for reasons of versification. This schema may occur so as to form part of larger units. Even so it may suggest the idea of contrast; cf. Homer *A* 786 f. *γενεῇ μὲν ὑπέρτερος ἔστιν Ἀχιλλεύς, | πρεσβύτερος δὲ σὺ ἔσσι*.

A fine example of two half-stanzas which though in the main symmetrical exhibit a chiasmus is AV. 4, 13, 1 *uta devā avahitaṁ | devā unnayathā punaḥ | utāgaś cakruṣaṁ devā | devā jīvayathā punaḥ*. RV. 4, 25, 8 is in substance anaphoric in structure, the verb which is common to all four pādas occurring only once, at the end: *indram pare 'vare madhyamāsa . . . | i . . . | i . . . havante*; the second pāda however has the acc. *indram* twice: *indram yānto 'vasitāsa indram* "I. those travelling, those resting I.", cf. 1, 32, 15 where the same phrase "those tr., those r." occurs: *indro yāto 'vasitasya rājā*; in 4, 25, 8 this pair of complementary terms occupies the same place in the middle of a pāda.

As already stated the repetition of the second term results in a form of chiasmus which lends itself very well to the purpose of emphasizing a special part of the utterance: Chailley, *L'Inde* p. 131 . . . *dans ce congrès, les idées qui sont exposées sont européennes et européenne la langue usitée*. In Homer, *A* 183 *μητ' ἑμὴ καὶ ἑμοῖς ἑτάροισι (ἐγὼ in the same verse and in 184)*. RV. 5, 83, 2 *vi vrkṣān hantī uta hantī rakṣasaḥ*: the immediately repeated "he fells" and the great distance between the two objects lend some special force to the pāda.

Not rarely the order of words is changed doubtless partly for the sake of giving prominence to two complementary terms: AV. 1, 19, 1 *mā no vidan vivyādhino | mo abhivyādhino vidan* "let not the piercers find us, nor let the penetrators find us"; 2, 30, 5 *eyam agan patikāmā | janikāmo 'ham āgamam*; AV. 5, 14, 13 *agnir ivaitu pratikūlam | anukūlam ivodakam* "let it go like fire up-stream, down-stream like water"; Manu 2, 135 *brāhmaṇaṁ daśavarṣaṁ tu | śatavarṣaṁ tu bhūmipam . . .* Compare, in Greek, Homer *K* 13 *ἀλλῶν συρτόγων τ' ἐνοπλῆν ὁμαδόν τ' ἀνδροπόων*.

A positive and a negative term are strongly contrasted in AV. 4, 36, 2 *yo no dipsād adipsato | dipsato yaś ca dipsati* i. e. "whether or not we try to harm . . ."; similarly 6, 37, 3. Cf. also Manu 2, 234; 3, 43; cf. 3, 149.

Two verbal forms of complementary character follow each other immediately: AV. 5, 8, 7 *yān asāv atisarāṁś cakāra kṛnavac ca yān*; the two pādas are not strictly parallel.

Special attention may be drawn to the type AV. 2, 8, 2 *aṇṇam rātry ucchatv | apocchantv abhikṛtvāriḥ*: the former pāda has 'tmesis', in the latter verb and preverb form a unity. It may however be remembered that the verb is often repeated in two more or less parallel sentences, contrary to 'modern' usage. This feature may easily result in a chiasmic arrangement of words: in Latin, Ter. Phorm. 666 *supellectile opus est, opus est sumptu ad nuptias*, and also in prose, e. g. Cic. Att. 9, 5, 3 *beneficia eiusdem cogito, cogito etiam gravitatem*.

The same succession of terms may occur as a part of larger units. RV. 2, 35, 3 *saṃ anyā yanty upa yanty anyāḥ* "(while) part of them (i.e. of the rivers) come together, others go towards (the sea)": an excellent stylistic means of underlining the idea of 'diversity in similarity'—if the phrase 'unity in diversity' may be varied in this way. It is however clear that lines such as AV. 5, 13, 4 *caḥṣuṣā te caḥṣur hanmi | viṣeṇa hanmi te viṣam* lack the strong 'antithetical' force proper to those types of chiasmus in which two opposite terms follow each other immediately: the factor of rhythmical variation is here no doubt more important. A similar remark seems to apply to the type AV. 5, 14, 2 *ava jahi yātudhānān | ava kṛtyā-kṛtām jahi*; AV. 2, 29, 2; 4, 19, 8; 5, 17, 7; 19, 14; 6, 64, 3. In lines of the type RV. 2, 11, 7 *vi samanā bhūmir aprathiṣṭha | arāṃsta parvataḥ cit sarīṣyan* two verbs are—as is often the case elsewhere—closely associated.

Very interesting is RV. 8, 35, 16–18, a prayer for the good of the three classes of society, the names of which are in the three initial pādas crosswise associated with an important possession or characteristic whereas the identical second pādas are strictly symmetrical: *brahma jinvatam uta jinvatam dhiyo | hatam rakṣāṃsi sedhatam amivāḥ*.

Two parallel and identical processes performed by different persons may be performed with different aims or with reference to different objects; if the latter are to be thrown into relief they may be given a chiasmic position: AV. 3, 3, 3 *adbhyas tvā rājā varuṇo hvayatu | somas tvā hvayatu parvatebhyah*, the waters and the mountains being co-ordinated with the subjects who are mentioned in pāda 3.

Anaphora followed by a crosswise varied order of words: RV. 10, 14, 13 *yamāya somaṃ sunuta | y. juhuta haviḥ*, the third pāda beginning with *yamam*; AV. 1, 16, 2 *śisāyādhyāha varuṇaḥ | s. agnir upāvati* (mainly for reasons of versification); cf. 3; 2, 4, 3, and especially the fine instance 4, 12, 3 ab and 4 ab (cf. also 5)³⁵. Cf. also Manu 3, 49; BhG. 5, 20.

The order of words of a unit consisting of three or four terms may be varied as often as the unit is repeated: AV. 6, 130, 4 *un mādāyata maruta | ud antarikṣa mādāya | agna unmādāyā tvam | asau mām anu śocatu*. Compare also AV. 6, 142, 3. Very instructive are some of those texts which consist of a long series of identical formulas to pay homage to divine beings, e. g. AV. 6, 13, 1–3³⁶.

³⁵) Miss Beth, o.c., p. 22 f. See also (Leumann-)Hofmann, p. 798 f.

³⁶) See Miss Beth, p. 18.

With regard to RV. 1, 163, 3 and 4 Bloomfield³⁷⁾ observed that "the first form, with opening verb, asserts with the emphasis that belongs to a novel statement—*āhus te trīṇi divi bandhanāni*—; the second, with the verb in the middle, —*trīṇi ta āhur d. b.*—repeats the same statement musically or reflectively, as an introduction to a further development of the theme of the hymn . . ." He was, in the last part of this statement, no doubt right: the second pāda of st. 4—*trīṇy apsu trīṇy antaḥ samudre*—containing the anaphoric numeral has to all appearance also determined the front position of *trīṇi* in the a pāda. He is, however, mistaken in attributing, "in general", this change of order to rhetorical motives. A similar result, viz. parallelism with regard to the following part of the utterance is attained in other passages. We may compare also in Homer, B 870 f. τῶν μὲν ἄρ' Ἀ. καὶ Ν. ἡγησάσθην, / Ν. Ἀ. τε, Νομίονος ἀγλαὰ τέκνα, ὅς . . .; in the Latin Bible (Vulg.) Gen. 1, 27 it reads: *et creavit Deus hominem ad imaginem suam: ad i. Dei c. illum, masculinum et feminam creavit eos.* Cf. also RV. 10, 135, 5 d : 6 a; Plaut. M. G. 19 f. This structure is, in principle, not foreign to colloquial usage: (a Dutch street-hawker) *een kwartje!*, *mooie narcissen!*—*m. n.!* *e. k. een bos!* A fine example of complicated chiasmus facilitating the concatenation of thoughts is Plautus, Amph. 483 *eorum Amphitruonis alter est, alter Iovis: | verum minori puero maior est pater, | minor maiori.*

A 'syntactical chiasmus' of the type AV. 16, 1, 5 *yo 'smān dveṣṭi, yaṃ vayam dviṣmaḥ* may help to emphasize the idea of mutuality (cf. 16, 6, 4).

Similar schemata exhibiting some form of variation are e. g.: RV. 10, 90, 10 *gāvo ha jajñire tasmāt | tasmāt jātā ajāvayaḥ*; RV. 2, 2, 1 *yajñena vardhata jātavedasam | agniṃ yajadhvam haviṣā tanā girā*. The most plausible explanation of this variation in the order of words seems to lie in the mutual attraction of synonyms or terms which are otherwise related. AV. 2, 32, 4 (= 5, 23, 11) *hato rājā krimiṇām | utaiṣām sthapatir hataḥ*: here the word *hataḥ* "killed", which is often repeated in this text, is thrown into relief: the third pāda begins with the group *hato hatamātā*; *eṣām* which refers to *krimiṇām* does not convey any emphasis. Beautiful instances of a completely inverted arrangement are found in classical works: Kāl. R. 3, 23 *umāvṛṣāṅkau śarajanmanā yathā | yathā jayantena śacipuramdarau* | . . .

Thus beside the numerous cases in which identical terms constitute a chiasmus, synonyms or words of the same semantic category are very often involved in this 'figure'. The chiasmus is not always very striking: AV. 6, 68, 1 (no parallelism); 88, 3 (where the chiasmic position of *śatrūn | śatrūyato* produces paronomasia³⁸⁾; nor the correspondence between both parts of the binary structure close: AV. 5, 18, 4 *nir vai kṣatram nayati*

³⁷⁾ Bloomfield, On the variable position of the finite verb in oldest Sanskrit, I. F. 31, p. 158.

³⁸⁾ In AV. 4, 5, 2 assonance: *na bhūmim vāto ati vāti | nāti paśyati kaścana*; rhyme Homer, B 199.

hanti varcaḥ; as already stated this position of the verb may easily suggest the idea of immediate succession or that of intimate connection: Homer Δ 340 τίπτε καταπτόσσοντες ἀφέστατε, μένετε δ' ἄλλους; Any form of parallelism is absent in those cases in which a verb of the second colon occupies the initial position for 'syntactic' reasons: AV. 1, 17, 2³⁹); 3, 9, 5 etc.⁴⁰) Even in cases such as KāthU. 2, 6 *ayam loko nāsti paraḥ* the order of words helps to emphasize an opposition.

Not rarely however words of the same lexical category are arranged in such a way as to form a chiasmus: Homer, E 83 ἔλλαβε πορφύρεος θάνατος καὶ μοῖρα κραταῖη; Γ 179 βασιλεύς τ' ἀγαθὸς κρατερός τ' αἰχμητής; AV. 6, 99, 3 *deva savitah soma rājan*. The outer terms form a complementary pair which is by this very arrangement of the words thrown into some relief: Homer Γ 237 Κάστορα δ' ἱππόδαμον καὶ πῶξ ἀγαθὸν Πολυδεύκεια; AV. 6, 60, 1 . . . *agruvai patim uta jāyām ajānaye*; Kāl. R. 2, 63 *bhaktiā gurau mayy anukampayā ca*. This arrangement is especially effective if the two last syllables of the words involved are identical: Kāl. R. 1, 26 *dudoha gāṇ sa yajñāya | sasyāya maghavā divam*.

In the arrangement exemplified by Homer A 19 ἐκέρσαι Πριάμοιο πόλιν, εἴθ' δ' οἴκαδ' ἐκέσθαι the outer terms stand out: "(first) to sack the city of P., (in the second place, or: then) return . . ." or ". . . as well as . . .", cf. ζ 144 (cf. 178!); cf. MS. 4, 14, 1 *devānām pitā janitā prajānām*; Manu 2, 10 *śrutis tu vedo vijñeyo | dharmasāstram tu vai smṛtiḥ*; also AV. 3, 5, 6 *ye dhivāno rathakārāḥ | karmārā ye manīṣiṇaḥ*. Two more or less synonymous words appearing as outer terms are somewhat emphasized in AV. 2, 36, 1 *c juṣṭā vareṣu samaneṣu valguh*; cf. 3, 30, 2. Similarly in a complete śloka: Manu 2, 162. Complementary antithesis is very adequately expressed BhG. 2, 16 *nāsato vidyate bhāvo | nābhāvo vidyate sataḥ*; 18, 73 *naṣṭo mohah smṛtir labdhā*.

A fine instance of antithetical chiasmus is Homer, Δ 400 ἀλλὰ τὸν υἱὸν γείνατο εἰς χεῖρα μάχῃ, ἀγοῇ δέ τ' ἀμείνω; cf. also A 403; Hes. Op. 723; Manu, 2, 153 *ajño bhavati vai bālāḥ | pitā bhavati mantradāḥ* "a man destitute of (sacred) knowledge is a child, his father is the one who teaches him the Veda". Association of verb forms is not rare: RV. 1, 35, 9 the activity of the god Savitar is described as follows: *apāmivam bādhatē veti sūryam* "he drives affliction away, sets the sun in motion"; 5, 82, 4 natural phenomena which often go together: *pra vātā vānti patayanti vidyutāḥ*. Complementary processes: Manu 3, 66 *kulasamkhyām ca gacchanti | karṣanti ca mahad yaśaḥ*.

The middle position of two forms, or derivatives, of the 'relative' pronoun became, as far as I am able to see, more frequent in post-Vedic times: BhG. 2, 70 . . . *yadvat | tadvat* . . . ; 14, 11 (asymmetrical period) . . . *yadā | tadā* . . . ; Mbh. 3, 62, 22 *nātmānam śocati tathā, yathā ś. naiṣadham*. Similarly, we find in Homer, B 528 . . . οὗ τι τόσος γε ὅσος T. A. Cf. also RV. 7, 50, 4; 9, 111, 2 . . . *tad | yatra* . . . ; 4, 54, 4 . . . *tad | yathā* . . .

³⁹) See Whitney-Lanman, o.c., p. 18.

⁴⁰) See also Miss Beth, o.c., p. 24.

More complicated instances are: RV. 2, 1, 13 *tvām agna ādityāsa āsyam* | *tvām jīhvām śucayaś cakrire kave*, the two word pairs *ād.* and *ś.*, and *ās.* and *j.* are distributed over both pādas but their order is inverted, mouth and tongue belonging together. AV. 4, 22, 3 *ayam astu dhanapatir dhanānām* | *ayam viśām viśpatir astu rājā*: double chiasmus. Markedly antithetical is Mbh. 14, 16, 34 *priyaiṛ vivāso bahuśaḥ* | *saṃvāsaś cāpriyaiḥ saha*. A complicated instance is also RV. 1, 34, 11 *prāyus tāriṣṭam nī rapāmsi mṛkṣatam* | *sedhatam dveṣo bhavatam sacābhuvā*.

A description of all variations occurring in these texts would be almost endless. Compare e. g. AV. 18, 3, 62 *vivasvān no amṛtatve dadhātu* | *paraitu mṛtyur amṛtam na etu* | *imān rakṣatu puruṣān*. . .⁴¹⁾ Cf. also Manu 2, 59; 62; 3, 285. The four pādas of BhG. 1, 29 follow each other chiasmically; 2, 66 is a curious instance of 'chiastic concatenation': *nāsti buddhir ayuktasya* | *na cāyuktasya bhāvanā* | *na cābhāvayataḥ śāntir* | *aśāntasya kutaḥ sukham*. BhG. 9, 25 *yānti . . . devān* | *pitṛn y. . .* | *bhūtāni y. . .* | *y. . . mām*; strong emphasis is laid on *mām*.⁴²⁾ Cf. also 9, 27; fourfold chiasmus Manu 3, 238.

Chiasmus may be followed by other forms of variation: AV. 5, 28, 7; 6, 64, 2 *samāno mantrah samitiḥ samānī* | *samānam vratam saha cittam eṣām*; cf. also Manu 3, 70; Mbh. 12, 266, 40 *nāparādho 'sti nārīṇām* | *nara evāparādhyati*.⁴³⁾ In structures of greater length one of the members of the parallelism may though sharing in the chiasmus exhibit a different structure: Manu 2, 238 *śraddadhānaḥ śubhām vidyām* | *ādaditāvarād api* | *antīyād api paraṃ dharmaṃ* | *strīratnaṃ duṣkulād api*. With the Behaghel tendency: Manu 3, 37 ab *daśa pūrvān parān vaṃśyān* | *ātmanaṃ caika-viṃśakam*; cf. 38; 2, 63.

'Variation' seems to have been the main factor in those frequent cases in which a chiasmatic order of words does not occur before the last member or last member but one of a series of parallel utterances. An instructive example is AV. 1, 6, 4, where the third pāda exhibits chiasmus, and the fourth and fifth are subject to other, more divergent, forms of variation: *śam na āpo dhanvanyāḥ* | *śam u santv anūpyāḥ* | *śam naḥ khanitrimā āpaḥ* | *śam u yāḥ kumbha ābhṛtāḥ* | *śivā naḥ santu vārṣikīḥ*. Cf. also AV. 4, 14, 7 and 8 *praticyāṃ diśi . . .* | *u. d. . .* | *ū. d. . .* | *d. dhruvāyām . . .* | *antarikṣe madyato . . .*; 6, 13, 3; 19, 1.

Chiasmus at the end of a smaller series of strictly symmetrical utterances occurs e. g. also AV. 19, 54, 5 *imaṃ ca lokam paramaṃ ca lokam* | *punyaṃś ca lokān vidhṛtiś ca punyāḥ*; 5, 28, 3; 9. Cf. also 4, 20, 6; Manu 3, 45; 284.

⁴¹⁾ I fear I can neither agree with Bloomfield, *Rig-veda repetitions*, p. 106 in holding RV. 1, 124, 2 to have been constructed in a crosswise antithetical manner nor with the translation proposed by him.

⁴²⁾ Cf. *Monosyllaba am Satz- und Versschluss im Altindischen*, *Acta Or.*, 17, p. 123 ff.

⁴³⁾ A Greek instance is: *Hes. Op.* 384.

Compare Shakespeare, K. L. 1,1 *honour'd as my king, lov'd as my father, as my master follow'd*; Plaut. Men. 249.

In view of this, also in other languages, undeniable preference for variation in the word order at the end of a uniform series of utterances, a reference to the requirements of versification cannot be regarded as settling the question as to why the poet changed the order in cases such as AV. 4, 5, 4 *ejad ejad ajagrabham | cakṣuḥ prāṇam ajagrabham | aṅgāny ajagrabham sarvā*, where *sarvā* is thrown into relief.

Elsewhere the order of words changes in the second sentence, not to return to its original form: AV. 4, 20, 9. Compare also AV. 5, 4, 5 *hiraṇyayāḥ panthāna āsann | aritrāṇi hiraṇyayā | nāvo hiraṇyayir āsan | yābhiḥ* —; although the metre has had influence we might imagine that in the first pāda “golden” was thrown into relief, in the others the objects: “golden were the paths, also the oars and the ships”. Cf. also Kāl. R. 3, 37. The order changes in the third, not in the fourth colon: AV. 6, 56, 2; in the second colon only: RV. 8, 48, 3 *apāma somam amṛtā abhūma | aganma jyotir avidāma devān*; cf., in Latin, Plautus, Pseud. 286 ff. *si amabas, invenires mutuom, | ad danistam devenires, adderes faenusculum, | surruperes patri*. A similar variation in the order of words, accompanied by the Behaghel effect: Kāl. R. 1, 22 *jñāne maunam kṣamā śaktau | tyāge ślāghāviparyayaḥ*. Cf. Plautus, Pseud. 1219 f.

As may appear from part of the above quotations — see e. g. AV. 2, 36, 1; MS. 4, 14, 1 — the terms are often arranged in such a way that two words of the same lexical or semantic class meeting in the middle of the ‘figure’ constitute an example of the tendency to ‘increasing magnitude’: in Homer, A 8 *Ἡγή τ' Ἀργείη καὶ Ἀλαλκομενής Ἀθήνη* ; B 282 *μῦθον ἀκούσειαν καὶ ἐπιφρασσάτατο βουλὴν*; B 199; Γ 343; A 57; 191; 501; 564; ι 139; Hes. Op. 599; 674⁴⁴); in the Avesta, Yt. 10, 89. We might compare also such deliberated specimens of well-balanced chiasmic structure as e. g. Kāl. R. 2, 6 *sthitāḥ sthitām uccalitāḥ prayātām | niśeḍuṣīm āsanabandhadhīrah | jalābhilāṣi jalam ādadānām | chāyeva tām bhūpatir anvagacchat*.

Incidentally two successive pādas belonging to different stanzas constitute a chiasmus: AV. 5, 26, 1 b: 2a *agniḥ praviḍvān iha vo yunaktu | y. devaḥ savitā prajānan*.

It is almost needless to add some examples of chiasmus in works of the post-epic period: Kāl. R. 8, 47 *yad anena tarur na pātitaḥ | kṣapitā tad-viṭapāśrayāḥ latā*; 10, 30 *udadher iva ratnāni tejāmsīva vivasvataḥ | ...*; Īśvarag. 5, 39 *mano niyamya, praṇidhāya kāyam* (mutual ‘attraction’ of similar terms); 8, 9; 9, 10 ... *protam | otam* ... ; 11, 77 is an example of a syntactically parallel, but lexically chiasmic arrangement: *yasmān nodvijate loko | lokān nodvijate ca yaḥ* (cf. AV. 16, 1, 5); Kalh. Rājat. 7, 456 *na priyākranditaiḥ snihyan na kupyann apriyoktibhiḥ* (antithetical complementary chiasmus); Rāṣṭrapālap. 37, 16 *apramāda sugatena varṇito*

⁴⁴) There are however numerous examples to the contrary: A 7; B 289; 368 etc.

ninditā hi sugataiḥ pramattakāḥ "the attentive one is praised by the Sugata, the careless are blamed by the sugatas" ⁴⁵⁾; in a deliberated and complicated form: Bhār. Kir. 1, 5 *sa kīṃsakhā sādhu na śāsti yo 'dhipaṃ | hitān na yaḥ saṃśṛṇute sa kīṃprabhūḥ*.

The above picture of chiasmus in Ancient Indian is necessarily based to a large extent on a collection of passages exhibiting, within the same syntactic unity, variations of word order. A study of a wider selection of material, comprising also parallel occurrences of the same mantras, would lie beyond the scope of this book. Yet a short list of instances may be produced here in order to show that the same idea is sometimes expressed by two or even more strings of words which, though in the main identical or equivalent, differ with regard to the word order. ⁴⁶⁾ RV. 1, 7, 4 c *ugra ugrābhir ūtibhiḥ* : 1, 129, 5 c *ugrābhir ugrotibhiḥ*; 3, 27, 2 b *girā yajñasya sādhanam* : 8, 23, 9 b y. s. g. (cf. 8, 6, 3 b *stomair y. s.* etc. ⁴⁷⁾); 1, 124, 10 b *abudhyamānūḥ paṇayaḥ sasantu* : 4, 51, 3 c . . . p. s. | a. . . ; AV. 1, 20, 3 b *vadham varuṇa yāvaya* : d *variyo yāvayā vadham*. Compare also RV. 1, 22, 18 *trīṇi padā vi cakrame viṣṇur . . .* : 8, 12, 27 *yadā te viṣṇur ojasā* | t. p. vic.; 1, 23, 7 *marutvantam havāmaha* | *indram ā somapīṭaye* : 8, 76, 6 i. *pratnena mānmanā* | m. h. | *asya somasya pīṭaye*; 1, 117, 2 *yo vām aśvinā manaso javiṃyān* : 1, 183, 1 . . . *manaso yo javiṃyān*.

That a given verse unit may appear, in another Vedic corpus, in a more or less changed form is a well-known fact; that this change may result in chiasmus may for instance appear from TB. 2, 7, 15, 4 *yā divyā āpaḥ payasā sambabhūvuḥ* | *yā . . . yāḥ* | | as against AV. 4, 8, 5 *yā āpo divyāḥ . . .*

The relation between identical groups of words occurring both in short and long metrical units deserves special mention. Thus AV. 4, 20, 2 *tisro divas tisraḥ pṛthiviḥ* as against RV. 4, 53, 5 t. d. p. t. *invati* with chiasmus. ⁴⁸⁾

In other cases a somewhat different order of words combines with variation in the grammatical forms used: RV. 5, 4, 7 *vayaṃ havyaiḥ pāvaka bhadraśoce* : 7, 14, 2 v. *deva haviṣā bh.* Cf. also RV. 1, 24, 9 : 6, 74, 2; 1, 25, 10 : 8, 25, 8; 1, 34, 12 : 1, 112, 24; 1, 36, 14 : 1, 172, 3.

⁴⁵⁾ Cf. also H. Jacobi, *Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Māhārāṣṭri*, Leipzig 1886, p. LXVIII.

⁴⁶⁾ It should however be borne in mind that in the large majority of cases the repetition is literal: see the collection of relevant facts in M. Bloomfield, *Rig-veda repetitions*, Harvard 1916.

⁴⁷⁾ Bloomfield, *o.c.*, p. 74 f.

⁴⁸⁾ Cf. also Whitney-Lanman on AV. 6, 108, 3 (*o.c.*, p. 359).

VI

ANAPHORA

We now proceed to the widespread phenomenon of anaphora, i. e. a repetition of words or phrases at the beginning of a succession of clauses. Being in the Vedic mantra texts a feature of considerable frequency it occurs both in more or less parallel clauses and in clauses or sentences dissimilar in length and structure. Here also it would be wrong to consider the occurrences from the point of view of Indian or European traditional stylistics; and modern discussions on the foundations of literary style, whatever their value or standpoint, likewise do not appear to help us much further in understanding the significance of this device in the Veda ¹). It must always be borne in mind that ancient Indian literary style was based on the spoken word and mainly evolved by the practice of addressing or discussing power or powers. It will be evident that the conditions for formulating thoughts, desires, effusions, mythical truths and traditions, religious and metaphysical 'theories' etc. impose in archaic, traditional, homogeneous and pre-scientific surroundings considerable limitations on style and diction in general. Phraseology and the construction of clauses and sentences are highly stereotyped; patterns once introduced and having proved adequate means of expressing specific thoughts or argumentations are infinitely repeated. In expounding views and theories no link in the argument is passed over in silence, no repetition, however tedious in modern eyes, avoided. It was doubtless such traditions and practices which led to the emergence of a style in which the train of thought was broken up into short clauses and sentences patterned upon the same models, a style shrinking from vagueness and variation, and abounding in reiterations of various kinds. A single example may be quoted here ²): JB. 2, 129 *brahma vai trivṛd, brahma rathantaram; brahmaṇā vāva sa brahmavarcasam ārdhnod; brahmaṇaiva brahmavarcasam rdhnoti ya evaṃ veda* "the trivṛd is brahma, the r. is b., by b. he caused his pre-eminence in brahma to increase; by b. he causes his pre-eminence in brahma to increase, who knows thus". The main characteristic, from the point of view of stylistics, is the 'consistent use' of anaphora, but it will be clear that this anaphora has little to do with the idea of poetic embellishment. That this phraseology and these syntactical devices made their influence felt also in the composition of 'poetry', i. e. of the mantra literature can hardly be a matter for doubt.

¹) See e.g. H. Seidler, *Allgemeine Stilistik*, Göttingen 1953, p. 171.

²) See also H. Oldenberg, *Zur Geschichte der altindischen Prosa*, Abh. Ges. Wiss. Göttingen 1917, p. 1 ff.

It has already been intimated that so-called semi-primitive speech ³⁾ often consists in linking together or merely joining a number of comparatively short utterances. In expressing themselves in this way the persons speaking not infrequently begin a subsequent clause or sentence in the same way as the preceding one. This repetition can often be considered a short 'Auftakt' or preamble pronounced before the next link in the chain of thoughts or emotions is, as a rule by means of the same or of a slightly modified scheme, added to the part of the utterance which came before. In these clauses or sentences we generally find one subject and one predicate, or one object connected with one subject and one predicate. In colloquial usage such successions are highly common : a Dutch boy addressing his companion : *laten we naar dat veld gaan, laten we nou gaan voetballen*. If we go into raptures or are carried away by emotion we are apt to distribute a composite thought over a plurality of short sentences, repeating elements of the first clause at the beginning of the following ones : Shaw, *Getting married*, ch. 12 (p. 301) *We look to you : it's your place, your office, your duty*. In ancient literatures such counterparts as, in Latin, Cato, R. R. 144, 3 *qui oleam legerit, qui deportarit* are far from rare : compare also, in medieval Javanese, Kor. p. 162 *maweh bhoga winalës in bhoga, maweh dukkha winalës in dukkha . . .* "causing pleasure is repaid by pleasure, causing pain is repaid by pain" ⁴⁾. This anaphora also appears when a new communication or utterance bearing on a similar fact, a corresponding or subsequent act, etc. is added to what has already been said or stated. Instances of this paratactic-supplementary construction are Corp. Inscr. Lat. V, 3496 . . . *uxori . . . , quae vixit mecum . . . , quae tulit secum . . . , quae duxit . . .*; Cato R. R. 144, 1 *oleam legendam hoc modo locare oportet; oleam cogito recte omnem arbitratu domini . . . , oleam ne stringito . . .*

This phenomenon, usually called anaphora, has been misunderstood for many years. It may be true that this repetition at the beginning of a succession of clauses may under certain circumstances be a means of adding strength, charm or beauty to the style — a view already pronounced in Greek antiquity ⁵⁾ —, it does not follow that it originally was an artificial device invented for the very reason to achieve these 'excellencies'. The Auctor ad Herennium 4, 19 may have been right in holding anaphora an important stylistic element in speaking and writing measured language — it was because of its *venustas*, *gravitas*, and *acrimonia* much suited "*ad ornandam et ad exaugendam orationem*" —, but that does not mean that

³⁾ Those who like I. Dyen (J.A.O.S. 1956, p. 53 ff.) feel inclined to draw illegitimate conclusions from the use of this term — for instance arrogance on the part of those who use them — might speak of natural speech or something to that effect.

⁴⁾ Other Indonesian instances: Bijleveld, o.c., p. 20; African parallels: C. Meinhof, *Die Dichtung der Afrikaner*, 1911, p. 97.

⁵⁾ See the enumeration of the relevant passages given by L. Otto, *De anaphora*, Thesis Marburg 1907, p. 9 ff.

it was foreign to those Romans who did not strain after rhetorical effects. Nor can the Greeks, in general, be considered to have been the first to use anaphora or the Romans to have learned it from them,—a supposition often pronounced in the last centuries⁶). Another incorrect view was that fostered by Th. Birt : the main *raison d'être* of anaphora is to be a substitute for conjunctions⁷). Those who are mainly concerned with written language are often too much inclined to consider well-balanced sentences and periods, linked together by conjunctions expressing a great variety of logical relations, a necessity and a matter of course and any deviation from a 'logical construction of sentences' a case of poetical or rhetorical 'licence'.

We thus find in the Atharvaveda in the first place a number of anaphoric systems in which the sequences of words concerned are not only parallel, but also partly identical : 1, 34, 3 *madhuman me nikramanam / madhuman me parāyanam* "honeyed is my footstep, honeyed my going away" (the word *madhu* "honey" is in this love spell often repeated; the person reciting these formulas—in so doing he chews a sweet plant—is haunted by the desire to be 'sweet' or charming; for many other units beginning with *madhu* or *madhumat*- see the Vedic Concordance. Ibidem 4, 11, 1 *anaḍvān dādihāra prthivīm uta dyām / a. d. urv antarikṣam / a. d. pradīśaḥ śaḍ urvīr*⁸), but the 4th pāda : *a. viśvaṃ bhuvanam ā viveṣa* : in this praise of the draught-ox—"an example of that characteristic Hindu extollation . . . of the immediate object of reverence"⁹), the central idea and 'thema' of the poet's formulations is emphasized in the opening stanza of the composition to such a degree as to occur three times in succession in a prominent place. Generally speaking, the occurrence of a word at the beginning of a series of sentences is often¹⁰) occasioned by the desire of the speaker to focus attention at the outset on a particular point of interest; how much the more the repetition of that word : R̥V. 2, 33, 10 *arhan bibharṣi sāyakāni dhanva / arhan niṣkam . . .*; in Greek, A 494 πολλὰς δὲ ὀρεῖς ἀζαλέας, πολλὰς δὲ τε πέδας . . .; in Latin, Cat. 64, 186 *nulla fugae ratio, nulla spes . . .*

This type of anaphora very often helps to express a thought in an analytic way : R̥V. 4, 32, 24 *aram ma usrayāmhe / aram anusrayāmhe* "(they are) ready when I go out early, ready when I go out not early (late)" : the well-known 'polar analysis' of a totality : "they are always ready". Both

⁶) And refuted by H. Donnermann, *De anaphorae apud Romanos origine et usurpatione*, Thesis Marburg 1918, p. 59.

⁷) Cf. Otto, p. 37, who joins Birt in this theory, which was justly combated by W. H. Palmer, *The use of anaphora in the amplification of a general truth*, Thesis Yale Univ. 1915, p. 3 f.

⁸) Compare also the instance of pādādiyamaka discussed in Bharata's NS. 16, 75 f. (17, 72 f. (77 f.)) "when the same word occurs at the beginning of each foot, it is (an instance of) pādādiyamaka, e.g.: *viṣṇuḥ sṛjati bhūtāni viṣṇuḥ saṃharate prajāḥ / viṣṇuprasūtaṃ* (or *viṣṇuḥ prasūte*) *trailokyam viṣṇur lokādidaivatam*".

⁹) Whitney-Lanman, o.c., p. 163.

¹⁰) Leaving of course out of consideration mechanized non-emotional schemes.

aspects or components of a 'total' process or occurrence are brought to the fore.

In the second place we find instances of a complete binary structure with some assonance : 3, 17, 5 *śunam suphālā vi tudantu bhūmim / śunam kīnūsā anu yantu vāhān* "successfully let the good ploughshares thrust asunder the earth, s. let the ploughmen follow the draught-animals"; and further, in the majority of cases, a very incomplete correspondence of the two (or more) members of the system : 3, 4, 2 *tvām viśo vṛnatām rājyāya / tvām imāḥ pradīśaḥ pañca devīḥ*. With regard to the grammatical structure of these units the anaphora sometimes concerns the subjects, the objects being different (4, 11, 1; 6, 60, 3; these stanzas can also be understood in an analytical way), or the predicates being different : cf. 3, 29, 7 II. The subjects may also differ, the anaphora concerning the predicate : 1, 34, 3 I (see above); 24, 3 I (here also the idea expressed by the predicate is much emphasized because it is the speaker's wish that it should be realized); similarly 4, 7, 2 I and 13, 4a-c *trāyantām imam devās / t. marutām gaṇāḥ / t. viśvā bhūtāni*; 5, 27, 1 I.

A likewise noteworthy case of anaphora in connection with a grammatical object on which the attention of the person speaking and his audience is focussed is, in the text 5, 25 which is to be recited in a ceremony for successful conception, the word *garbham* "the embryo", the idea on which the poet's interest centres : it occurs three times at the beginning of 3a-c, and thereupon, in 4 : *garbham te mitrāvaruṇau / g. devo bṛhaspatiḥ / g. ta indraś cāgniś ca / g. dhātā dadhātu te* "your embryo let M. and V., (your) e. l. B., y. e. l. I. and A., y. e. l. Dh. place". Cf. also st. 6, and 1, 16, 2 I; 4, 14, 1 II (anaphora of *tena*); 4, 3, 2 II. We should however guard against mistakes and hasty conclusions : modern man, accustomed to written languages and constructions such as "let the gods, the Maruts, and all beings rescue this man" instead of AV. 4, 13, 4, may be too easily inclined to over-estimate the 'stylistic qualities' of these stanzas.

Considering the above-mentioned 3, 4, 2 more closely we may observe that in st. 1a after the opening words *ā tvā gan* the subject occupies the last place, in 1c it reads *sarvās tvā rājan pradīśo hwayantu*. The second stanza joins, as far as possible, in this order of words. It may of course be granted that *tvām* "you", which refers to the person who shall be king, was in this text intended to inaugurate him as such, pronounced emphatically ("you and no other man"), but this emphasis is no doubt not the only factor determining the word's prominent place : the principle of parallelism in sentence construction, and, perhaps above all, the tendency to give a word which recurs in a series of successive units the first place, may likewise be regarded as contributing forces in this process. The third stanza similarly begins with *accha tvā yantu*. We may notice in passing the stylistic difference between the original and Whitney-Lanman's at first sight totally adequate translation : "Thee let the people choose unto kingship, thee these five divine directions" : it would appear to us that

the English idiom which usually prefers to place *and* or another link between the parts of the system expresses more emphasis by the anaphorical *thee* than the Vedic poet by his anaphorical *tvām*.

'Strings' of more or less parallel units sometimes assume the character of an expatiation. In AV. 1, 28 which is directed towards a witch, the 1st stanza invokes the god Agni, "who burns sorcerers", the 2nd asks him to do so on this particular occasion, the 3rd formulates the wish that the particular witch to whom the person speaking refers shall eat her own offspring, stanza 4 expresses the desire that the sorceresses shall mutually destroy one another; now 3a-c it reads : *yā śaśāpa śāpanena / yāgham mūram ādadhe / yā rasasya haraṇāya jātam ārebhe* "she who has cursed . . . , who has resorted to malignity . . . , who has seized (our) child to take its sap", which, though constituting an expatiation, naturally leads the author to the above curse in 3d : *tokam* (viz. *svam*) *attu sā*. Compare also the clauses introduced by *ya-* in 3, 22, 3; 4, 36, 1. In 3, 8, 6, used in a rite for securing authority, the initial words *ahaṃ gr̥bhṇāmi manasā manāṃsi* "I seize (your) minds with (my) mind" are followed by three pādas each beginning with *mama* "my" which expatiate upon the thought expressed in the second pāda : *mama cittam anu cittebhīr eta* "come you after my intent with (your) intents", etc.; the pādas b and d are as to their structure, very similar. Cf. also 4, 23, 5-6; 6, 52, 2; 89, 3. In 4, 37, 1 we have a case of analytical wording of an abstract thought. Instead of the complex utterance "(aided) by you various persons, such as for instance the A., K., K., A. killed the demons, O herb" the author resorts to a series of similar statements in order to express analytically what a modern scientific mind would say in the above way : *twayā pūrvam atharvāno jaghnū raksāṃsy ośadhe / t. jaghāna k. / t. k. a*. There are striking parallels in Latin : in an inscription, edited Corp. Inscr. Lat. VIII, 152, 5 the general or abstract idea is expressed first and the analytical illustration added by means of anaphorical clauses : *nulla spes vivendi mihi sine coniuge tali : illa domum servare meam, illa et consilio iuvare*¹¹). A counterpart of this structure is AV. 3, 28, 2f. used in a ceremony of expiation in connection with an animal bearing twins; the cow, ass or mare concerned destroys the cattle, but when she is given to a brahman she becomes *śivā* "propitious"; this thought is developed in a detailed statement : *śivā bhava puruṣebhyo gobhyo . . . / śivāsmāi* etc. with anaphora of the central idea. The terms 'Auflösung' and 'Satzlockerung'¹²), though applicable to emotional utterances (e. g. Plaut. Men. 750 *negas novisse me? negas patrem meum?*), should not make us believe that an 'einheitlicher Satz' was always the original mode of expression.

The other day I heard a Dutch servant-girl say good-bye to a company of seven persons : *goeienavond mevrouw, g'avond meneer, g'avond juffrouw, g'avond meneer, g'avond . . .*; on a similar occasion an adult or a

¹¹) Other Latin instances may be found in W. H. Palmer, *Anaphora: its origin and use*, Washington Univ. Studies 5, 1 (1917/8), p. 58 f.

¹²) See e.g. Hofmann. *Lat. Umgangssprache*, § 63.

more educated person would, according to his mood and education and, above all, to his relation with these persons, pronounce one complex utterance, e. g. *goeden avond dames en heren*, or also *goeden avond samen*, or simply *goeden avond*; anyhow, he would prefer a synthetic expression. But poets readily join the uneducated: Schiller's *Spaziergang*: *Sei mir gegrüßt, mein Berg . . . Sei mir, Sonne, gegrüßt*; although it must readily be admitted that in other respects these lines are different from popular diction¹³). This anaphora in greeting and bidding farewell is quite natural as an unsophisticated mind would endeavour to salute everyone in turn. There are innumerable Indian instances of this way of greeting or paying homage: AV. 1, 31, 4 *svasti mātra uta pitre no astu* / *svasti gobhyo jagate puruṣebhyaḥ* "well-being be to our mother and father, w. to kine, to animals, to men"; 11, 2, 31 5 times *namah* "homage" followed by *svasti*; 6, 13, 1; 90, 3 (*namah*); 2, 10, 2 I; 7, 69, 1 (*śam*); cf. also 6, 20, 2 *namo rudrāya n. astu takmane* / *n. rājñe varuṇāya . . .* (here "the diction lapses into formulaary prose"¹⁴), or rather, the natural formulas used in paying homage are without regard to the metre, incorporated in the text. Cf. also AV. 6, 10 "to earth . . ., to breath . . ., to the sky . . .".

When anaphora, in this way, emphasizes a parallelism it often connects clauses and sentences in such a way as to be equivalent to our "and", "also", or to other means of rendering the connection between the two (or more) units more perceptible. The repetition of a word at the beginning of a succession of clauses can, however, also serve to express or emphasize other connections than pure co-ordination. When a Dutch child, accusing himself of having broken a glass says: *Jantje stout; J. glas gebroken*, we can supply "because": J. is naughty because he has . . . In the same way Plautus, *Most.* 505 *non dat, non debet*. In other cases a consecutive conjunction might be mentally supplied by the hearer: in the Dutch *we hebben de moeite gedaan, we willen de vruchten plukken, dus or dus ook* "so" or *zodat* "so that" would have been required if the person speaking had not preferred the anaphora¹⁵). Cf. also in the style of the slogans: *geen alcohol — geen risico* "no alcohol no risk"; in Roman rings: *ama me amabo te*. There are cases of anaphora in the AthV. which resemble those mentioned here: 3, 19, 1 *saṁśītaṁ ma idaṁ brahma* / *s . . .* / *s. kṣātram ajaram astu* / . . . *yeṣāṁ asmi purohitaḥ* "sharpened is this brahma of mine, . . ., sh. be the undecaying authority (of them) of whom I am the family priest"; the poet indeed "sharpens" his faculties in order to achieve a "sharpened" authority of his lord: we might supply "likewise", or "so that"; cf. also st. 5 *eṣāṁ aham āyudhā sam śyāmi* / <and in so doing> *e. rāṣṭraṁ . . . vardhayāmi* / <so> *e. kṣātram ajaram astu*. 6, 21, 1 we could replace the anaphora by a

¹³) See also R. M. Meyer, *Deutsche Stilistik*², p. 102.

¹⁴) Bloomfield, *S.B.E.* 42, p. 469.

¹⁵) One might also compare those Egyptian parallel clauses which were collected by Fircchow under the head: *Parallelismus der Konsequenz*, *Grund-Folge*, o.c., p. 123 f.; Hofmann, *Lat. Umgangssprache*, p. 110.

hypotaxis : *imā yās tisrah prthivīs / tāsām ha bhūmir uttamā / tāsām adhi tvaco ahaṃ / bheṣajam sam u jāgrabham*, i. e. "I caught the remedy from the skin of these three prthivīs of which earth is the highest" (lit. "these three earths which there are – of them earth is the h., from their skin have I caught the r.").

Cases are, however, not wanting in which the repeated word is preceded by a conjunction. I would propose to call this phenomenon 'covered anaphora'¹⁶. Cf. 6, 74, 2 *saṃjñāpanam vo manaso / 'tho s. hṛdah* "harmony of mind for you, also h. of the heart" (the next pāda begins in the same way); 4, 37, 5 *yatra . . . / uta y. . .*; cf. also 1, 17, 2 *tiṣṭha . . . / uta tvam t.*; cf. 2, 28, 3b *ye jātā uta vā ye janitvāḥ* in the same pāda, and 32, 4 *uta* with chiasmus.

The conjunctions themselves can also be subject to anaphora : cf. in Latin, Plaut. Truc. 38 *dum huc, dum illuc rete circumvortit*. Thus we find in a parallel pair of word groups : AV. 6, 115, 2 *yadi jāgrad yadi svapan*; RV. 10, 161, 2 *yadi kṣitāyur yadi vā paretah* "ob sein Leben zur Neige ging, ob er schon hinüber ist" (Geldner); AV. 4, 9, 10 *yadi vāsi traikakudam / yadi yāmunam ucyate* (chiasmus); 12, 7; 27, 6¹⁷. 5, 14, 7 this anaphora helps more or less emphatically to express a certain alternative, which does however not exclude other possibilities : *yadi vāsi devakṛtā / y. vā puruṣaiḥ kṛtā / tām tvā . . .* "if either you are god-made, or if made by man . . ."; 7, 72, 1 II an alternative by means of a repeated *yadi* and the well-known pair of opposites, a verbal adjective followed by its reverse : *yadi śrūtaṃ juhotaṇa yady aśrūtaṃ mamattana* "if cooked, offer (it); if uncooked, wait", with exact parallelism. The repetition of *yadi* is however not necessary : RV. 7, 104, 14 *yadi vā . . . vā . . .* A series of repeated conjunctions can serve to express an enumeration of possibilities : AV. 1, 16, 4 *yadi no gāṃ haṃsi / y. aśvaṃ y. pūruṣam* "if you kill our cow, if (our) horse, if (our) man"; 2, 14, 5; 3, 11, 2. We even find an instance of two *yadi*-sentences in succession, both of them being followed by a principal clause, a construction which in Latin is colloquial as well as rhetorical¹⁸ : 6, 124, 2 *yadi vrkṣād abhyapaptat phalaṃ tad / yady antarikṣāt sa u vāyur eva* "if from a tree it has fallen upon (me), it is fruit; if from the atmosphere, it is merely Vāyu" (the text is concerned with the evil influence of drops of rain falling from a clear sky). Compare also, in Latin, Plautus, Poen. 631 f. *si bene dicetis, vestra ripa vos sequar; si male dicetis, vostro gradiar limite*. The anaphora of the hypothetical conjunction is, in general, a widespread means of expressing, in an asyndetic way, the opposition of two conditions or suppositions. We find this construction in ancient and

¹⁶ Cf. such German terms as gedeckter Auslaut etc.

¹⁷ The combination *yadi . . . atha* (Speyer, Sanskrit Syntax, § 486) does not occur in AV. I-VII.

¹⁸ (M. Leumann-)J. B. Hofmann, Lateinische Grammatik, p. 779. A thorough comparative study of these structures from a stylistical point of view would be of great interest.

popular literature, in formulas etc., stringing two (or more) conditions together in close succession ¹⁹), *sei deo sei divae*; (Ennius) *si luci si nox si mox si iam data sit frux*, cf. also Plautus, Rud. 1257 *si aurum, si argentumst*. Latin, however, often prefers *sive* or *seu* in the second member of the system: Lex XII tab. 8, 1b *si quis occentavisset, sive carmen condidisset* ²⁰); here *sive* contains the element *-ve* which is etymologically identical with AI. *vā*. The corresponding turn is also found in the AthV. 2, 14, 5 *yadi stha ksetriyānām / yadi vā puruṣeṣitāḥ*; also 4, 12, 7; cf. 1, 25, 3 *yadi śoko yadi vābhiśoko / yadi vā rājño varuṇasyāsi putrah*. The disjunction was obviously more explicitly expressed by *yadi vā, sive*, which is, in both languages, also used in the first member of a disjunctive system: AV. 5, 14, 7 (see above); 7, 38, 5 *yadi vāsi tiro janam / yadi vā nadyas tiraḥ* "if you are either beyond people, or if beyond streams". Compare, in the Mbh. 3, 69, 47 *yadi vāsau samṛddhaḥ syād yadi vāpy adhano bhavet / yadi vāpy asamarthaḥ syāt*.

It is worth while to dwell for a moment upon these constructions which do not seem to have attracted special attention ²¹). The repetition of *sive*, i. e. *sive . . . sive* in disjunctive clauses does, not, in Latin, occur before Cato (cf. Agr. 139 in a prayer *sive ego sive quis iussu meo fecerit*), Plautus and Terence using, *si . . . seu, si . . . sive*, which was retained in formulas, quotations and poems and in works which were also otherwise characterized by archaisms ²²). The complete, originally no doubt somewhat emphatic *sive* at the beginning of the first member, followed by *-ve* in the second was, like *sive* in the second member alone only used by poets and later prosaists. In the Avesta *yezi vā*, put once, is (Yt. 10, 18) in the beginning of a pericope, clearly "hervorhebend", and the usual way of co-ordinating conditional clauses consists in a repetition of the simple *yezi* "if": Y. 1, 21; notice a pair of parallel lines with responsio such as Yt. 13, 63 *yezi aēm bavaiti ašava.χšnuš, yezi šē bavainti anāzarētā* and V. 18, 76. Besides, we find *yezi . . . yaṭ vā* (V. 15, 4) etc. ²³). In Greek two conditional clauses are often closely connected, but the incidental *ei δὲ . . . ei δὲ . . .* (cf. I 135 ff.)—beside *ei οὖν . . . ἐὰν δὲ . . . ; ei . . . ei οὖν . . .* etc.—cannot be regarded as a cogent argument in favour of the thesis that the effect of this anaphora tended to be reinforced by additional particles; *εἴτε . . . εἴτε* (M 239 f. *εἴτ' ἐνὶ δεξιῇ ἰωσι . . . / εἴτ' ἐν ἀριστερᾷ . . .*) however was a frequent and clearly anaphorical construction, corresponding to the Latin

¹⁹) Cf. W. Heraeus, in Festschrift-J. Vahlen (1900), p. 435.

²⁰) See also (Leumann-)Hofmann, o.c., p. 677 etc.

²¹) Incidental references: B. Delbrück, Altindische Syntax, p. 584 ff.; see also L. Renou, Grammaire de la langue védique, Paris 1952, p. 391, § 453, b 4. Nothing relevant: Delbrück, Vergl. Syntax der indogerm. Sprachen III, Strassburg 1900, p. 428 ff.; H. Hirt, Indogermanische Grammatik, VII, Heidelberg 1937, p. 173 ff. Cf. e.g. also W. Vondrak, Slavische Grammatik II, Göttingen 1928, p. 456. Cf. also Hofmann, Lat. Umgangssprache, p. 62.

²²) (Leumann-)Hofmann, p. 779.

²³) See also H. Reichelt, Awestisches Elementarbuch, Heidelberg 1909, p. 384 f. For the function of *τε* see the author's paper in the Mnemosyne, IV, 7, p. 177 ff.

sive ... sive, and occurring likewise in strictly parallel clauses : Pl. Civ. 493d εἴτ' ἐν γραφικῇ, εἴτ' ἐν μουσικῇ, εἴτε δὴ ἐν πολιτικῇ²⁴). Cf. also Pl. Lys. 212e εἰάν τε φιλῇ, εἰάν τε καὶ μισῇ; Xen. Cyr. I, 1, 5 ἦν τε πρὸς ἔω, ἦν τε πρὸς ἐσπέραν, ἦν τε πρὸς ἄρκτον, ἦν τε πρὸς μεσημβρίαν. The conclusion must be that this 'disjunctive anaphora' was, in a perfectly natural way, ancient and widespread, occurring however beside other, non-anaphoric, constructions²⁵).

It is clear that this anaphorical repetition of conjunctions was liable to mechanical reproduction. The parallelism of thoughts, the disjunction itself, reinforced and kept alive the intimate tendency to express oneself in more or less parallel successions of words : Manu 3, 237 *yāvad uṣṇam bhavaty annam / yāvad aśnanti vāgyatāḥ / pitaras tāvad aśnanti / yāvan noktā havirgunāḥ* "as long as the food remains warm, as long as they eat in silence, as long as ... , so long ...".

In popular and didactic style other conjunctions are also often repeated so as to form anaphoric sequences : BārU. 2, 1, 19 *atha yadā suṣupto bhavati, yadā na kasya cana veda* ... "again when one falls sound asleep, when one has no knowledge of whatsoever ...". This predilection for clarity, graphic descriptions, accumulation of examples and arguments accounts also for such periods as BārU. 2, 1, 20 *sa yathorṇanābhis tantunoccaret, yathāgneḥ kṣudrā visphulingā vyuccaranti, evam* ... : two similes both of them introduced by *yathā*; 2, 3, 6 *yathā* occurs even 6 times in succession.

Similar tendencies can provide an explanation for the anaphora of particles and other auxiliaries : BārU. 6, 1, 14 *yad idaṃ kiṃ ca, ā śvabhyā ā krimibhyā, ā kiṭapataṅgebhyā, tat te annam* "whatever there is here, even unto dogs, unto worms, unto insects and birds, that is your food". Another instance is ChU. 5, 2, 1 (*yat kiṃ cid idaṃ*) *ā śvabhyā ā śakunibhyā*. Here we encounter a difficult point, which should be examined in connection with similar phenomena in other idioms, viz. the repetition or non-repetition of prepositions in co-ordinated groups. In some languages and periods, e. g. in classical Greek, the double occurrence of this element was markedly emphatic or meant to enhance the clarity of the passage : Xen. An. I, 1, 7 *καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν* (notice the repeated *καί*); Plato, Phd. 67d *ἐκλυομένην ὥσπερ ἐκ δεσμών ἐκ τοῦ σώματος*; this idiom is distinctly opposed to the general non-repetition found in prose : Thuc. 3, 10, 1 *περὶ τοῦ δικαίου καὶ ἀρετῆς*²⁶); generally speaking, repetition marks the separate character of the nominal concepts, non-repetition their forming unity. A 411 *κατὰ φρένα καὶ κατὰ θυμόν*; Hes. O. 91 *νόσφιν ἄτερ τε κακῶν καὶ ἄτερ χαλεποῖο πόνοιο* on the other hand are instances of the archaic breadth of the epic narrative style effected by the repetitional schemata²⁷).

²⁴) See also Schwyzler-Debrunner, o.c., II, p. 686 f.; R. Kühner-B. Gerth, *Ausf. Gramm. d. griech. Spr.* II⁴, p. 479 f.

²⁵) For which see Hirt, o.c., VII, p. 174 f.

²⁶) See especially Kühner-Gerth, o.c., I, p. 548 ff.

²⁷) It does not seem possible to prove the correctness of the opinion that these

Elsewhere, e. g. in French, the tendency seems to prevail not to repeat the preposition if there is no considerable diversity of sense between the substantive : *par les ruses et par les armes*, but *par les ruses et les artifices* ²⁸). Similar remarks could be made about the distinctive character of a repeated preposition in other languages, e. g. Dutch, showing the syntactic and stylistic importance of this 'anaphora'. In Vedic poetry there seems to be a tendency to repeat a preposition at the beginning or the end of a metrical unit, to avoid this repetition before or after nouns occurring in another position: AV. 7, 82, 2 . . . *grhṇāmi* / *saha kṣatreṇa varcasā balena*; 10, 6, 23 . . . / *saha gobhir ajāvibhir annena prajāyā saha* (compare also the stanzas 24-27); 18, 2, 59; 60; (see also RV. 1, 48, 1). The preposition *ā* is, however, as a rule repeated : RV. 3, 53, 20 *svasty ā grhebhya āvasā ā vimocanāt*; 61, 4; 2, 18, 4 *ā dvābhyām . . . / ā . . . ā . . . / āṣṭābhir daśabhiḥ*. In a long prose formula such as AiB. 7, 24, 3 *saha tejasā viryeṇāyusā* etc. the preposition is, in contradistinction to the type occurring in mantras — e. g. TS. 1, 3, 4, 2 *saha prajāyā saha rāyaspoṣeṇa* — not repeated. The influence of the time-honoured rhythmic schemata seems to be unmistakable. Avestan instances are not wanting : Yt. 8, 22 *ād im bavaiti aiwi. aōfā, ād im bavaiti aiwi.vanyā* "da überwältigt ihn, da besiegt ihn" (Lommel). Nor are they foreign to Medieval German : Hartmann, Erec 4653 *mit werken und mit munde*; 3961 *durch triuwe und durch guete* ²⁹).

The use and position of negative particles and other phrases expressing negation are often to a great extent dependent on the sentiments and emotions of the speakers : they are on the one hand not rarely put at the very beginning of a sentence, even so as to be separated from those words to which they logically speaking belong; the negative idea is, on the other hand, often emphasized by seemingly redundant repetitions ³⁰). Anaphora of the negative particle is far from rare in the Vedic mantras : AV. 8, 5, 13 *na gandharvā na martyāḥ*; 1, 11, 4 *neva māmse na pibasi* / *neva majjasv āhatam* "not struck in the flesh, not in the fat, not in the marrow", where a more 'modern' style would have preferred "not struck in f., f. (and, or) m.". Cf. also 1, 20, 4 *na yasya hanyate sakhā* / *na jīyate kadā cana* "whose companion is neither slain nor subdued . . ."; 27, 3 *na bahavaḥ samaśakan* / *nārbhakā . . .* ('polar' analysis : "neither the many . . . nor the few"); 35, 2 *nainam rakṣāmsi na piśācāḥ sahante*; 4, 6, 3; 9, 5; 21, 3; 4; 5, 17, 16; 18 etc. The first *na* is as a rule placed at the beginning of a metrical unit.

formulas are more 'original' (i.e. that there has been a period in which they existed alone).

²⁸) For particulars see F. Brunot, *La pensée et la langue*, Paris 1936, p. 417 f., and Ch. Bally, *Linguistique générale et linguistique française*, Bern 1944, p. 292.

²⁹) See also A. van der Lee, *Der Stil von Hartmanns Erec*, Thesis Utrecht 1950, p. 100 f.

³⁰) The reader may consult: O. Jespersen, *Negation in English etc.*, Medd. Dansk Vid. Selskab I (1917), p. 5; Spitzer, *Germ.-Rom. Monatsschrift* 15 (1927), p. 72 f., and especially the author's treatise *La place de la particule négative na dans la phrase en vieil indien*, Leiden 1951.

Cf. also 5, 22, 11 (*mā*). In the RV. : 1, 165, 9; 2, 23, 5; 33, 4; 3, 59, 2; 4, 25, 5; 6, 52, 1; 54, 7; 7, 18, 20; 8, 96, 2; 10, 10, 8; cf. also VS. 17, 14; ChU. 5, 11, 5; KeU. 1, 3, etc.; in prose : BārU. 4, 3, 10 *na tatra rathāḥ, na rathayogāḥ, na panthāno bhavanti*, and in strictly parallel sentences MāU. 5 . . . *na kaṃcana kāmam kāmāyate, na kaṃcana svapnam paśyati*. Otherwise : PB. 2, 1, 4 *nāvagato 'parudhyate, nāparuddho 'vagacchati* etc. In other languages anaphora regarding the negative particle is also a well-known phenomenon : δ 142 οὐτ' ἄνδρ' οὐτε γυναικα; A 299; τ 163 οὐ γὰρ ἀπὸ θενός ἐσσι . . . οὐδ' ἀπὸ πέτρης. It is worth noticing that by the side of these *na . . . na . . .* constructions—cf. also the type ŚvU. 3, 9 *nāñīyo na jyāyah*; Manu 4, 120 *na vṛkṣaṃ na ca hastinam / na nāvaṃ na kharam*—the type *nek^ue . . . nek^ue . . .*, which is frequent in Greek (οὐτε . . . οὐτε . . . , μήτε . . . μήτε . . . (e. g. x 94 οὐτε μέγα οὐτ' ὀλίγον), in Latin (e. g. Plaut. Trin. 134 *neque emerēs neque venderēs*), German (Goth. *nih . . . nih . . .*, Dutch *noch vlees noch vis*) etc.³¹) is, in Sanskrit, not conspicuous by frequency : RVKh. 10, 142, 10 *na ca vyāghrabhayam na ca mṛtyubhayam*; Aśv. Bc. 8, 82 *na ca paritaptamukhaṃ na cāpy aśokau* “neither distressed in face nor yet untouched by sorrow”³²).

From what has been said on the preceding pages it may appear that of the parallel schemata or balanced structures with which we are dealing here, a large number are marked by the repetition of an indeclinable element. As this class deserves, for various reasons, special attention we shall again endeavour first to group the main Vedic facts and then to discuss, as far as possible and necessary, the corresponding phenomena in the cognate languages and classical Sanskrit.

The said repetition appears in the beginning of each member of the parallel set (anaphora) : In liturgical formulas and similar phrases we find TĀ. 4, 36, 1 . . . *atho kṛṣṇā atho śvetāḥ / atho mātūtho (mātā atho) pitā* etc.; in the AV. e. g. 1, 14, 2d (after *sā mātur badhyatām grhe*) *atho bhrātūr atho pituḥ* “be she bound in her mother’s house, also in her brother’s, also in her father’s”; the author adding an alternative to his wish introduces this by *atha* which is especially used to make known something new or to express an alternative or opposition : “now, then, moreover, further, rather”³³), and which, together with its compounds (*athavā*) etc. is retained in disjunctive interrogations; in the second protasis of a hypothetic period (when after a clause introduced by *yadi* an alternative is proposed), and so on. Now the Vedic author given the choice between more than two possibilities likes to repeat *atha* and to express himself in the above way. Cf. also : AV. 6, 140, 2b (*vrihim attam yavam attam*) *atho māṣam atho tilam*; 8, 5, 12b. The copulative *uta* is used in a similar way : 8, 5, 6b (*antardadhe dyāvāprthivī*) *utāhar uta sūryam* “I interpose heaven-and-earth, also the

³¹) See Mnemosyne, IV, 7, p. 185; 195; 202 etc.

³²) See also The use of the particle *ca*, Vāk 5 (Poona 1956), p. 20.

³³) See also B. Delbrück, Altindische Syntax, Halle a. S. 1888, p. 538 ff.; J. S. Speyer, Sanskrit Syntax, Leiden 1886, p. 375.

day, also the sun". 19, 62 reads as follows : *priyaṃ mā kṛṇu deveṣu priyaṃ rājasu mā kṛṇu* / *priyaṃ sarvasya paśyata uta śūdra utārye* "make thou me dear to the gods, make me dear to the kings, dear to every being who sees, both to ārya and to śūdra". The same anaphora occurs in 'irregular' parallel sets : 10, 8, 28b *utaiṣāṃ jyeṣṭha uta vā kaniṣṭhaḥ*; R̥V. 10, 88, 14d *utāvastād uta devaḥ parastāt*; 9, 107, 20a *utāhaṃ naktam uta soma te divā*; cf. 5, 46, 4; 7, 41, 4; 1, 67, 9 (*vi yo vīrutsu rōdhan mahitvā*) *uta prajā uta prasūṣv antaḥ*, where the two *utas* may be translated by "as well as".

In AV. 4, 4, 6 *adyāgne adya savitar* / *a. devi sarasvati* / *adyāsya brahma-naspate* / *dhanur ivā tānayā pasah* "now A., now S., now goddess S., now B., make his member taut like a bow" the repeated *adya* "now" insists and stimulates the powers to whom the words are addressed : "now it is the very moment, do it now"; this exact point of time, the immediate realization of the desire, is no doubt of special importance. In a similar way Dutch street-hawkers use, in spring-time, to recommend their seeds, cuttings and young plants : *mooie violen, nou kan je planten, nou mot je polen* — the implication of course is : "don't let this opportunity slip", and Horace, if the reader allows me to mention his famous name in this connection, made the same anaphora a device in his well-known ode (1, 37) *nunc est bibendum, nunc pede libero pulsanda tellus, nunc . . .* : "Das dreifache anaphorische *nunc* . . . stellt die Aufforderung, jetzt sich der Freude hinzugeben . . . So spricht hier aus den Worten nur die Ungeduld des Dichters . . ." ³⁴). A non-repeated *adya* is, like the words for "now" in various languages, often placed at the head of a clause. Compare also R̥V. 4, 16, 21 etc. *nū śtuta indra nū grṇāna* / *iṣaṃ jaritre . . . pīpēḥ* : in this final stanza the poet seems to emphasize by the repeated "now" that the moment has come for the god's favour. "Now is the appointed time, now is the day of salvation" (Prayer book of the Church of England). Among the local indeclinabilia *iha* "here", which often appears in prayers and formulas intended to bring welfare or happiness to the place of the person speaking, or to keep them under his control, is used in a comparable way : AV. 8, 1, 3 *iha te 'sur iha prāṇa* / *ihāyur iha te manah*, occurring among a series of stanzas to be recited in order to bring about the continuation of someone's life, and beginning as follows : "To Death be homage. Let thy breaths and expirations rest here (*iha*). Let this man be here with his life (*ihāyam astu puruṣaḥ saḥāsunā*)". AV. 3, 28, 4, after "be propitious to us here" (*śivā na ihaidhi* — the text serves to avert the ill omen of an animal bearing twins — it reads *iha puṣṭir iha rasa* / *iha sahasrasātām ā bhava* "here prosperity here sap . . .". The idea of "here", i. e. "to our place" is significantly emphasized by this anaphorical repetition, the author being obsessed by the desire to obtain the benefits mentioned in his prayer. With 'extension' : R̥V. 4, 36, 9 *iha prajāṃ iha rayiṃ rarāṇā*, followed by *iha śravo vīravat takṣatā naḥ*; with 'insertion' ŚŚ. 8, 18, 1 *iha śravad iha*

³⁴) A. Kiessling-R. Heinze, Q. Horatius Flaccus' Oden u. Epoden erklärt⁵, Berlin 1908, p. 165.

somasya matsat. An example of another local adverb : RV. 10, 34, 13 *tatra gāvaḥ kitava tatra jāyā* (the parallel groups are separated by a vocative); as also in other similar passages the author by repeating the adverb insists on the idea expressed : “there are your cattle, O gambler, there your wife”. The word *kva* is not rarely used in this way : AV. 10, 7, 1 *kva vrataṃ kva śraddhāsyā tiṣṭhati* ; RV. 8, 1, 7 with insistence *kveyatha kved asi*; 10, 111, 8; 5, 61, 2; AV. 10, 7, 5 often in a series of questions. When in a spell accompanying a rite for prosperity it reads, AV. 1, 15, 2, *ihaiva havam ā yāta ma / iha samśrāvanā uta . . . / ihaitu sarvo yaḥ paśur*, the person reciting concentrates, by repeating the word for “here” in such a prominent place, the attention of those addressed upon the idea which it expresses, and in doing so he analyses, in the outward form of anaphorical variation, the wish “let wealth come to this man”. We can however also explain this schema in the following way : in the first member the emotive and emphatic *ihaiva* is pronounced before all other words and the tendency to parallelism leads to its being repeated at the beginning of the following clauses. For *ihaiva* occupying the first place see AV. 3, 12, 1a, repeated 3, 12, 2a; 6, 117, 2 etc.; with anaphora: 3, 14, 4 (cf. 5c.). This emphatic *iha*, *ihaiva* often implies the thought “and not elsewhere” which is explicitly expressed in the rather frequently following negative turn : cf. 5, 30, 1 *ihaiva bhava mānu gāḥ* “be just here, do not go”; 3, 31, 9; 14, 1, 22 etc. Cf. also 3, 28, 4. Instances of *yathā* are : KS. 40, 11a *yathā pañca yathā ṣaṭ*; AV. 6, 46, 3a = RV. 8, 47, 17a *yathā kalām yathā śapham*; 1, 11, 6a; 6, 70, 1a, as part of a longer anaphoric repetition, a phenomenon to which we shall have to recur; cf. also such formulas as ŚG. 6, 6, 3-6 *yathāpaḥ śāntāḥ, y. prthivī, evaṃ mayi śāmyatu* ³⁵).

Sam and similar words are often repeated in this way : AV. 1, 15, 1 is a typical instance : (*saṃ saṃ sravantu sindhavaḥ*) *saṃ vātāḥ saṃ patatrīṇaḥ* “together, together let the rivers flow, together the winds, together the birds”; the repetition of *saṃ* “together” no doubt enhances the power of the composition which, accompanying a so-called confluent oblation, is to effect the confluence of possessions to a person. As these indeclinable elements, the so-called prepositions mainly served to mark or to underline a relation in the spatial, temporal, or sometimes also logical spheres, as they had to heighten clearness and graphicalness, their being repeated was suggestive of comparatively uncomplicated movements and elemental psychical reactions. We might compare, in Homer, Ψ 886 f. *καὶ ὅ' ἤμouες ἄνδρες ἀνέσταν* · / *ἄν μὲν ἄρ' Ἀ. . . . / ἄν δ' ἄρα Μ.* ³⁶). The anaphorical repetition of an adverb-preverb alone, the verb to which it belongs being only mentioned the first time, is a frequent phenomenon : 2, 26, 5 II; 3, 6, 8 I; 14, 2 I; 4, 12, 3 I etc., cf. also 2, 26, 3; RV. 2, 18, 5 etc. The verb can, however, also be placed at the end of the metrical unit : AV. 7, 41, 1a *ati*

³⁵) For *kva* (*ca*) . . . *kva* (*ca*) denoting a great discrepancy between two objects, actions etc. see Speyer, Sanskrit Syntax, p. 322.

³⁶) See R. Kühner-B. Gerth, Ausf. Grammatik der griech. Sprache I, p. 531, A 1.

dhanvāny aty apas tatarā; 2, 6, 5 in a long series; cf. also 14, 1, 34. Some other instances of *sam* are : ĀpMB. 1, 3, 14 *sam ayāva sam kalpārahai*; TS. 1, 1, 10, 2 *sam āyusā sam prajāyā*; AV. 2, 26, 3b *sam . . . sam u*; 12, 3, 3a; 6, 102, 1b *sam aiti sam ca vartate*; 5, 30, 14b; RV. 1, 53, 5a; 10, 85, 23 *sam aryamā sam bhago no ninīyāt*; VS. 20, 58 *sam ūrjam sam rayim dadhuh*. Instances of *pra* : RV. 8, 9, 20a; 9, 67, 28 *pra pyāyasva pra syandasva*; 10, 4, 1a; 1, 112, 23b; AV. 19, 49, 9d; of *prati* : MS. 3, 11, 8 and similar texts; of *ā* RV. 2, 18, 4b; of *ut* AV. 3, 25, 1; RV. 10, 142, 6 etc.

This type is not limited to the mantras from which the above instances have been taken. Compare VS. 23, 15b (formula) *svayam yajasva s. juṣasva* and BārU. 4, 3, 9 *svayam vihatya s. nirmāya*; ChU. 1, 12, 5 *om adāma, om pibāma*; cf. also BārU. 4, 4, 22 *ataḥ pāpam akaravam iti, a. kalyānam a. i.* ; (cf. in a metrical passage 6, 4, 22 *yathāgnigarbhā prthivī, yathā dyaur indreṇa garbhini* (chiasmus). For *atra* . . . / *atraiva* see AV. 5, 8, 9; for *tatra* . . . *tatra* 2, 14, 3 b c.

Threefold repetition of an interjection : AV. 4, 3, 1 c d e; Rām. 2, 64, 75 f.; 4, 25, 40.

Anaphora of what may be called emotional terms ("reine Affektwörter") is very common : hence, for instance, the repetition of the interrogative pronouns and the adverbs deriving from their stems, which are of frequent use in so-called rhetorical questions : RV. 4, 3, 5 *kathā ha tad varuṇāya tvam agne | kathā dive garhase kan na āgaḥ | | kathā mitrāya mīlhuṣe prthivyai | bravaḥ kad aryamṇe kad bhagāya*; *ibid.* 7.

It has already been intimated that one of the factors contributing to anaphoric connection of clauses consists in the repetition of a definite idea which moves the feelings of the person speaking or which is expected to appeal to the beings addressed. So-called emotional repetition of a word is always, and in any part of the metrical or rhythmical entity, apt to occur in texts of this variety (cf. 1, 1, 2d); anaphora, however, produces, as a rule, a greater impression on the mind of the hearer. We even find such instances of anaphora in connection with the ideas pervading the thought of the person speaking as are from the standpoint of the logician, superfluous or confusing. Thus, in AV. 4, 11, 1-4 which is a praise of the draught-ox, the word for this animal, *anaḍvān*, figures 6 times at the head of a pāda (1a, b, c, d, 2a, 4a). "The hymn offers an example of that characteristic Hindu extollation, without any measure or limit, of the immediate object of reverence, which . . . has led to the setting up of the baseless doctrine of 'henotheism' " ³⁷⁾. In 4, 10 which serves to avert evils by means of a pearl-shell amulet, the word *śaṅkha*- "shell" is, in st. 2 and 3, four times repeated in the beginning : "by the shell (we overpower) disease, misery" etc. When compared with 4, 14, 1 II where we come across an occasional instance of anaphora of the pronoun *tena* (*tena devā devatām agra āyan | tena roham āyann upa medhyāsah* "by it the gods in the be-

³⁷⁾ Whitney-Lanman, o.c., p. 163.

ginning attained divinity; by it the sacrificial ones ascended") the anaphora of such nouns is a more vivid, direct and unequivocal (cf. the commentary) means of expression. Thus in 6, 40 which was believed to be instrumental in achieving "security" (*abhaya-*) 1a, b, c begin with this very word. By means of a rite for length of life the officiant has, 3, 11, snatched away a man from death and now he wishes him a life of a hundred years; this wish is in a graphic and analytic way couched in the following words : 4 *śataṃ jīva śarado vardhamānaḥ* / *s. hemantāṃ chatam u vasantān* / *śataṃ ta indro . . .* (sc. *dadātu*) / *śatāyusā haviṣā hāṣam enam* "live increasing a hundred autumns, a hundred winters, and a hundred springs, a hundred to you (must) I . . . (give); with an oblation of a life of hundred years I have taken him" (= RV. 10, 164, 4 and other passages, cf. also such texts as AV. 2, 13, 3c and 12, 2, 23 c). The appealing and impressive force of the anaphora is also manifest in imperative clauses : 4, 4, 2 *ud uṣā ud u sūrya ud idaṃ māmakaṃ vacaḥ* / *ud ejatu prajāpatiḥ* "up, dawn, up, too, the sun; up, these words of mine; up be P. stirring" (the text was to accompany a rite for recovery of virility). Anaphora, and especially frequent anaphora, essentially adds emphasis and vividness to a literary composition³⁸).

Anaphora and climax or gradation often go together : *Es stirbt das Vieh, es stirbt der Freund, es stirbt auch selbst der Mensch*³⁹). Thus, AV. 3, 11, 2 I *yadi kṣitāyur yadi vā pareto* / *yadi mrtyor antikam nīta eva* "if one's life has gone to an end, or if one has deceased, or if one has been led even to the presence of death . . ." In 3, 7, 5 *āpa id vā u bheṣajir* / *āpo amivacātaniḥ* / *āpo viśvasya bheṣajis* / *tās tvā muñcantu kṣetiriyāt* "the waters verily (are) remedial, the w. disease-expelling, the w. remedial of everything; let them release you from everything", the repeated *āpaḥ* which is moreover placed in strong relief is, so to say, compelled to bring about the intended result. Cf. also 4, 12, 1 in a similar case : *rohaṇy asi rohaṇy* / *asthnaś chinnasya rohaṇi* / *rohayedam arundhati*; 13, 6 (cf. 5 and 7); 22, 1 I; 3, 14, 4; 6, 75, 3; 91, 3; 95, 3; 15, 1, 4 so 'vardhata sa mahān abhavat sa mahādevo 'bhavat "he increased, he became great, he became the great god". There are more instances in the mantra literatures, cf. e. g. LātŚS. 2, 1, 6 *yadi stutam yadi vādya suṣṭutam*.

The climax, or the increasing ponderousness of the members, not infrequently consists in the addition of a prefixed element or a similar variant. In AV. 1, 19, 1 I *mā no vidan vivyādhino* / *mo (=mā u) abhivyādhino vidan* "let not the piercers find us, nor let the penetraters find (us)" both parts of the half-verse may be considered identical in meaning, though *abhi-* emphasizes the idea of "towards, against" (with implied enmity or violence). Thus synonyms, pairs of words like the above, complementary pairs and other variations of what might be called abundance are often incorporated

³⁸) See also Otto, o.c., p. 35. For RV. 8, 13, 31 ff. *vṛṣāyam indra te ratha uto te vṛṣaṇā harī* / *vṛṣā tvam śatakrato vṛṣā havaḥ* // *vṛṣā grāvā* etc. and similar instances see also Renou, *Études védiques et pāninéennes*, I, p. 59.

³⁹) Meyer, *Deutsche Stilistik*², p. 101.

in an anaphorical system which exceeds the limits of a single rhythmical unit. As these abundances are apt to turn up in those passages in which the person speaking, or the poet, gives vent to his emotions or tries to move the feelings of his audience, such ancient sacral texts as constitute the first part of the Atharvaveda, which are otherwise verging on the pathetic, contain, according to expectation, many instances of them. Variations on the same thought join them in lending to the passages concerned an emphatic and sometimes ceremonious character. See 1, 28, 2 *prati daha yā-tudhānān* / *prati deva kimīdinaḥ* / *praticih kṛṣṇavartane* / *saṃ daha yātu-dhānyah* "burn against the sorcerers, against the kimīdins, O god, burn up the sorceresses who meet you, O black-traced one", which sounds much better than the 'prosaic' way in which this injunction might have been worded without anaphora; cf. also 4de; 29, 2 (cf. R.V. 10, 174, 2); 1, 34, 2 II; 2, 3, 3 II; 3, 17, 8 II; 4, 6, 2 I; and the type represented by 1, 4, 4 I *apsv antar amṛtam* / *apsu bheṣajam*. Words for ideas which are, in a sense, complementary are also distributed over the members of an anaphorical system : 4, 5, 5 *ya āste yaś carati* / *yaś ca tiṣṭhan vipaśyati* "who sits, who goes about, and who standing looks out" ; 1, 18, 3 I; 34, 2 I; 3 I; 4, 20, 6; cf. also 3, 7, 7; 6, 128, 2 noon : evening : morning : night : *bhadrāham no madhyandine* etc., and 1, 11, 2 I sky : earth, the constituents of a pair or whole are enumerated in this way.

The impression of gradation or culmination is not rarely brought about by a greater length or ponderousness of the second, third, or later, members of a group of phrases or sentences (Behaghel effect). This enlargement is often due to the insertion of epithets or other logically superfluous elements — cf. e. g. BārU. 6, 4, 21 (stanza) *garbham dhehi s.*, *g. dh. p.*, *g. te aśvinau devau ādhattām puṣkarasrajaḥ* like an exclamation such as *mon père, mon père, o mon cher père* in spoken language —, but also to the increasing length of the corresponding members of the parallel sequences ⁴⁰⁾ — BārU. 4, 4, 22 *sarvasya vaśi, sarvasyesānaḥ, sarvasyādhipatiḥ* "the controller of all, the lord of all, the ruler of all" —; BhG. 18, 17 *na hanti na nibadhyate* "he does not slay and is not bound"; in other cases the use of adverbs such as *punah* "again, once more" or of periphrastic or complex phrases leads to the same effect : JB. 1, 120 . . . *tena prastauti, teno eva punar ādim ādatte*. This is not to contend that the structure of these anaphorical word groups or sentences is necessarily or usually opposed to what might be expected on 'logical' grounds : JB. 1, 248 *sa vādyā yajeta sa vānyam yājayet*. Ancient authors of other languages likewise took advantage of this variety of anaphora which is not unknown to natural speech : Dutch *kom hier ! kom dadelijk hier !* ; in Avestan we find e. g. Yt. 5, 132 *aoi zəm ahuraδātəm* / *aoi zaotārəm yazəmnməm* / *aoi pərənəm vīyžārayeintīm* . . . (notice the increasing number of syllables) "to the earth made by Ahura, to the worshipping priest, to the full overflowing . . ." Often however there is no logical gradation, the

⁴⁰⁾ See p. 69; 102; 112 ff.; 153; 194.

anaphoric clauses merely increasing in length. Some instances may be adduced from Greek : Γ 103 ἔτερον λευκὸν, ἑτέρην δὲ μέλαιναν; Δ 678 . . . , τόσα πάρα οἰῶν, / τόσσα σῶν σὺβόσια, τόσ' αἰπόλια πλατὲ αἰγῶν; ι 221 f. χωρὶς μὲν πρόγονοι, χωρὶς δὲ μέτασσαι, / χωρὶς δ' αὐθ' ἔρσαι ; Ε 740 f.; cf. also cases such as Hes. O. 91. There are of course also instances to the contrary : Hes. O. 101.

Passing reference may in this connection be made to the type of anaphoric repetition represented by the above quotation Cato, R.R. 144, 3 *qui oleam legerit, qui deportarit* : by the omission of one (or more) of the elements of the former clause, the latter makes the impression of being an abridgment ⁴¹). In addition to what has already been said on the "zusammengezogene Satzglieder" some Vedic instances of this phenomenon in anaphoric sequences may be added here : RV. 2, 12, 4 *yah sunvantam avati yah pacantam*; 3, 59, 7 *abhi yo mahinā divam mitro babhūva saprathāh / abhi śravobhih prthivīm*; the above AV. 4, 20, 6 *darśaya mā y., d. y.*; 16, 7, 9 *yad ado ado abhyagacchaṃ / yad doṣā yat pūrvām rātrīm* "to what I went on such and such an occasion, to what at evening, to what in early night"; cf. also 7, 103, 10 *gomāyur adād aṣṣamāyur adāt / prṣṇir adād dharito no vasūni*.

'Shortening' would at first sight be the label attached to the construction represented by Δ 447 *σὺν ῥ' ἔβαλον ῥινοῦς, σὺν δ' ἔρχεα* . . . , although here also 'conciseness' (of the non-initial members of a coherent group of clauses) would be a preferable description. These instances of anaphora which are, in the Veda, of considerable frequency, are due to the ancient idiomatic custom of repeating the preverb, not the verb, in a parallel clause preceded by a clause containing a combination of verb form and preverb. Cf. e. g. RV. 4, 17, 11 *saṃ indro gā ajayat saṃ hiraṇyā / saṃ aśvīyā* . . . ; AV. 3, 14, 2 *saṃ vah srjāt aryamā / saṃ pūṣā saṃ bṛhaspatiḥ*, and the type RV. 1, 91, 18 *saṃ te payāṃsi saṃ u yantu vājāh*; AV. 10, 5, 24. An interesting type is also AV. 16, 7, 6 *nir dviṣantaṃ divo niḥ prthivyā nir antarikṣād bhajāma* "let us exclude the one who hates (us) from heaven, from earth, from the atmosphere".

This is a convenient place to enlarge upon a point which has, it is true, been given notice from a more general point of view, but deserves a more special treatment in connection with the phenomenon of initial repetition. We have tried to shed light on many aspects of this construction, discussing its various syntactic and stylistic applications. We might, in addition to this, emphasize its aptness to become traditional and point out the comparative poverty of syntactical means of expression to which its frequent use no doubt testifies. We must, on the other hand, admit the high value of anaphora in magic. Recalling an important event or powerful occurrence, mentioning heroic deeds, mighty achievements, qualities of character of divine beings and services rendered or assistance given by

⁴¹) See above ch. II.

them has almost always been considered a means par excellence of resuscitating and revivifying the divinities' power and readiness to repeat their exploits, a means of making effective the more or less latent capacity to exert useful influence on that which, in myth or in time, had come to pass. Such texts as AV. 1, 29, 1; 35, 1; 2; 4, 37, 1 etc. give us an insight into the supposed effectiveness of charms and spells applied by officiants believing in the supranormal powers of divine beings and their exploits : "with the 'over-rolling' amulet, with which Indra increased, make us, O Brahmanaspati, increase so as to become kings" (1, 29, 1). Now, the schema in which these thoughts and wishes are put into words often consists in parallelistic parataxis : AV. 1, 29, 5 *ud asau sūryo agād / ud idaṃ māmakaṃ vacaḥ* (cf. RV. 10, 159, 1 I etc.) "up has gone yonder sun, up this spell of mine", with an implied intention "I wish to become a sunlike burning and scorching power", cf. 5 II *yathāhaṃ śatruho 'sāny / asapatnaḥ sapatnahā* "that I may be a slayer of enemies, without rivals, rival-slaying". A text used in rites for the prosperity of grain-crops, 3, 24, begins in the following way : *payasvatīr oṣadhayaḥ / payasvan māmakaṃ vacaḥ* (= RV. 10, 17, 14 etc.) "Rich in milk (are) the herbs, rich in milk my words", continuing : *atho payasvatīnām / ā bhare 'haṃ sahasraśaḥ* "accordingly, of objects rich in milk I bring by thousands" ⁴²⁾. In 3, 31, 1-5 an enumeration is given of beings and entities which separated or "turned away" : *vi devā jarasāvṛtan / vi tvam agne arātyā*; both pādas of the stanzas 2, 3, 4 likewise begin with *vi* "apart, away", and each of the eleven stanzas of the text ends in the same refrain ⁴³⁾ *vy ahaṃ sarveṇa pāpmanā / vi yakṣmeṇa sam āyuṣā* ⁴⁴⁾ "I (have turned) away from all evil, away from yakṣma, for the sake of union with a long life". The succession of divine examples is given special prominence by the ever recurring *vi*, by which the author's mind seems to have been almost obsessed. A fine instance is also the above-mentioned 6, 44, 1 pronounced for the sake of cessation of a disease : *asthād dyaur asthāt pṛthivī / / tiṣṭhād rogo ayam tava*.

Similar lines are characteristic of the style of Vedic poetry in general, showing the parallelism between spell and prayer and the identity of their devices : RV. 7, 86, 5 the god Varuṇa is invoked to release those praying from sin and the evil consequences of transgressions ; in his eagerness to exert influence upon the god the preverb *ava* "off, away" is pronounced three times at the beginning of a pāda, the fourth pāda begins with the verb *srja* "let loose, set free", with which it forms a combination : *ava drugdhāni pitryā srjā no / ava ya vyaṃ cakṛmā tanūbhiḥ / ava rājan paśutrpaṃ na tāyuraṃ / srjā . . .* ; cf. 10, 15, 1. In repeating a 'preposition' or local adverb in this outstanding position the author insists upon the idea of direction or movement conveyed by it, intimating that this idea is, or should be, common to a variety or multitude of persons, objects, or

⁴²⁾ The Ppp. rec. has, in the third quarter of the stanza, *atho payasvatām payā(h)*.

⁴³⁾ For which, see Whitney-Lanman, o.c., p. 140 (st. 6).

⁴⁴⁾ Cf. also M. Bloomfield, JAOS. 15, 2, p. 181 f.

phenomena. Cf. e. g. also R̥V. 10, 127, 5 *ni grāmāso avikṣata / ni padvanto, ni pakṣinah / ni śyenāsaś cid arthinah* "home have gone the villagers, home creatures with feet, home those with wings, home even the greedy hawks": although the repetition of the preverb throughout, in place of the combination preverb and verb is a common usage, the idea of the general return home during, and shortly after, sundown is vividly and insistently expressed (*ni* "down, back, into (often with regard to a place where an object belongs)"). Cf. also R̥V. 2, 18, 4.

Thus, anaphoric parataxis links eventualities desired by those speaking with mythical or historical facts or events : AV. 6, 78, 3 *tvaṣtā jāyām ajanayāt / tvaṣtāsyai tvām patim / t. sahasram āyūṃṣi / dīrgham āyūḥ kṛṇotu vām* i. e. "as it is a fact that T. generated the wife . . . let him make for you a long life". In 6, 86, 1 *vṛṣendrasya vṛṣā divaḥ / vṛṣā pṛthivyā ayam / vṛṣā viśvasya bhūtasya / tvam ekavṛṣo bhava* we may accordingly translate the last pāda by "do you, in the same manner, be sole bull (chief)" or by "so be . . .". Cf. also 97, 1; 98, 2. In 103, which is prescribed by the Kauṣīkasūtra in dealing with a battle rite for victory over enemies which requires fetters to be thrown down in places where the hostile army will pass, Agni is (2d = 3d) invoked : "tie them together, O Agni" (to wit : those who come to fight, 3a); this 'request' is preceded by 2c = 3c "Indra has encompassed them with a tie"; before this pāda it reads (2 I) "I tie together, the highest, the lowest etc.". This enumeration, the reference to Indra's relevant activity etc., is to bring Agni to render the assistance which the officiant wishes for. In this text all pādas of the first stanza begin with *saṁdānam* "tying-together", 2 I contains *saṁ* in anaphorical succession and *dyā*, 2d = 3d ends in *saṁ dyā tvām*.

It may be remembered that anaphora admits of such translations as "if" or "so, consequently, accordingly" also in other languages : in Dutch : *geen geld, geen Zwitsers* "no pay, no piper"; *we hebben de moeite gedaan, we hebben recht op de opbrengst*; in Latin : Petr. 75, 9 *bene emo, bene vendo* i. e. *si b. e. etc.* ⁴⁵).

A succession of initial repetitions can, moreover, be remarkable in other respects. It is sometimes produced under the influence of fear, anguish and other strong emotions or overwhelming impressions. It also constitutes an adequate means of expression for those who eagerly desire to avert evil or impending danger. I shall always remember the fresh grief of an old woman at the sudden loss of her son who was drowned before her eyes : *Jan is verdrongen —, Jan is dood —, Jan is in de sloot gevallen*. AV. 4, 18, 7 and 8, at the end of a text which was used in the preparation of holy water to counteract hostile sorcery it reads : *apāmārgo 'pa mārṣtu / kṣetrijam śapathaś ca yaḥ / apāha yātudhānir / apa sarvā arāyyaḥ / apamṛjya yātudhānān / apa sarvā arāyyaḥ / apāmārga tvayā vayaṁ / sarvaṁ tad apa mṛjmahe* — "let the off-wiper wipe off the k. and the curse, (wipe) off the sorcer-

⁴⁵) Cf. Hofmann, Lateinische Umgangssprache, p. 110.

esses, off all the hags; having wiped off the s., off all the h., O off-wiper, with you we wipe off all that" — these words constitute, from an objective point of view the formulation of the wish : "we want, by means of the plant *apāmārga* (the very name of which indicates its supposed power to wipe off the influences of evil beings ⁴⁶), to drive away sorceresses etc.". This wish is, however, couched in a highly emotional style : the construction is very free (notice the alternating grammatical persons), *apa* "off, away" is used 8 times, *mārga- mṛj-*, "wiping off", which are felt as etymologically related, 5 times in succession; rhyme, homoioteleuton, an interjection, the repetition of a *pāda*, the pronouns *twayā* and *vayam* in immediate contact give, no doubt, indication of the urgent need of help in which the person speaking believes himself to be. The eightfold *apa* is, in my opinion, no ornament or 'tour de force'; in distress any human being is inclined to cry "off, off, off" or to give vent to his emotions by exclamations of the same tenor. Many of us, moreover, believed, or still believe, that repeating such exclamations serves as a means of realizing the expulsion of the evil powers or beings. As to its origin a magic formula or incantation often is a "laut gewordener Wunsch" ⁴⁷).

The author of 3, 1, 4, which was used with a view to confound an enemy's army, was in a similar way obsessed by the idea expressed by the indeclinable *pra* "forth, away" : *prasūta indra pravatā haribhyām | pra te vajraḥ pramṛṇann etu śatrūn* "impelled, O Indra, precipitately, by (thy) two bays, let thy thunderbolt go forth, crushing the enemies". Is it surprising that in a text which aims to secure possessions and other good things, the name of the auspicious god Bhaga which is also the word for "portion, good fortune, welfare, prosperity" is over 10 times repeated (3, 16), that it even occurs 5 times in one and the same stanza (3) : *bhaga pranetar bhaga satyarādho | bhagemām dhiyam ud avā dadan naḥ | bhaga pra no janaya gobhir aśvair | bhaga pra nṛbhir nrvantaḥ syāma* (= R.V. 7, 41, 3 etc.), that this stanza immediately follows the wish : *bhagam bhakṣi* "may I obtain a portion" ? Is it surprising that men who believed themselves to be able to make a river change its bed by sprinkling water in a place which they had newly dug and by putting a frog in it ⁴⁸), also tried to induce fortune to come to them by pronouncing the name of the divinity who was regularly conceived in the Vedic hymns as a dispenser or distributor of wealth?; for pronouncing a name was regarded as almost identical with taking hold of the thing it stands for ⁴⁹). As it was believed that powers residing in names can be stimulated into effective activity by pronouncing these names, repetition, and especially emphatic repet-

⁴⁶) See e.g. V. Henry, *La magie dans l'Inde antique*, Paris 1904, p. 174; 181.

⁴⁷) F. Schwenn, *Gebet und Opfer*, p. 5.

⁴⁸) *Kausikasūtra* 40, 1-9; cf. Henry, *Magie*, p. 101.

⁴⁹) "... nommer, c'est presque ... saisir", V. Larock, *Revue de l'hist. des religions* 51 (101), p. 44.

ition, was quite naturally considered a means of enhancing the effectiveness of this action.

Very often indeed the repetition of the name of a god or other mighty being (in short of a deva⁵⁰) at the beginning of a succession of metrical units helps the author to formulate in a succinct and impressive way some of the deva's most important exploits or qualities, to make them active and beneficent again, to confirm the power inherent in them, praise and enumeration of divine names and exploits being a 'confirmation' in the literal sense, a consolidation of the power with which man finds himself confronted"⁵¹). Thus R.V. 3, 59, 1 *mitro janān yālayati bruvāno* / *m. dādhāra pṛthivīm uta dyām* / *m. kṛṣṭir animiṣābhi caṣṭe* / *mitrāya havyam ghr̥tavaj juhota* "Mitra speaking stirs men, M. supports heaven and earth, M. regards the people with unwinking eye : to M. offer the oblation with ghee". The translation of the last pāda may be preceded by "therefore", the anaphora implying a conclusion. The device, however, also implies identification : M. . . . stirs men, it is the identical M. who supports . . . Similarly, R.V. 6, 54, 6.

The name of the god may in a natural way be replaced by the deictic-anaphoric pronoun *ta-*. Then we find, in a hymn addressed to Brahmanaspati a well-balanced stanza (2, 24, 9) *sa samṇayah sa vinayah purohitah* / *sa sustutah sa yudhi brahmanas patih* "he is the p. who leads together and leads asunder, he is highly praised, he the lord of b. in battle".

The anaphoric repetition of a verb is a device often suggestive of insistence, confirmation, and continuance of action. Although the structure of stanzas such as R.V. 1, 35, 1 is, again, based on the general and universally human principle of repetition its occurrence at the very beginning of a hymn does not fail to produce the aesthetic impression of dignified diction. Cf. R.V. 1, 35, 1 *hvyāmi agnim prathamam suastaye* / *h. mitrāvaruṇāv ihāvase* (rhyme! / *h. rātriṃ jagato niveśanīm* / *h. devaṃ savitāram ūtaye* "I call on A. first for wellbeing, . . . on M. and V. here for aid, . . . on Night who brings the world to rest, . . . on god S. for help". Cf. also st. 3.

Cases of anaphora in connection with a verb are, however, in these compositions, not very frequent⁵²) : AV. 4, 20, 6 *darśaya mā yātudhānān* / *d. yātudhānyah* is in this text, which is used to discover sorcerers, no doubt more vivid and urgent than "show me the sorcerers and the sorceresses". Similarly, in the Rgveda : 10, 127, 6 *yāvayā vṛkiam vṛkam* / *yāvayā stenam*. . . The fourfold *asthāt* (*asthuḥ*) in the opening stanza of AV. 6, 44, which was recited with a view to bring the course of a disease to a standstill, is not only very impressive, but also effective from the point of view of magic

⁵⁰) See C. W. J. van der Linden, The concept of Deva, Thesis Utrecht 1954.

⁵¹) The reader might be referred to Van der Leeuw, Religion, p. 430.

⁵²) See also Hofmann, Lat. Umgangssprache, p. 191: "Anaphorische Verwendung von Verben ist im allgemeinen nicht umgangssprachlich . . ."; H. Hafter, Untersuchungen zur altlateinischen Dichtersprache, Thesis Freiburg i. Br. 1934, p. 84 f.

ritual : here the attention of the audience, which in the first place was believed to consist of the invisible powers, is directed towards the process itself, not towards the subject : *asthād dyaur a. prthivy a. viśvam idaṃ jagat / asthur vrkṣāḥ* . . . "the sky has stood, the earth h. s., all this living world h. s., the trees have stood", —it follows *tiṣṭhād rogo ayaṃ tava* "that this disease of yours stand". It is the process of standing, of cessation which is eagerly desired and has taken possession of the speaker's mind ; its repetition in a very prominent place makes his emotions overt and essentially helps to move the powers concerned in this process to the hoped-for action. Emphatic, affirmative and analytic is the anaphora in stanzas such as R.V. 8, 67, 7 *asti devā aṃhor uru / asti ratnam anāgasah*, cf. K 170 *εἰσὶν μὲν μοι παῖδες ἀμόμονες, εἰσὶ δὲ λαοὶ* . . .

In an incantation serving to put to sleep a woman and her attendants it accordingly reads (AV. 4, 5, 6) : *svaptu mātā s. pitā / s. śvā s. viśpatiḥ* "let the mother sleep, 1. the father s., 1. the dog s., 1. the lord of the house s." (cf. also 7). In a text which formed part of a magic treatment of cattle suffering from a disease caused by worms ⁵³) the word *hata*- "slain", which was expected to be instrumental in the healing process is often repeated (2, 32, 4) : *hato hatamātā krimir / hatabhrātā hatasvasā*, etc. In 6, 64 (= R.V. 10, 191, 2 ff.) which was used in a rite performed for concord or harmony the words *saṃ* "together" and *saṃāna*- "alike, being the same, common" occur, in anaphora, 4 and 8 times respectively in three stanzas, the 2nd and 3rd of which constitute a detailed statement of the various aspects of, and occasions for, unanimity. In a similar spell, 6, 94, 1 we find the word *saṃ* 4 times in succession : *saṃ vo manāṃsi saṃ vratā / saṃ ākūtir namā-masi / . . . saṃ namayāmasi* ⁵⁴). Hillebrandt who already drew attention to this stanza was perfectly right in comparing also R.V. 10, 60, 11, which was likewise intended to drive away illness : *nyag vāto 'va vāti / nyak tapati śūryaḥ / nicīnam aghnyā duhe / nyag bhavatu te rapaḥ* "nach unten weht der Wind, n. u. brennt die Sonne; n. u. wird die Kuh gemolken, n. u. soll dein Gebreite fahren" (Geldner) and other instances of the same variety. In the three stanzas of 6, 88 which was used with a view to establish a man in sovereignty ⁵⁵) the word *dhruva*- ⁵⁶) occurs 10 times, 9 times in the beginning of a unit, once at the end : *dhruvā dyaur dh. prthivi / dhruvaṃ viśvam idaṃ jagat / . . . dhruvo rājā viśām ayaṃ*, i. e. "this man shall be as fixed in kingship as the sky etc. are fixed". The spell 6, 58, likewise consisting of three stanzas, contains no less than 9 times the words *yaśās*- "honoured, splendid, glorious" (and, twice, a derivative); 7 times this much desired quality is mentioned at the beginning of a unit. The greater part

⁵³) Cf. e.g. J. Jolly, *Medicin*, Strassburg 1901, § 55 etc.

⁵⁴) More instances are given by A. Hillebrandt, *Ritualliteratur*, Strassburg 1897, p. 169 f.; cf. also AV. 1, 29.

⁵⁵) Cf. Whitney-Lanman, o.c., p. 345 (6, 87).

⁵⁶) For the idea of firmness, solidity etc. see the author's Notes on brahman, Utrecht 1950, esp. p. 31 ff.

of the first stanza is a threefold imperative sentence; in the second the author twice (or, originally, thrice ?, has 2 c been correctly handed down ?; cf. the Paipp. text *yathā viśveṣu deveṣv* ...) states that a divine power residing in a definite province of the universe is possessed of renown, in the third three divinities are said to have been glorious, and the text ends in the words *aham asmi yaśastamaḥ* "I am most glorious", by means of which the author no doubt expected to realize his ambition. In all these instances the essentially emotional urge to repeat the words for those ideas which occupied the mind almost to the exclusion of other thoughts had become a magical instrument. In other cases however the mere repetition of the same schema seems to have had a similar effect, the element subject to anaphora being an auxiliary : SMB. 1, 7, 2 *yad apām ghoram y. a. krūram y. a. aśāntam atī tat sṛjāmi*.

Some instances borrowed from various literary compositions may be added here. An extreme case is RV. 2, 1 addressed to Agni, whose many-sidedness is : 1 *tvam agne dyubhis tvam* ... / *t. adbhyaś t. aśmanas pari* etc.; 2 *tava* ... *tava* ... / *tava* ... *tvam* ... / *tava* etc. etc. almost all stanzas (1-14) containing this anaphora of the personal pronoun, and thus cementing and emphasizing the intimate relations between the worshipper and his god⁵⁷). Insistence in addressing the god also RV. 2, 9, 2.

This leads us to a brief discussion of a construction in which the analytical and additional character of the anaphora is much in evidence. Supplementing by more or less parallel clauses a previous communication, a series of inflectional forms of the so-called relative pronoun⁵⁸) *ya-* was not rarely a structural element in the composition of stanzas or even hymns. In principle these constructions also were no doubt proper to the spoken language of the common people which is apt to link together additional utterances of identical or partly identical structure⁵⁹) : Plautus, Epid. 372 *fidicinam, nummo conducta quae sit, quae se emptam simulet, quae senes* ... *ludificetur*, or in a Latin epitaph⁶⁰) : *coniugis, quae sibi viva posuit utrisque, quae vixit sine ulla querela, quae felix fuerat* ... , *quae* ... ; Inscr. Lat. V, 3496 (see above). Similarly, in the Rgveda : 1, 154, 1 *viṣṇor* ... / *yaḥ pārthivāni vimame rajāmsi* / *yo askabhāyad uttaram sadhastham* "of V. ... , who has measured out the terrestrial regions, who established the upper gathering-place"; 10, 15, 2 "the Fathers ... who have departed earlier, who later, who have ... , who are now ...". A fine example is the beautiful hymn 2, 12 in which the refrain *sa janāsa indrah* "he, O men, is Indra" is in most stanzas introduced by a concatenation of *ya-*clauses.

Both parts of the first hemistich of 2, 3, 11 contain two anaphorical groups with *ghṛta-* "ghee" no doubt in order to lay stress, in this last stanza,

⁵⁷) Cf. however also Hofmann, Lat. Umgangssprache, p. 63.

⁵⁸) For the character of which see Lingua, IV (1954), p. 1 ff.

⁵⁹) See also the observations made by Hofmann, Lat. Umgangssprache, p. 62.

⁶⁰) Carmina latina epigraphica, ed. Buecheler-Lommatsch, Leipzig 1895-1926, 1593. Also, in vivid diction, in Cicero, e.g. Off. 2, 40.

on the close connection between the divine power and this important substance. In 2, 6, 1 *imām* and *imā* in anaphora were no doubt to attract the god's attention to the hic-et-nunc of the homage. In 2, 11, 4 c Indra is addressed as *śubhra*- "radiant", but the pādas a and b begin with the same adjective, which though qualifying the god's impetuosity and thunderbolt prelude the words *śubhras tvam indra* in pāda c. Cf. also 2, 33, 10. In the didactic and demonstrative portions of the brāhmaṇas and upaniṣads enumerations of similar facts or qualities, of identities, parallel occurrences etc. are not only very frequent, but also an important means of penetrating the mysteries behind the phenomenal world. As archaic precision led, on the other hand, to repetition of the same schema, anaphora is often the natural result : / the author of ChU. 4, 3, 3 in arguing that breath is the 'absorbent' observes that when one sleeps, speech, sight, hearing and mind go into breath : . . . *prāṇam eva vāg apyeti, p. cakṣuḥ, p. śrotram, p. manaḥ* ; cf. also 7, 6, 1; 26, 1; JB. 1, 179. Negations introduced by *na*, assertions introduced by *atha* etc. are in a comparable way often strung together : ChU. 7, 13, 1; 8, 4, 1; GobhGS. 1, 2, 11 ff.; Manu 2, 154. Very clear instances of emphatic anaphora throwing an equalization into relief are Manu 2, 230; BhG. 4, 24. The well-known aversion to complexity of the sentence structure results in stanzas such as Manu 2, 163 *sukhaṃ hy avamataḥ sete / s. ca pratibudhyate / s. carati loke 'smin* ; that the attention of the hearer is at the same time focussed on the idea of "peacefully" is however hardly open to doubt. Cf. e. g. Homer *B* 382 ff. Mention should also be made of AiB. 3, 10 f. where, in accordance with the style of the brāhmaṇas an anaphorical pair of clauses is repeated three times. Compare also, in the Avesta, Yt. 10, 5; 17.

A few words may be said in connection with a variety of anaphora which seems to have escaped the attention of other authors ⁶¹⁾. AthV. 16, 7, 12 it reads *taṃ jahi tena mandasva tasya prṣṭīr api śṛṇīhi* "him smite, with him amuse thyself, his ribs do you crush!" The first place is in all three members of the system occupied by a different case form of the demonstrative pronoun *ta-*. There is a striking parallel in Greek ⁶²⁾ which has of late been adduced as an argument in favour of the thesis that already in the second half of the VIth century B. C. the concept of case was present to the mind of some Greeks ⁶³⁾ : Anakreon's poem *Κλευβούλον μὲν ἔγωγ' ἐρέω, Κλευβούλω δ' ἐπιμαίνομαι, Κλεύβουλον δὲ διοσκέω*. The Greek instance is more significant because of the larger number of cases in Sanskrit. Yet the above Atharva text unequivocally shows that for the author *taṃ tena tasya* were just variants of one and the same stem *ta-* which here appears in anapho-

⁶¹⁾ For Latin see R. Wöbbecking, *De anaphorae apud poetas latinos usu*, Thesis Marburg 1910, p. 5 f.; C. W. Mendell, *Latin sentence connection*, Yale Univ. 1917, p. 21 f.

⁶²⁾ See E. Diehl, *Anthologia Lyrica*, I, p. 448, 3.

⁶³⁾ See E. Sittig, *Das Alter der Anordnung unserer Kasus und der Ursprung ihrer Bedeutung als Fälle*, Tübingen Beitr. zur Altertumswiss., Stuttgart 1931, p. 25 ff.

rical succession. If we take into account the next unit *sa mā jīvīt* we find also the nominative case in close connection with these forms of *ta-*:

Now, instances of anaphoric repetition of a word in another case are not rare: RV. 7, 71, 6 *iyam manīṣā iyaṃ, aśvinā, gīr / imāṃ sūrṣktīm . . . ju-ṣethām / imā brahmāṇi . . . agman* "this is my thought, this, O Aśvins, my song; this song of praise must be accepted . . .; these prayers have gone"; 5, 11, 4 *agnir . . . / agniṃ . . . / agnir . . . / agniṃ . . .*; 5; 10, 14, 13 etc. AV. 16, 1, 12; 13 we find: *śivena mā cakṣuṣā paśyatāpāḥ / śivayā tanvopa sprṣata tvacaṃ me / śivān agnīn apsuṣādo havāmahe . . .* (here anaphora in another case combines with initial repetition of the same word in another gender, a phenomenon to which we shall revert); 2, 2 *madhumatī stha / madhumatīm vācam udeyam*; 6, 118, 3 *yasmā ṛṇaṃ yasya jāyām upāimi / yaṃ yācamāno abhyaīmi devāḥ : yasmai : yasya : yaṃ*; RV. 10, 88, 9 *yaṃ . . . / yasmin . . .*; 4, 50, 8 *sa . . . / tasmai . . . / tasmai*; AitBr. 3, 11, 19 *prajā vai tantuḥ, prajāṃ evāsmā etat samtanoti*; 18, 1 f. *dhāyāḥ śamsati. dhāyā-bhir vai prajāpatir imāṇī lokān adhayad . . .* and many similar passages in the brāhmaṇas; JB. 1, 11 *te 'sya sarva āptā bhavanti, te jītās, teṣv asya sarveṣu kāmācāro bhavati*; 1, 156; 2, 135; BārU. 3, 7, 3 *yaḥ . . . , yaṃ . . . , yasya . . . , yaḥ . . . , eṣa . . .*; cf. also 3, 9, 20; 4, 3, 3. ChUp. 1, 3, 6 *prāṇa evot, prāṇena hy uttiṣṭhati*, and especially 7, 12, 1 *ākāśo . . . ; ākāśe . . . ; ākāśena . . . ; ākāśena . . . , ākāśena . . . , ākāśe . . . , ākāśe . . . , ākāśe . . . , ākāśam . . . ; ākāśam*; cf. also 1, 9, 1; JB. 1, 138 (p. 40, 1. 3 f. C.). Epic instances are not wanting: Mbh. 8, 40, 30 *madrake saṃgataṃ nāsti / madrako hi sadā malāḥ / madrakeṣu ca . . .*; Rām. 2, 14, 6 ff. *satyānurodhāt . . . / satyam . . . satye . . . / satyam . . . satyena . . . / satyam*. In a pathetic passage—the army of the monkeys has reached the sea and one of the leaders asks who will be able to leap across it—in the Rām. 4, 64, 15 ff.: *ko laṅgayiṣyati sāgaram / kaḥ kariṣyati . . . / ko . . . / kasya prasādād . . . paśyema / kasya prasādād rāmaṃ ca . . . / abhigacchema . . .*

In Avestan we come, e. g., across Yt. 10, 68 *yeḥhe . . . , yeḥhe . . . , yim . . . , yahmat*. In Greek: *366 Οδτς ἐμοί γ' ὄνομα Οδτν δέ με κυκλήσκουσιν / μήτηρ* etc.; Hes. Op. 463 f. *veidōr . . . / veidōs . . .*

We already noticed that the repeated word was sometimes put in the corresponding case of another gender or (and) number: AV. 16, 1, 1 *atisrṣto apām vṛṣabho / tisrṣtā agnayo divyāḥ*; 12 f. (see above); JBr. 1, 156 *trīṇi chandāṃsi, trayāḥ . . . , traya ime lokās*, immediately followed by *trir deveṣv ity āhuh*.

Special cases of this 'anaphorical adnominatio' are e. g. the expression of reciprocity in the mantra *vaṣatkāra mā māṃ pramṛkṣo, māhaṃ tvāṃ pramṛkṣam* "O vaṣat call, do not injure me, let me not injure thee" in AitB. 3, 8, 3, GBr. 2; 3, 5 (and a similar mantra in ĀpŚS. 24, 14, 12, which is discussed in another section of this volume). Complicated instances are AV. 6, 29, 3 II *parāṇ eva parā vada / parācīm anu saṃvatam* "turned away remove by speaking, toward a distant region"; 91, 2 *nyag vāto vāti / nyak tapati sūryaḥ / nīcinam aghnyā duhe / nyag bhavatu te rapaḥ*; 95, 2 *hira-*

nyayī naur acarad / dhiraṇyabandhanā divi. Passing mention may be made of the type AV. 6, 44, 1 *asthād ... / asthur ...* (this text has already been discussed). AV. 6, 95 2 ab *hiraṇyayī ... / hiraṇyabandhanā ...* may be compared with the type of yamaka discussed by Daṇḍin, Kāvyaḍ. 3, 24.

In a former chapter mention has already been made of anaphoric tricola, e. g. TĀ. 1, 5, 1 *nāgnir nendro na pavamānaḥ*. Tricolon with anaphora, alliteration etc. may also be exemplified in RV. 1, 35, 3 *yāti devaḥ pravatā yāti udvatā / yāti subhrābhyām yaḥato haribhyām* "the god goes by a downward, he goes by an upward path; adorable he goes with his two bright steeds" : the cola a and b form a complementary pair, filling up half the hemistich. Of similar solemnity is 5, 83, 5 where two words are repeated in each pāda : *yasya vrata prthivī nannamīti / y. v. śaphavaḥ jarbhurīti* (notice the homoioteleuton and the strict parallel order of words) / *y. v. oṣadhir viśvarūpāḥ* "in whose ordinance the earth bends low; in w. o. hooped animals leap about; in w. o. plants are omniform", followed by the principal clause : *sa naḥ parjanya, mahi śarma yacha* "as such, O P., bestow mighty shelter on us" : studied and elaborated as this stanza is, its stylization is based on the same principle as the simple tripartite schema of the religious address. In śloka this is a favourite structure : Mbh. 12, 266, 30 *tadā sa vṛddho bhavati, t. bh. duḥkṛitāḥ / t. śūnyaḥ jagat tasya, yadā mātra viyujyate*. Filling up a complete stanza and exhibiting chiasmus and homoioteleuton : RV. 6, 54, 5 *pūṣā gā anu etu naḥ / p. rakṣatu arvataḥ / p. vājāṃ sanotu naḥ*; solemn invocation suggestive of a magic incantation. In accordance with the well-known tendency the third colon is, in many cases, the longest : cf. RV. 1, 35, 3 (see above); 6, 54, 7 *mākir neśan, mākim riṣan / mākim sam śāri kevaṇe*. The structure mentioned last was to become frequent in śloka : Mbh. 3, 61, 10 *kiṃ nu me syād idam kṛtvā, kiṃ nu me syād akurvataḥ ? / kiṃ nu me maraṇaṃ śreyāḥ parityāgo janasya vā ?* Cf. also ibid. 3, 293, 20 *sāvitrīyā prītayā dattā, sāvitrīyā hutayā hy api / sāvitrīyā eva nāmāsyāś cakrur viprās tathā pitā*. Compare also BhāgP. 10, 43, 6 *karīndras tam abhidrutya kareṇa tarasāgrahit / karād vigalitaḥ so 'muṃ nihatyāṅghriṣv aliyata*. In other cases however the first colon is the longest : Mbh. 12, 148, 6 *mitam dadāti hi pitā, mitam bhrātā, mitam sutāḥ*. Not infrequently the second colon is shorter, the third longer than the first : RV. 2, 12, 6 *yo radhrasya coditā, yaḥ kṛśasya / yo brahmaṇo nādhamānasya kireḥ* ; cf. also the type 2, 33, 2 *vi asmad dveṣo vitaram, vi amho / vi amivās cātayasvā viśūciḥ*. Similar tricola are not foreign to the ancient poetry of other I.-E. peoples, for instance of the Lithuanians : *už juriu, už mariu / už vandenėliu* "beyond the sea, beyond the 'haff', beyond the water".

Another device productive of solemnity and well-balanced harmony, and making an impression of emphatic assertion, is the repetition of two words at the beginning of successive units : RV. 5, 83, 5 *yasya vrata prthivī nannamīti / y. v. śaphavaḥ jarbhurīti* (notice the rhyme) / *y. vrata oṣadhir viśvarūpāḥ* "in whose ordinance the earth bends low, i. w. o. hooped animals leap about, in w. o. plants are omniform"; 2, 35, 13 with emphasis; a

fourfold repetition in a comic scene, pointing to an incongruity or impossibility : Mr̥ch. 2, 10 (a man tries to cover himself up in a worn out cloth : *ayam paṭaḥ sūtradaridratām gato hy a. p. chidraśatair alaṃkṛtaḥ / a. p. . . . a. p. . . .* "this cloth has become poor in respect of threads, this c. is adorned with hundreds of holes . . ."). Cf. Mbh. 14, 16, 30 *na kvacit sukhām atyantam / na kvacit chāśvatī sthitiḥ* (parallel groups).

We cannot discuss here anaphora as a factor in the composition of sūktas : ṚV. 7, 63, 1 *ud v eti subhago . . . : 2 ud v eti prasavitā . . .*

Anaphora may be interrupted, that is to say : the repetition of the initial word of a previous clause does not follow immediately : sometimes the person speaking is interrupted by an interlocutor,⁶⁴) or after inserting a clause or sentence of different structure he returns to the former mode of expression. Cf. e. g. AV. 6, 18, 2 *yathā bhūmir mṛtamanā — mṛtān mṛtamanastarā — / yathota mamruṣo mana eversyor mṛtam manaḥ* "as the earth is unconscious — more u. than a dead man —, and as is the mind of one who has died, so of the jealous man the mind (be) dead". In AV. 6, 66 the word *nirhasta-* begins the pādas 1a, 2c and 3a, alternating with other initial vocables.

Passing mention may also be made of various complications : in AV. 2, 29, 5 three times anaphoric, twice epiphoric repetition in combination, the schema of b being a repetition of a, Behaghel tendency etc. : *ūrjam asmā ūrjasvatī dhattam / payo a. payasvatī dh. / ūrjam a. dyāvāprthivī adhātām / viśve devā maruta ūrjam āpaḥ*.

Reserving chiasmus for consideration in another chapter we have occasion here to mention the different position, in subsequent units, of a word initially subject to anaphora. In the Atharvaveda and some other texts this phenomenon is less frequent than might be expected. Cf. AV. 6, 142, 3 *akṣitās ta upasado / a. santu rāśayaḥ / pr̥nanto a. s. / attīrah s. a.* "unexhausted be your . . . , u. your . . . , (your) bestowers be . . . , (your) eaters be . . ."; 3, 28, 6 a b *yatrā . . . / . . . y. lokah;* 6, 128, 2; Mbh. 14, 39, 2.

Other passages lead us to the subject of 'resumption', to which we shall likewise have to recur : AV. 6, 23, 1 ab *sasruṣis tadapasah / divā naktam ca sasruṣiḥ* (= ṚVKh. 10, 9, 1 ab) "flowing on, devoted to that, by day and night flowing on"; 5, 13, 10.

Some observations should also be made in connection with a type of anaphorical repetition which may be illustrated by Homer, Δ 148-150 *ῥίγησεν δ' ἄρ' ἔπειτα ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγαμέμνων, / ὥς εἶδεν . . . , / ῥίγησεν δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς . . . M.; K 229 ff.,* where the repetition of the verb (and a particle) can be replaced, in modern languages, by a simple "also". ṚV. 2, 35, 15 *ayāṃsam agne suksitīm janāya / ayāṃsam u maghavadbhyaḥ suvr̥ktim* "I have bestowed, O Agni, safe dwelling on the people; I have also bestowed

⁶⁴) Cf. e.g. the following fragment of a conversation (father having a look at the aquarium of his son, addresses his wife:) *zeg Rie, die kikkervissen moeten we eens opruimen, want dat wordt niks . . . :: hè? :: die k. moeten we weggooien :: hè? :: we moeten ze gewoon weggooien.*

a song of praise on the patrons". Cf. also 10, 135, 7; AV. 1, 2, 1 *vidmā śarasya pitarām* . . . / *vidmo śv asya mātaram*.

In addition to the observations already made in this chapter on serial repetition at the beginning of corresponding units attention should also be drawn to a device used by the ancient poets to throw into relief the name—that is to say; the power and very essence—of a god : each of the stanzas 1-5 of RV. 1, 1 begins with the name of Agni, to whom the hymn is addressed : 1 *Agnim ile purohitam* ⁶⁵) "I praise A. the domestic priest", 2 *agnih* . . . *īliah* "A. to be praised", 3 *agninā rayim aśnavat* "through A. may one obtain wealth . . ." 4 *agne* "O A.", 5 *agnir hotā* "A. the hotar" : the name of the central figure of the hymn cements the union between its component parts. In this connection attention may be drawn to PB. 10, 7, 1 (SV. 2, 10; 140; 194 etc.) where various case-forms of the name of this god are said to be characteristic of the four days of a certain ritual period.

Turning now to anaphora in Vedic prose it may first be observed that the repetition of a word at the beginning of two short clauses in immediate succession is, in a variety of constructions, one of the characteristics of the style of the brāhmaṇas : ŚB. 3, 1, 4, 2 *vāg ghy anuṣṭubh, vāg ghi yajñah*; 13, 6, 1, 11 *sarvasyāptyai sarvasyāvaruddhyai* ; BārU. 4, 2, 4; 3, 22 *ananvāgataṁ punyena, a. pāpena*; 6, 1, 3 . . . *pratitiṣṭhati same, p. durge* (in an apodosis the verb often occupies the first place). ŚB. 3, 1, 4, 14 *vāg vai sarasvatī, vāg yajñah* : two identifications, brought to the hearer's notice separately so as to be understood as two premises of like importance; AiB. 1, 28, 41; JB. 1, 288; 2, 101; 113. Emphasis and contradiction : JB. 2, 141 *vayam vāvo śreṣṭhā smo, vayam adhipatayaḥ*. Assertive : JB. 2, 369 *aham . . . aham . . .* More than two clauses in succession : AiB. 2, 14, 1; 16, 4; ŚB. 3, 3, 2, 13 *etayā sarvābhiḥ, e. catasrbhir e. tisrbhir e. . . .*, here also conjunctions are avoided; 3, 2; 13, 6, 1, 11; BārU. 2, 3, 2; 4, 3, 32. In a somewhat longer parallel pair of clauses: ŚB. 3, 3, 2, 2 *satyenāmsūn upasprśāni s. somaṇi parāhaṇāni* ; varied parallelism : Gobh. GS. 1, 4, 13 f. *āsina evāgnau juhuyāt, āsinaḥ pitrbhyo dadyāt*.

Not infrequently part of the clauses are of the 'contracted' or rather 'short' type, i. e. one of the common elements is omitted in all of them except one : AiB. 3, 11, 21 *manasā vai yajñas tāyate, manasā kriyate* "by mind the sacrifice is carried on, by mind it is performed" (we use "it" in translating the second clause); ŚB. 3, 1, 2, 14 *tayaiṣā varṣantaṁ tayā himaṁ tayā ghr̥ṇim titikṣisyate* "by means of this (hide) she shall be able to bear rain, the cold season, and heat" : enumerative asyndetic anaphora; 3, 1, 4, 10 *tatra nendro na somo nāgniḥ*; 2, 1, 40 *yo brahmaṇo yo yajñāj jāyate*; 3, 19; 5, 3, 7 *ubhayatodvāraṁ havirdhānaṁ bhavati, u. sadas tasmād . . .* the predicate occupies the first place, identity of predicates results in anaphora. Cf. also 1, 3, 5, 11 etc.; BārU. 1, 1, 2; ChU. 2, 12, 2. In direct speech: ŚB.

⁶⁵) For *purohita*- see *Studia indologica*, Festschrift-W. Kirfel, Bonn 1955, p. 107 ff.

3, 2, 4, 6. These cases are distinct from the type ŚB. 3, 3, 3, 9 *sa vā anenai-vājāṃ prayacchati, anena rājānam ādatte*; JB. 1, 201; 2, 34; 2, 419 *teṣāṃ vai tvam eva bhiṣag asi, tvam prāyaścittiḥ*; BārU. 2, 2, 1; 3, 1, 3; repetition, no anaphora proper, although both structures are in principle not different : in both cases the first term of a parallel word group is repeated. This is very clear where a subordinate clause is followed by two parallel main clauses : BārU. 2, 1, 7 *sa ya etam evam upāste, viśāsahir ha bhavati, v. hāsya prajā bh.*; 9; 13 etc. JB. 1, 11 *sa yat kiṃ ca parūcinam ādityāt, tad amṛtam, tad abhijayati* "whatever is beyond the sun, that is free from death, that does he conquer" and BārU. 6, 3, 6 *madhu vātā rīyate*.

In many cases the initial term of a preceding sentence or clause is, whether it appears in the same flectional form or not, repeated at the beginning of the next sentence so as to form an essential element in the author's argumentation, helping him to develop his line of thought : AiB. 1, 19, 1 *brahma vai bṛhaspatir, brahmaṇaivainam tad bhiṣajyati*; 21, 10; 12; 23, 1 *puro vā ime 'surā imāṃ lokān akrata, pura i. l. pratikaravāmakai*; 2, 1, 5; 2, 20. JB. 1, 156 *dve vāvedam agre savane āstām; dvābhyām vāvedam savanābhyām devā agre vyajayanta*; notice also the use of *vāva* which does not only serve to lay stress on the word preceding it, but also to posit a truth or thesis, to characterize an utterance as important or fundamental (i.e. as a starting-point of the following argument) ; ŚB. 3, 1, 3, 1 *agnir vai sarvā devatā agnau hi sarvābhyo devatābhyo juhvati*; 3, 1, 3, 7; 4, 2; 4, 22 *sarvaṃ vai pūrṇam sarvam evainayaitad āpnoti*; 6, 1, 5 *vajro vā abhrir vajreṇaivaitan nāṣṭrāṇām rakṣasām grīvā apikrntati : vā (vai) in the basis of the argument, the 'middle term' (the element common to both statements) vajra-* at the beginning of both members of the explication : "(next he draws a circle (furrow) round the hole saying:) 'thus I cut off the necks of the evil demons'; now, the shovel is a thunderbolt, with the th. verily, one cuts off the necks of the evil demons." Cf. also BārU. 3, 2, 12 *anantaṃ vai nāma, anantā viśve devāḥ, anantaṃ eva sa tena lokam jayati* : here *a.* is not immediately followed by *lokam* which is put in its natural place; the element common to all three clauses which is central leads the sentence. Other instances are : ŚB. 3, 1, 1, 8; 2, 3; 2, 3, 19; 5, 3, 16; BārU. 5, 13, 1; 14, 4. In these texts also emotion may be the determining factor : ŚB. 3, 5, 1, 21 *tebhyo ha vāk cukrodha : kena mad eṣa śreyān bandhunām kenā yad etam pratyagrahiṣṭa*. Elsewhere the phenomenon at issue cannot be disconnect-ed from a particular idiom with regard to the use of pronouns : BārU. 2, 2, 4 *ayam eva g., ayam bh.* where we would prefer : "this is G., that Bh.". The same thought is expressed twice so as to occasion a repetition of a word-stem : BārU. 2, 2, 4 *sarvasyāttā bhavati, sārvaṃ asyānnam bh.*

Attention may also be drawn to instances such as JB. 1, 157 where the anaphora, in an interesting way, helps to keep the period well-balanced : *teṣāṃ no yatare jayanti, teṣāṃ nā etad ubhayaṃ dhanam saṃhitam astu* "die von uns, welche siegen, diesen wird diese beiderseitige beisammen-

gelegte Habe angehören" ⁶⁶). Sometimes the occurrence of anaphora is conditioned by the tendency to begin a sentence with the anaphoric demonstrative pronoun *ta-*: ŚB. 3, 1, 2, 9 *sa keśasmasru vapāta. sa yadā k. vapati, atha . . .*

The tendency to begin an explication — which is often characterized by the causal particle *hi* "for, because; indeed" — with the predicate or another important element of the preceding sentence leads also to constructions such as ŚB. 3, 2, 1, 12 *sā vai trivṛd bhavati. trivṛd dhy annam paśavo hy annam*. But 1, 1, 1, 19 the predilection for short clauses beginning with the same word prevails even contrary to the 'logical order of words': *sa yad gārhapatyē sādāyati : grhā vai gārhapatyō grhā vai pratiṣṭhā, tad grheṣv evaitat pratiṣṭhāyām pratiṣṭhati* "with regard to his putting it in the g. : the g. is a house, the house is a support; in a h., upon a s. he thus places it" (cf. 2, 4, 1, 7; otherwise 2, 2, 1, 19 *sa yad adityai caruṃ nirvapati: iyaṃ vai prthivy aditiḥ seyaṃ pratiṣṭhā* etc.).

Some instances may be added here in order to illustrate the frequent use made by the epic poets and their successors of the 'figure' under discussion. Its often emphatic and emotional character — well-known also in Roman antiquity : Plautus Men. 321 *quas mulieres, quos tu parasitos loquere ?* — has not rarely been understood by the authors : in more or less pathetic passages, in culminations of anger, hope, despair, in descriptions of dramatic situations anaphora is, no doubt often in consonance with natural usage, among the favourite 'figures of speech' of these authors. Damayantī has serious trouble in knowing which of the five men is Nala and which are the gods : Mbh. 3, 56, 13 *katham hi devāñ jñānīyām ? katham vidyām nalam nṛpam ?* "how shall I discern the gods ? how shall I ascertain king Nala ? " And in addressing the gods and making an appeal to the 'reality' or faithfulness of her previous conduct ⁶⁷) she forms in adding fact to fact and argument to argument, a string of anaphorical sentences, beginning with *yathā* : "as (I never . . .)" and ending with an almost identical main clause : "on the strength of that truth it behoves the celestials to reveal him to me" (st. 17 ff.). Mbh. 3, 72, 13 the same princess, supposing her husband to have returned after a long and grievous separation, exclaims : *na smarāmy anṛtaṃ kiṃcin, na smarāmy apakāratām*; in 10 ff. she pronounces a series of anaphorical *yadī* sentences : "If I do not see Nala (am not to enter within his arms etc.) . . . I will doubtlessly (cease to exist etc.)". A similar passage is Mbh. 7, 13, 14 in a solemn and emotional assurance : *na smarāmy anṛtaṃ tāvat, na s. . . | na s. pratiśrutya kiṃcid apy anṛtaṃ kṛtam*. Cf. e. g. also Mbh. 5, 127, 5 f. *na cāham lakṣaye . . . | na cāham . . .* where the logically superfluous pronoun adds to the emphatic character of the utterance ⁶⁸). In an emotional monologue : Rām. 4, 11, 49 f. *ko nv ayam | yenāham sahasā sprṣtaḥ śoṇitena durātmanā | ko 'yaṃ du-*

⁶⁶) For the combination pron. dem. and pron. pers. see further on.

⁶⁷) See H. Lüders, Varuṇa, I, Göttingen 1951, p. 15 ff.

⁶⁸) See Acta Orient. 19, p. 224 ff.

rātmā durbuddhir ... (notice the repetition of *durātman*-). Enumerative : Mbh. 4, 43, 12 ff. *ye ca* ... etc. ... ; *na* 7, 27, 19 ff.; Rām. 4, 25, 5 ff. In doubt and deliberation : Kāl. Śak. 1, 22+ *katham idānīm ātmānaṃ nive-dayāmi, katham vātmāpahāraṃ karomi* ?; in outpourings of sentiment : e. g. Bhav. Utt. 3, 27. Emphasis is clearly expressed in cases such as Mbh. 5, 106, 4 : “why did not his friends dissuade him ? ... why did not the reverend (Kṛṣṇa), the grandfather (Bhīṣma) do that ?” : “words were indeed spoken by the rev., spoken by Bh., spoken were manifold words by N.” : *uktaṃ bhagavatā vākyam, uktaṃ bhīṣmena* ... / *uktaṃ bahuvīdhaṃ caiva nāradenāpi*. The theme of a discourse may in a similar way appear as the first word of a question and also of the answer : Mbh. 6, 67, 1 f. *vāsudevo mahad bhūtaṃ sarvalokeṣu kathiyate* / *tasya* ... *jñātum icche* : : v. m. bh. ... “V. is indeed ...”. However, this repetition is also a welcome device for commencing an answer : Mbh. 6, 91, 1 f. *irāvantaṃ tu nihataṃ dr̥ṣtvā* ... *kim akurvanta* ... : : i. t. n. ... *vikṣya* ... / *vyanadan sumahānādādam*. This repetition which may be compared to similar instances of prolixity in modern popular usage gives the speaker an opportunity to order his thoughts and to gain a convenient starting-point. An example of great prolixity is Rām. 4, 63, 3 f. *sa rājā* ... *so 'smarad duṣkṛtam kṛtam* / *sa r.* ... *smṛtvā duṣkṛtam ātmanaḥ* ... Another instance of emphatic anaphora is Rām. 4, 33, 53 f.

This anaphora helps also to underline, in a natural way, contrast or opposition—cf., in Dutch, *'t kan vriezen, 't kan dooien* “every ‘may be’ has a ‘may not be’” (lit. “it may freeze, it may thaw”)⁶⁹—: Mṛceh. 4, 16 *anyaṃ manuṣyaṃ hṛdayena kṛtvā* / *anyaṃ tato dr̥ṣṭibhir āhvayanti* “having put one man in their heart (women) invite another by their eyes”; Kāl. Māl. 4, 7. In the idiom *kva (ca)* ... *kva ca*⁷⁰ the anaphora serves to denote a great discrepancy between two ideas : Daṇḍin Dśk. 77 *kva tapaḥ kva ca ruditaṃ* “asceticism and weeping are incompatible”. Mbh. 3, 77, 12 f. a threefold pretended congratulation is followed by boasting and insult : *diṣṭyā tvayārjitaṃ vittam* ... *diṣṭyā* ... *diṣṭyā* ... “I congratulate you on the acquisition of wealth ...”; 174, 11 ff. a fivefold congratulation introduced by *diṣṭyā*. That a threefold anaphoric repetition is often produced under the influence of strong emotions was also understood by the kāvya poets : Bhavabhūti, Utt. 3, 26 *tvam jīvitam tvam asi me hṛdayam dvitīyaṃ* / *tvam kaṁmudī nayanayor amṛtam tvam aṅge* (variation in the last member.). Compare, in Greek, N. T. 2 Cor. 11, 26 *κινδύνους ποταμῶν, κ. ληστῶν, κ. ἐκ γένους, κ. ἐξ ἐθνῶν* etc. (8 times). In cases such as Mbh. 3, 56, 13 (see above) the initial repetition may also be associated with the well-known tendency to analyse a thought into two, or sometimes, more components which often are of a complementary character. Cf. e. g. also 7, 10, 25 *ke tatra nājahur droṇaṃ ke kṣudrāk prādravan bhayāt* “who did

⁶⁹ Cf. also Hofmann, Latein. Umgangsspr., p. 62.

⁷⁰ See Speyer, Sanskrit Syntax, p. 322 (§ 410 R.), and the present author's paper on *ca* in Vāk 5.

not desert D., who fled . . . ”: a more natural mode of expression than an abstract and almost official or scientific formulation : “which was their respective behaviour ?”; BḍP. 1, 9, 48 f. . . *sarvās tā yogamātarah* / *s. ca brahmavāḍiṇyah*, *sarvā viśvasya mātarah*; ViP. 4, 2, 18. However, this anaphora may also serve to evoke, insistently and affectionately, memories or to arouse feelings : Bhav. Utt. 1, 26 *smarasi . . . tāny ahāni* ? / *s. . . godāvarīm vā* / *s. ca vartanāni* ?

An unmistakable aversion to complex sentences is likewise a factor in those numerous cases of initial repetition of an important element : Manu 9, 109 *jyēṣṭhaḥ kulam vardhayaṭi . . .* / *j. pūjyamoto loke j. sadbhir agarhitah*; Rām. 2, 48, 7 *kiṃ nu teṣāṃ gr̥hyaiḥ kāryam kiṃ dāraiḥ kiṃ dhanena vā*; 21 *kutaḥ putraiḥ kuto dhanaiḥ*; 4, 25, 4 *niyatīḥ kāraṇam loke, n. karmasādhanaṃ* / *n. sarvabhūtānaṃ niyogēṣv iha kāraṇam*; 55, 13; 3, 52, 16 ff. Thus four parallel processes in nature occurring at the same time are described in four short sentences introduced by the common predicate which is repeated in all of them : Rām. 4, 28, 26.

Elsewhere the predilection for parallel thoughts or repetition of the same thought must be taken into account: Mbh. 1, 29, 8 *kaccid kuśalaṃ nityam bhojane bahulaṃ . . .* / *kaccic ca . . . tavānnaṃ vidyate bahu*; Mbh. 14, 36, 19; 5, 178, 77 f.; Rām. 4, 28, 33. VāP. 4, 81 *antas tasmims tv ime lokā, antar viśvam idaṃ jagat*; 62, 156. Elsewhere however anaphora is a means of achieving a certain breadth of treatment and fullness of description which may enable the hearer to dwell upon one of the culminating points of the story : Rām. 2, 42, 1 ff. (Daśaratha's conduct after Rāma's departure is described) *yāvat tu niriyatas tasya rajo rūpam adṛśyata . . .* / *yāvad rājā priyam putram paśyati*. In a long emotional enumeration of qualities and characteristics of one of the epic heroes : Mbh. 7, 10, 47 *yasminn abhyadhikā . . . guṇaḥ . . .* / *yasminn astrāṇi satyam ca* “in whom reside all virtues . . . in whom are . . .” Here and often elsewhere the subjects being enumerated individually are thrown into some relief, an effect well-known to the orators of Western antiquity : Cic. Att. 2, 17, 1 *quid . . . ista . . . conjunctio, quid ager campanus, quid effusio pecuniae significant* ? Enumerations of parallel instances, conditions, circumstances etc. often give occasion for anaphora, which may be accompanied by other repetition, for instance refrain : Mbh. 5, 126, 2ff. Thus anaphora may serve to suggest such ideas as continuity, similarity, identity : Kāl. R. 5, 37 *rūpam tad ojasvi tad eva vīryam* / *tad eva naisargikam unnatatvam* “his majestic form was the same, the valour the same, and the natural sublimity also the same.”

Side by side with the frequent anaphoric repetition of a noun in another inflectional form (e. g. Mbh. 14, 18, 3; 30, 5; cf. also 14, 19, 49; 40, 4; VāP. 62, 156; BrP. 5, 2) anaphora of word stems is of frequent occurrence : Mbh. 14, 26, 14 *pāpena vicaran loke pāpacāri bhavaty ayam*; Manu 2, 2; 221; cf. also Manu 3, 42 *aninditaiḥ strivivāhair anindyā bhavati prajā* / *ninditair ninditā nṛṇāṃ tasmān nindyān vivarjayet*, where a contrast is emphasized; 277. Similar instances occur already in Vedic prose : AiB. 1, 25, 1; JB. 2,

113 *sthavirayajño vāva kilāyam āsa, sthavira evānena yajñena yajeta*. The supposition seems to be warranted that this repetition is the natural basis of the 'chimes' discussed by Daṇḍin, *Kāvyāḍ.* 3, 20 *madhureṇaḍṛśām mānam madhureṇa sugandhinā* "(the spring), with the sweet and fragrant (blossoming, would reduce) the pride of the fawn-eyed (to mere name)"; cf. also 26 ff. See e. g. *Mṛcch.* 4, 22. It should, in order to avoid misunderstanding, be expressly observed that this tendency to begin successive units with the same word stem is often also attested in stanzas or groups of sentences showing no trace or evidence of parallelism : *Manu* 3, 243.

Sometimes the repetition of an idea in such a prominent position may have been occasioned by the tendency to focus the hearer's attention on it : *Rām.* 4, 33, 64 f. in describing Sugrīva being seated on his throne uses four times *divya*- "splendid" in anaphora, no doubt in order to cause a vivid impression of the splendour of that prince and his attire. Cf. *Rām.* 2, 88, 18 *sarva*-; 1, 62, 11 *sarve sukr̥takarmāṇaḥ sarve dharmaparāyaṇāḥ* "all of them, none excepted . . ."

Special attention should be drawn to those instances of anaphora the function of which is to continue the story or argument or to develop the line of thought : *Mbh.* 5, 137, 14 f. *vikrameṇārjitaṁ bhogān vṛṇitaṁ jīvitaḥ api || vikramādhighatā hy arthāḥ kṣatradharmeṇa jīvataḥ | mano manu-ṣyasya sadā prīṇanti* "enjoyment earned by prowess should be preferred to life itself, (for) objects gained by prowess always please the heart of a man following the duties of a kṣatriya"; 3, 293, 24 *sāvitrīyā prīṭayā dattā sāvitrīyā hutayā hy api | sāvitrīyā eva nāmāsyāś cakrur* . . . ; *Rām.* 2, 4, 2 *śva eva puṣyo bhavitā śvo 'bhiṣecyas tu me sutaḥ* "tomorrow it is P. (name of a month), then my son shall be consecrated"; *Rām.* 4, 18, 27 *pratijñā ca mayā dattā tadā vānarasaṁnidhau | pratijñā ca katham śakyā madvidhenānavakṣitam* not equivalent to "how can I break a promise which I have made . . .", the sacred character of the promise being much in evidence; 40, 14 *tvam evājñāpaya* . . . / *tvam hi jānāsi* ; 64, 9. Cf. also *BdP.* 2, 63, 107 *evam trīṇy asya śaṅkūni tāni dṛṣṭvā* . . . / *triśaṅkur iti hovāca, t. tena sa smṛtaḥ*. Incomplete repetition can serve as well : *Rām.* 1, 61, 5 *trātum arhasi mām* . . . / *trātā tvam hi* . . . Thus anaphora can be a means of linking two successive stanzas together more closely : *Mbh.* 14, 17, 35 f. *tataḥ śubhāśubham kṛtvā labhante sarvadehinaḥ | ihaivocāvacaṁ bhogān prāpnuvanti svakarmabhiḥ | ihaivāśubhakarmāṇaḥ karmabhir nirayaṁ gataḥ* . . . Clumsy use of this 'figure' e. g. appears in *Rām.* 2, 63, 4 f. (vulg.) *sa rājā rajanīm śaṣṭhīm* . . . / . . . so 'smarad duṣkṛtaṁ kṛtam | | sa r. putrasokārtāḥ smṛtvā duṣkṛtaṁ ātmanaḥ ; if not preceded by a long pause the repetition is to modern ears not very attractive⁷¹⁾. — Classical poets were also aware of the 'argumentative' force borne by the anaphora : *Kāl. R.* 8, 83 *vasu-*

⁷¹⁾ Once again the critical reader may be warned: this statement does not imply any depreciation of the products of Indian literature.

dheyam avekṣyatām tvayā / vasumatyā hi nṛpāḥ kalatrināḥ "the earth should be protected by you, for the earth is the real wife of kings".

We cannot however systematically consider in this chapter what might be called 'mere anaphora', i. e. those pairs or groups of sentences which though having the first word in common, differ both in sense and in outward form.

In various ancient Indian literary works cases are attested of an anaphorical pair of clauses filling up the same metrical unit : RV. 7, 71, 6 *iyam manīṣā, iyam aśvinā gīḥ*; AV. 4, 38, 7c *ayaṃ ghāso ayaṃ vrajaḥ* "this is fodder, this is the pen", a structure no doubt borrowed from colloquial usage ; 6, 129, 3 *yo andho yaḥ punaḥsaraḥ*; 4, 1, 4a *sa hi divaḥ sa pṛthivyā ṛtasthā*. Other examples are given in various parts of this work. Some occurrences are of a dignified terseness : BhG. 13, 31d (the supreme self, even abiding in the body) *na karoti na lipyate* "does not act, nor is he stained". Compare, in Greek A 665 οὐ κήδεαι οὐδ' ἐλεαίρει; B 422.

It cannot be part of our task here to describe the part played by the device under consideration in the classical period. Yet it may be observed that, apart from those occurrences which are in harmony with the functions of the phenomenon in the older literature and in other languages, there are also passages where an artificial character is unmistakable. Such accumulations as are for instance found in Kāl. Ragh. 10, 20 ff. are neither natural, nor fortuitous : *sarvajñas tvam avijñātaḥ / sarvayonis tvam ātma-bhūḥ / / sarvaprabhur anīśas tvam / ekas tvam sarvarūpabhāḥ*; stanzas of this character are, it is true, common in religious literature; but the poet continues 21 *saptasāmopagītaṃ tvām saptārṇavajaleśayam / saptārcir mukham ācakhyuḥ / saptalokaikasaṃśrayam*, a stanza in which the seven hymns, the seven oceans, the seven worlds and the seven-flamed fire combine so as to form a sonorous whole; 22 *caturvargaphalaṃ . . . / catur-varṇamayo . . .* The sevenfold, mostly anaphoric repetition of *na* in 9, 7 f. of the same poem may be quoted as another instance of exaggeration of a device which in itself is perfectly natural.

It may finally be observed that in the great majority of cases the words subject to anaphora are, in metrical texts, placed at the beginning of a pāda, which—speaking in general terms—often coincides with the commencement of a sentence. Curiously enough vocables subject to non-anaphorical repetitions are not rarely distributed in a similar way : Rām. 4, 33, 19 *sa saptakakṣyāḥ . . . / dadarśa sumahad guptaṃ / dadarsāntahpuram* : the ancient predilection for vertical parallelism.

ADDITIONS TO CHAPTER VI

I

It is worth while to dwell to on a structure not rarely found in popular and archaic compositions. In a Dutch street ballad the line *ik zal alles doen, ik zal voor U slaven* "I will do anything, I will slave for you" is im-

mediately followed by *ik zal alles doen wat gij mij gebiedt* "I shall do whatever you order" ⁷²). A poem composed during some days of danger and privation by an Eskimo youth who was carried away on drift-ice runs as follows: "*Aya, I am joyful; this is good! | Aya, there is nothing but ice around me, that is good! | Aya, I am joyful; this is good! | My country is nothing but slush, that is good | etc.*" ⁷³). In the Eskimo song of the raven and the geese, the raven sings: "*Oh, I am drowning, help me! | Oh, now the waters reach my great ankles | Oh ... |, Oh ... my g. knees*" ⁷⁴). In these compositions the first halves of a number of successive stanzas are identical. The same principle prevails in many parts of Vedic sūktas or 'hymns'. As some relevant passages in the R̥gveda were already enumerated by Bloomfield ⁷⁵) it may suffice here to recall some of the chains of stanzas occurring in that body of literature, which, more or less, are under the influence of a tendency to place stanzas with similar openings together: 8, 40, 10 *taṃ śisitā suvṛktibhis | tveṣaṃ satvānam ṛgmīyam* : 11 t. s. *svadhvaram | satyaṃ s. ṛtvīyam*, these doublet stanzas making a tolerably elaborate statement in almost the same words, altering the sense without much changing their outward form; 1, 8, 8 *evā hy asya sūnṛtā* : 9 e. h. *te vibhūtayaḥ . . .* : 10 *evā hy asya kāmīyā . . .* ; 7, 63, 1 *ud v eti subhago . . .* : 2 *ud v eti prasavītā . . .* ; 10, 17, 11-13; 18, 11-12; 94, 1-4. The same tendency betrays itself rather markedly in the AV. In the Śaun. recension 3, 15, 5ab and 6ab ⁷⁶) are completely identical: *yena dhanena prapaṇaṃ carāmi | dhanena devā dhanam icchamānaḥ*, the second lines being different. In 3, 29, 5 the pādas 4 a-c are literally repeated. A considerable degree of similarity is shown by 4, 37, 8ab and 9ab: *bhīmā indrasya hetayaḥ | śatam ṛṣtir ayasmayih (hiraṇyayih)*. The initial pādas of two consecutive stanzas are similar in 1, 21, 2 and 3 *vi na indra mṛdho jahi* and *vi rakṣo vi mṛdho jahi* ⁷⁷). A chiasitic repetition occurs 1, 13, 3a : 2a *namas te pravato napāt*, 3a *pravato napān nama evāstu tubhyam*. The subject changes in AV. 3, 12, 1 and 2 *ihaiva dhruvāṃ ni minomi śālāṃ . . .* : i. *dhruvā prati tiṣṭha śāle*. In 1, 31, 2ab part of the words of 1ab recur. Cf. also 4, 29, 3a : 6c.

Another peculiarity of a considerable number of passages is some sort of responsio in successive stanzas: AV. 2, 26, 1 and 2 *cha yantu paśavo . . .* : *imaṃ goṣṭhaṃ paśavaḥ . . .* ; 35, 1 and 2; 3, 15, 2c: *te mā juṣantāṃ payasā ghr̥tena* : 3a *idhmenāgna icchamāno ghr̥tena*; 5, 7, 9cd: 10cd. Anaphoric repetition occurs RV. 1, 8, 8-10 (see above) ; AV. 2, 10, 2 and 3.

Sometimes the second or last lines of two consecutive stanzas are identical or strikingly similar : AV. 3, 5, 6 and 7 (the first lines are similar in

⁷²) Wouters en Moorman, Het straatlied, 1934, p. 37.

⁷³) See F. Boas, Primitive art, New York 1955, p. 300 and Journal of American Folk Lore 7, p. 50.

⁷⁴) W. Thalbitzer, The Ammassalik Eskimo, Meddelelser om Grønland, 40, Copenhagen, p. 211.

⁷⁵) M. Bloomfield, Rig-veda repetitions, Harvard 1916, p. 15.

⁷⁶) See also Bloomfield 42, p. 453. The Paipp. rec. has st. 1, 4, 6, 2 only.

⁷⁷) AV. 1, 21, 2a = RV. 10, 152, 4a etc.; AV. 1, 21, 3a = RV. 10, 152, 3a etc.

structure) ; RV. 8, 40, 10 and 11. Elsewhere a complete pāda recurs in the next stanza : AV. 4, 26, 1c = 2a; 4, 29, 1bc = 2ab; 6, 11, 1c = 2c; 6, 75, 2d = 3e (in Paipp. st. 3 is placed before st. 2); 6, 112, 1c = 2c. With some variation e. g. 2, 34, 3c : 4c. Two pādas are repeated with variation : 6, 114, 1cd : 2ab.

Elsewhere the last pādas of two successive stanzas are particularly similar : AV. 3, 21, 9d *taṃ kravyādāṃ aśīṣamam* : 10d *te k. a.* (cf. 8d); 4, 12, 3 and 4; 15, 2 and 3; 7d : 8d : 9d, cf. 4d; 6, 72, 2 and 3. Striking similarity may also exist between second pādas : 3, 19, 1b : 2b; 31, 8b : 9b (with refrain); 6, 14, 2b : 3b, or between fourth and second pādas : 6, 138, 1d : 2b. Complete identity between the last pādas exists in AV. 2, 36, 5 and 6; 3, 10, 9 and 10; 6, 15, 2 and 3; 41, 1 and 2; 43, 1 and 2, between second pādas in 2, 25, 4 and 5; 3, 29, 3, 4 and 5. Second and last pādas are identical in AV. 4, 7, 4d : 5b; 18, 7d : 8b; 5, 14, 1d : 2b; 6, 15, 1d : 2b. Cf. also 2, 31, 2d : 4d ⁷⁸⁾.

The first pāda of a stanza is sometimes, but not often, identical with the last quarter of the preceding stanza : AV. 6, 42, 1d : 2a. As amply discussed in another part of this book ⁷⁹⁾ this concatenation mostly involves partial repetition. However, the similarity of the pādas may verge on identity : RV. 1, 23, 23d : 24a; 4, 35, 2d : 3a. Cf. also AV. 5, 8, 1d : 2a; 6, 122, 1d : 2a; 123, 1d : 2a.

Similarities of this sort are an excellent means of connecting stanzas. Cf. AV. 1, 10, 3d : 4a; 23, 1d : 2a; 3, 10, 2cd : 3ab; 4, 16, 3-4ab; 6, 66, 2cd : 3ab (cf. 1ab); 118, 1cd : 2ab. Cf. also AV. 3, 8, 2cd : 3ab; 6, 20, 1d : 2a (cf. 3d) ⁸⁰⁾; 3, 1, 5 : 6; 1, 11, 2d : 3a; 1, 28, 1cd : 2ab; 6, 81, 1d : 2a.

II

Although it cannot be part of the present task to discuss here the structure of the larger units ('hymns' or sūktas) some observations may in this connection be made on this subject. Many features of magico-religious texts as recited in other countries recur in the Vedic 'hymns' : the large number of 'parallelisms' or symmetrical structures, the many repetitions of words, word groups, metrical units, stanzas, their often stereotyped phrases.

The abundance of 'symmetry' and 'repetition', i. e. the frequent occurrence of the stylistic 'devices' examined in the preceding chapters, is indeed one of the most obvious characteristics of the mantra collections and—though not always to the same extent—also of the prose texts. As already stated anaphora was in composing verses one of the most effective procedures; in making sūktas it has likewise often rendered yeoman service.

⁷⁸⁾ For some observations on refrains see above, p. 46; 91.

⁷⁹⁾ See p. 296 ff.; 314 ff.; 321 f.

⁸⁰⁾ Cf. Bloomfield, SBE. 42, p. 469.

In the famous hymn addressed to Indra, RV. 2, 12, sūktā 1, the lines 2a, b, c, d, 3a, b, c, 4ab, 5a, 6a, b and many other lines begin with *ya-*, the 'relative pronoun', which refers to the refrain, at the end of each stanza, *sa janāsa indrah*; introducing parallel or varied statements of the god's power and activity this pronoun continuously focusses the attention on the god to whom the eulogy is addressed and it is mainly by applying, abundantly but not unnaturally, the 'figure' of anaphora that the poet, who must have been a great master, has succeeded in making a poem which being complete in itself is of great impressiveness. In the composition of AV. 6, 35, a prayer addressed to Agni Vaiśvānara, anaphora is likewise the main factor; that is to say: each of the three stanzas of which the text consists begins with the name Vaiśvānara, and Agni occurs at the beginning of 1c and 2c, also in vertical parallelism. Thus the central idea of the text is also from the point of view of the external form the main element in its structure. A similar composition, consisting of longer stanzas, is 6, 62 where the adjective *vaiśvānarīm* at the beginning of st. 2 and 3 repeats the god's name which forms the opening of the text. Cf. also 6, 119. AV. 6, 13 contains eleven occurrences of *namaḥ*, six of which are placed at the beginning of a pāda. AV. 6, 17 consists of four comparisons each of which is introduced by the same word group *yatheyaṃ prthivī mahī*. A similar composition is AV. 6, 8 intended to win a woman's love and consisting of three parallel comparisons: "as the creeper has completely embraced the tree so do thou embrace me . . . etc.", words to be spoken by a man who wishes to be loved by a woman, an incantation, not a lyrical effusion and even less an artificially poetical production. The processes of nature are, by these words and by means of the similes actualized and put into operation on behalf of that man. But what is not intended to be a thing of beauty may be beautiful and impressive. The threefold *yathā . . . eva* comparison, followed by the binary refrain *yathā . . . yathā . . .* inspires admiration even in modern readers. Other examples are AV. 4, 30, 1 ff.; 5, 3; 6, 6; 6, 7; 6, 61; 6, 105.

Although it is true that in enumerating a number of parallel facts, or in linking together some statements of similar content, anaphoric repetitions are apt to occur—compare *si quis . . . si quis . . .* in a succession of articles of a law—this anaphoric-paratactic parallelism may therefore be considered a structural principle. In view of this undeniable tendency AV. 1, 3, 1-5 *vidmā śarasya pitaraṃ parjanyaṃ (mitraṃ etc.) śatavṛṣṇyam* followed by an identical half-stanza as a refrain may, if appearances are not deceptive, constitute a fivefold variant of AV. 1, 2, 1 *v. ś. p. p. bhūridhāyasam*. AV. 6, 8 and 1, 3 are not the only examples of a fortuitous combination of anaphora and refrain. In 4, 35 of the same work it is a structural principle: 1 *yam odanam* (for the introductory words see also 12, 3, 4d; 12c) . . . / *yo . . . tena* (refrain) ; 2 *yena . . .* / *yam . . .* / *yam . . .* / *tena* ; 3 *yo . . .* / *yo . . .* / *yo . . .* / *tena . . .* etc. Compare also AV. 4, 24; 4, 29, 1 *manve vām mitrāvaruṇau . . . tau no muñcatam aṃhasaḥ* ; 2 . . . *yau . . .* / *yau . . . tau*

(refrain), 3-6 are each of them introduced by *yau* and concluded by the refrain. AV. 6, 17 consists of four parallel *yathā* clauses followed by a refrain. Cf. AV. 6, 70; 6, 71. Worth mentioning is also AV. 4, 39, 1-8 which consists of four strictly parallel parts, each of which is of a binary structure; the former parts of the first halves are characterized by epiphora, the latter by anaphora and identity with variation; the second halves are likewise characterized by varied identity, the elements involved in the variation—proper names and ideas co-ordinated with them—might constitute by themselves a series or enumeration.

VII

RESPONSIO

An essential feature in the above-discussed parallel syntactic groups or phrases is, generally speaking, the repetition of the same rhythm and the similarity of the order of words. "In time sequences", Boas ¹⁾ justly remarks, "we have a feeling for symmetry only for the order of repetition and structural phrases". Cf. e. g. Mbh. 14, 22, 29 *kāmaṃ tu naḥ sveṣu guṇeṣu saṅgaḥ* / *kāmaṃ ca nānyonyaguṇopalabdhiḥ* / *asmān vinā nāsti tapopalabdhiḥ*

The corresponding words in the Vedic balanced binary structures mostly show the same number of syllables, although a group of two short words may compensate for one polysyllabic word : AV. 4, 13, 3I *yad rapaḥ* : *bheṣajam*. Now and then an inconcinnity of minor importance is, however, found : 5, 17, 10 *vai devāḥ* : *manuṣyāḥ*; in this case the shortest sequence often precedes.

When identical words recur in the middle and at the end of two parallel units we often have to do with variation of the same sequence. It is not surprising to find instances at the end of magical texts. AV. 6, 57, 3 which contains various examples of repetition, ends in this way: *viśvam no astu bheṣajam* / *sarvam n. a. bh.*, the different initial words being as good as synonyms. Similarly AV. 16, 6, 3 *dviṣate tat parā vaha* / *śapathe tat parā vaha* "carry that away to him who hates ; c. th. a. t. h. who curses"; 7, 1 *tenainaṃ vidhyāmy abhūtyainaṃ v. nīrbhūtyainaṃ v. . . .* , 6 times in succession. Compare RV. 8, 40, 2; BhG. 4, 26.

Instances of this phenomenon, usually called 'responsio', are very frequent : the same word, words or groups of sound, occur, in both (or in all) members of the parallel set, in a corresponding position: *men must work and women must weep*. Cf. RV. 10, 137, 3I *ā vāta vāhi bheṣajam* / *vi vāta vāhi yad rapaḥ* "hither, O wind, blow healing; away, O wind, blow the infirmity" (= AV. 4, 13, 3I); AV. 2, 12, 5 *dyāvāprthivī anu mā didhithām* / *viśve devāso anu mā rabhadhvam* "O heaven-and-earth, do ye attend me; all ye gods, take ye hold of me"; 1, 11, 6de . . . *sākam jarāyunaṃ pata* / *ava jarāyu padyatām*; 3, 18, 6 I *abhi te 'dhām sahamānām* / *upa te 'dhām sahiyasām* "I have put on for thee the overpowering one; I have put to for thee the very powerful one" (Whitney-Lanman) (see also RV. 10, 145, 6 I). Compare, for instance in Hittite, "the Sun-god dwells in Sippar / the Moon-god dwells in K., the Weather-god d. in Ku. . . ." ²⁾. The corre-

¹⁾ F. Boas, Primitive art, Oslo 1927, p. 320.

²⁾ See e.g. also O. R. Gurney, Hittite Prayers, Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology 27, Liverpool 1940.

spondence between the non-identical words varies greatly: AV. 6, 59, 1 I *anaḍudbhyaḥ tvam prathamam / dhenubhyaḥ tvam arundhati* : the draft-oxen and the milch kine correspond, 'pr. and a. do not; 1, 11, 4 de *sune jarāyṃ attave / ava j. paḍyatām* "for the dog the afterbirth to eat, let the afterbirth fall down": here the only correspondence of the elements before and after the identical *jarāyu* consists in the number of their syllables and (with one exception) in their rhythm; in 4, 34, 4 II *rathīha bhūtvā rathayāna iyate / pakṣi ha bhūtvāti divaḥ sameti* we find a slight assonance in the first words, although *rathayāna ī.* and *d. s.* are, in a sense, corresponding concepts. Similar magical texts were composed for instance in Hittite antiquity: "as this wax has flattened, as this mutton-fat has perished, so shall he who breaks the oath . . . be flattened like wax and perish like mutton-fat." ³⁾ See also 3, 2, 2 II; 5, 5, 6 I; 14, 1 I and 23, 13 II *bhinadmy aśmanā śiro / dahāmy agninā mukham*. The recurrence of the same particles or numerals in the same positions may in a sense also be considered an instance of responsio: 5, 13, 7 I; 23, 4 I. Post-Vedic texts likewise contain numerous instances: BhG. 12, 15 *yasmān nodvijate loko / lokān nodv. ca yaḥ* (reciprocity); Manu, 2, 91; 3, 286; in an antithesis: 3, 56; 62; with anaphora 3, 77; subordinate and main clause: 3, 95; 133. Cf. also BhG. 1, 10b : d; 6, 3b : d; 6, 46a : c; 13, 19a : c; 18, 18b : d. Not infrequently the correspondence concerns only suffixes or endings of words, not complete elements of the sentences: Manu 2, 13 *arthakāmeṣv asaktānām dharmajñānam vidhīyate / dharmam jñānsdmānānām pramānam paramam śrutih*; 3, 90; compounds: 3, 205.

These vertical correspondences often concern the repetition of one or more terms of a subordinate clause in the main clause or vice versa. Thus we find AV. 6, 138, 4 *ye te nāḍyau. . . / te te bhinadmi*; cf. also 6, 133, 5; Manu 3, 142 and 278 in similes. Cf. also ŚB. 3, 1, 3, 13 *amūlam vā idam ubhayataḥ parichinnam rakṣo 'ntarikṣam anucarati yathāyam puruṣo 'mūla u. p. 'nt. a. ; 3, 2, 3, 21 yad eva prāyaṇīye kriyeta tad udayaṇīye kriyeta, yad eva prāyaṇīyasya bahir bhavati tad udayaṇīyasya bahir bhavati* etc. Homer provides a parallel : A 280 f. *εἰ δὲ σὺ κατ'εργός ἔσσι . . . / ἄλλ' ὅδε φέρτερός ἐστιν* (marked opposition). In the magical texts of the AV. and the discussions of the brāhmaṇas many comparisons are found in exactly formulated sentences, being employed either to achieve an incantatory effect, or to gain an insight into the hidden connections between the phenomena ⁴⁾.

The description of the main particulars in connection with this phenomenon when occurring in Vedic prose appears to be as follows. In liturgic formulas it is very frequent, as may appear from the instances given in the beginning of chapter II: *ā tanuṣva pra tanuṣva* etc. In the brāhmaṇas the parallelism of the processes described or statements made often leads to correspondences such as ŚB. 3, 1, 2, 2 *tad yat keśaśmaśru ca*

³⁾ Gurney, *The Hittites*, London 1952, p. 162.

⁴⁾ See p. 78.

vapate nakhāni ca nikṛntate "as to the fact that he cuts hair and beard and cuts his nails". Cf. also 3, 2, 2, 16 *sāyamḍugdham apararātre prātar dugdham aparāhṇe*. The long enumerations of parallel predications or identifications in the oldest upaniṣads are, as was also apparent in part of the above instances, also prolific in instances of this figure: BārU. 4, 2, 3 *tayor eṣa samstāvo ya eṣo 'ntarhṛdaya ākāśaḥ; athainayor etad annam ya e. 'n. lohitaṇḍaḥ; athainayor etat prāvaranam yad e. 'n. jālakam iva*, concluded by a sentence which may, in a way, be considered a free variant: *athainayor eṣā sṛtiḥ samcaranī yaiśā hṛdayād ūrdhvā nāḍy uccarati*. A free form of vertical correspondence, interrupted by another part of the utterance is also perfectly natural in contexts such as JB. 1, 214 . . . *so 'smai kāmāḥ samārdhyata; yatkūma evaitena sāmā stute, sam asmai sa kāmā rdhyate*.

Responsio of particles: BārU. 4, 3, 20 *hastiva vicchāyayati, gartam iva patati*; other instances have already been given.

This partial identity of two parallel groups is also found in the Avesta: Yt. 10, 20 *tačintō nōiṭ apayeinti / barəntō nōiṭ frastanvanti / vazəntō nōiṭ framanyente* "running they do not go away, carrying they do not proceed, drawing they have no advantage"; cf. also such cases as 5, 63 *moṣu mē java avayhe / nūrəm me bara upastəm*; 89. We find some striking Greek instances in Hesiod: Op. 284 f. in an antithesis with a chiasmic position of the adjectives by which the contrast is expressed: τοῦ (to wit: of the perjurer) δέ τ' ἀμαυροτέρη γενεῇ μετόπισθε λέλειπται / ἀνδρὸς δ' εὐδόκου γ. μ. ἀμείνων and 471 f. where εὐθημοσύνη and κακοθημοσύνη are opposed while occupying the same position in two successive verses. Homer sometimes puts the same word at the same place in two successive lines: A 280 f.; B 569 f. οἱ δὲ Μυκῆνας εἶχον, ἐνκτίμενον πολέεθρον, / ἀφνειόν τε Κόρινθον ἔ. τε Κλεωνάς; there is no question of parallelism here, but the very fact that Homer and his auditorium did not take offence at this conspicuous repetition which would, as a rule, have been avoided by a modern author, appears to show that such cases of reiteration may probably be brought into connection with the general tendency, in archaic and 'primitive' literature, to proceed with repetitions and correspondences. Cf. e. g. also B 782 f.; in a simile Γ 2 f.; 223 f.; Δ 134 f.; in an antithesis Γ 164 οὐ τί μοι αἰτλή ἐσσί, θεοί νό μοι αἰτιοί εἰσιν: emphatic and impressive speech. The former parts of two compounds occupy a correspondent position: K 431 καὶ Φρύγες ἱππόμεχοι καὶ Μήρονες ἱπποκορυσταί (anaphora of καί). A soldiers' 'song' handed down to us by Suetonius, D. Iul. 49, may be quoted as a Latin instance . . . / ecce Caesar nunc triumphat qui subegit Gallias / Nico-medes n. t. q. s. Caesarem.

The first and the last word of a sequence are sometimes repeated in a parallel unit (symploke): AV. 6, 57, 1 I *idam id vā u bheṣajam / idam rudrasya bheṣajam*; 2 I *jālāṣeṇābhi siñcata / jālāṣeṇopa siñcata* (the text is used in a healing rite); 5, 17, 10 I *punar vai devā adaduh / p. manuṣyā a.*; 23, 3 I. In liturgic formulas: PB. 1, 1, 1; TU. 1, 1, 1 etc. *tan mām avatu, tad vaktāram avatu* "let that succour me, let that succour the speaker".

In prose texts we find e. g. ŚB. 3, 1, 3, 1 . . . *sarvāś caivaitad devatāḥ pari-grhya sarvaṃ ca yajñam p.* . . . (forming part of a longer sentence); cf. also 3, 2, 4, 6. The same correspondence can occur between non-successive units: AV. 6, 58, 1 a : c where the same prayer is addressed to two gods in succession; 62, 2 a : 3 a. We may also mention here such cases as GobhGS. 1, 5, 5 *pakṣāntā upavastavyāḥ, pakṣādayo 'bhiyaṣṭavyāḥ* although the phenomenon concerns not more than the half of the words; and the rather numerous instances of contracted units of this variety: JBr. 1, 224 *paśavo ha khalu vai ghṛtaścutaḥ, paśavo madhuścutaḥ*; 1, 196 *ṣa ha vā ahno jaghanārdho yat sāyam, ṣa u vai rātreḥ pūrvārdho y. s.*; GobhGS. 3, 5, 24 f.

This combination of anaphora ⁵⁾ and epiphora, heightening the effect of each of these phenomena, results in a considerable degree of what a modern reader would call stiffness and monotony. Anyhow it adds to the systematic character of the arrangement of the words. If it is, for instance in juridical formulations, desired to be clear and unequivocal it may even in modern languages be preferred to constructions in which any repetition is scrupulously avoided. Like the other structures based on symmetry and parallelism the sympleke will, often unconsciously, be resorted to by those authors who indulge in a predilection for casuistry or classifications. Hence also its occurrence in a series of questions to be answered by an interlocutor, e. g. JB. 1, 186, or in a series of parallel statements: AV. 15, 13, 1 I-5 I. However, it also appears in pairs of completely formulated complementary orders or statements: AV. 16, 1, 11 (prose) *prāsmad eno vahantu pra duṣvapnyam vahantu* "let them carry away from us sin; i. th. c. a. evil dreaming".

Many Avestan lines show sympleke: Yt. 10, 21 *yačīiḥ hvastem anhyeiti, yačīiḥ tanūm apayeiti*; 65 (8 × in succession) belong to the incomplete variety, the latter element only rhyming; 10, 32 *paiti nō zaodrā visayuha, p. hiš yaštā v.*; 98 *yō aōišō yazatanam, y. tančīšō y.* etc. (5 ×) to the complete; cf. also such instances as 5, 26 in fine, and 90 *kana θwam yasna yazāne, k. y. frāyazāne*, which may rather be called an instance of modified repetition. There are interesting cases in Homer: B 382 *εἰ μὲν τις δόρυ θηξάσθω, εἰ δ' ἀσπίδα θέσθω*, 383 and 384 beginning with *εἰ δέ τις* and the latter ending in *μεδέσθω*; in two successive phrases after a preamble: Γ 40 *αἰὲρ ὄφελος ἄγονός τ' ἔμναι ἄγαμός τ' ἀπολέσθαι*, likewise a case of incomplete sympleke (cf. also B 483! etc.); A 220 *ἡ αὐτῶν Τρώων ἡὲ κλειτῶν ἐπικοῦρον* ⁶⁾. In Indonesian formulaic compositions this 'figure' is well-known: *ada jang empat senama | ada jang lima senama* "there are four of the same name, th. a. five of the s. n." (in a narrative passage); *aku duduk di-krusi Allah | aku bersandar di-tiang Allah* (an incantation of a Malay medicine-man) "I am sitting in Allah's seat, I am leaning against Allah's pillar". ⁷⁾

⁵⁾ See chapter V.

⁶⁾ See also J. D. Denniston, *Greek prose style*, Oxford 1952, p. 90.

⁷⁾ W. Skeat, *Malay Magic*, London 1900, p. 588. See also B. J. Bijleveld, *Herhalingsfiguren in het Maleisch, Javaansch en Soendaasch*, Thesis Utrecht 1943, p. 35 f.

There are also cases of an imperfect type of symploke, the complete identity of the last word being replaced by rhyme. In a medieval German wolf charm it reads: *Der lib herr sand Cipriann lag und schliff / der lib herr sand Martenn im drej mal riff.*⁸⁾ Although the Greeks have left comparatively few instances of stanzas and formulas of this description we can quote a fine specimen of a curse; μήτε γῆ βατή, μηδὲ θάλασσα πλωτή / μήτε τέκνων ὄνησις, μηδὲ βλοῦ κράτησις.⁹⁾

Cases of incomplete symploke are numerous in the AV.: 2, 26, 5 I ā *harāmi gavām kṣīram / āhārṣaṃ dhānyam rasam*; 30, 4 I *yad antaram tad bāhyam / yad bāhyam tad antaram*; 3, 28, 4 I *iha puṣṭir iha rasa / iha sahasrasātam ā bhava* and the widespread variety 1, 15, 1 I *saṃ saṃ sravanti sindhavaḥ* (alliteration!) / *saṃ vātāḥ saṃ patatrināḥ*; cf. also 2, 8, 4 II; 5 ab¹⁰⁾; 6, 13, 1 I; 28, 2 I; 40, 3 I. This 'free' and incomplete variety of correspondence at the beginning and at the same time at the end of parallel sequences which are as a rule characterized by containing words of similar number and structure and often also by other types of assonance often appears in ceremonial, liturgic and juridical 'verba concepta'.

Mere assonance often suffices to emphasize the parallelism: AV. 1, 21, 1 I *svastidā viśāṃ patir / vṛtrahā vimṛdho vaśi*; 6, 38, 3 *rathe akṣeṣv ṛsabhasya vāje / vāte parjanya varuṇasya śuṣme*, where the isosyllabism is noteworthy.

Worth mentioning are also the cases of a line being repeated with some variation: AV. 4, 37, 8 I - 9 I *bhīmā indrasya hetayaḥ / satam ṛṣṭir aya-mayīḥ* and *bh. i. h. / ś. ṛ. hiranyayīḥ* "terrible are Indra's missiles, a hundred spears of iron" and "... of gold"; 8 II = 9 II. In 4, 38, 1 and 2 only the first pādas and one word in the third pādas are different. In 4, 34, 6 b = 7 b, the a pādas are different; the latter parts of the stanzas are identical (refrain). In 5, 29, 7-9 there is responsio in the a pādas: *kṣīre mā manthe yatamo dadambha, apām mā pāne y. d., divā ma naktam y. d.* "in milk, in mixed beverage whoever has injured me", "in the drinking of waters—", "by day, by night—"; 8 b = 9 b; c d is refrain. Cf. e. g. also 5, 19, 12-14. There are very long and striking instances: AV. 16, 8 consists of 27 long prose formulas which are, with the exception of one single term, completely identical. It is self-evident that even in a formula of considerable length the varying term, occurring at a fixed place, is sure to catch the hearer's attention. Hence the use made of this 'figure' in altercations: B. Shaw, Getting married (Const.) 296 *there is such a thing as delicacy, Mr. H. : : there is such a thing as curiosity, General.*

From the point of view of correspondences, a curious stanza is AV. 5, 26: a name of a godhead or a technical term belonging to the vocabulary of ritual is put in the first place of almost every successive stanza: 1 *yajūṃsi*,

⁸⁾ Schönbach, in the *Analecta Graeciencia*, Graz 1893, p. 33, n. 9.

⁹⁾ Norden, *Logos und Rhythmus*, p. 10 ff. See also K. Glaser, *Klangfiguren in Augustins Briefen*, Wiener Studien, 46, p. 196.

¹⁰⁾ The obscure *saṃdeśyebhyo* is an exception to the 'rule', or rather tendency, that the shortest member of a co-ordinated group has priority.

3 *indra*, 4 *praiṣā*, 5 *chandāṃsi*, 7 *viṣṇuḥ* etc.; in 1, 4, 5 the second place is occupied by the word *yajñe*, in 7-11 by *yunaktu*, in 12 a and c by *brahmaṇā*; in 7, 8, 10, 11 the word *bahudhā* is found in the third place; in 1, 4, 5 *svāhā* in the fourth; at the end we find, in 3, 7, 8, 10, 11 *suyujah svāhā*, in 4 and 5 *yuktāḥ* etc.

It has already been observed that these vertical correspondences are far from rare in didactic passages if it is desired to emphasize the similarity of processes or phenomena, or also if this similarity is merely described: see e. g. Mbh. 14, 23, 4 ff.

These ancient authors could however, whilst retaining the schema adopted in composing a former line, in adding one or more parallel lines indulge in a great variety of deviations from the choice of the word classes or the choice or order of words. Variation seems to be no less ancient and general a tendency in language than the inclination to repetition of a schema. An aversion to monotony, a desire to deviate from symmetrical repetition or to change the structure of an utterance in repeating it or in pronouncing a similar utterance is not only proper to the artistic use of language, but also to colloquial speech. The term variation has, however, been applied to different phenomena. In Roman antiquity the Auctor ad Herennium^{10a}), giving as examples the symmetrical pair of sentences *rempublicam radicitus evertisti, civitatem funditus deiecisti* and *patrem nefarie verberasti, parenti manus scelerate attulisti*—cf. e. g. also Ter. And. 290 *per tuam fidem perque huius solitudinem*—took it in a wider sense than we shall do on the following pages where only the latter case would be included. We may compare an instance provided by Daṇḍin, Kāvyaḍarśa 2, 111 *haraty ābhogam āśānām grhṇāti jyotiṣām gaṇam* “it robs the quarters of their expanse, it captures the host of the heavenly luminaries”: this is variation in our sense of the term, not because the poet uses synonyms for the idea of “taking away”, but because of the different order of words. That is to say: in this chapter the term variation will be exclusively applied to modifications of parallel and symmetrical word groups, to alterations in connection with the types considered in chapter II: a chiasmic order of words, the replacement of one word by a word group (e. g. *verberasti* in the above example by *manus attulisti*), special form of lengthening of one of the component clauses or word groups, types of shortening as have already been discussed in chapter II, etc. etc.; in short, to all modifications essentially affecting, but not completely destroying the symmetrical structure of successive utterances.

The problem as to the relation between this type of variation and the complete symmetrical structure can be left undiscussed here. There seems to be reason for some scepticism with regard to the point of view unhesitatingly pronounced by Norden and other authors who wrote many years ago¹¹):

^{10a}) Auctor ad Her. 4, 28, 38.

¹¹) E. Norden, *Logos und Rhythmus*, Berlin 1923, p. 20; see also J. Minor, *Allerhand Sprachgrobheiten*, Stuttgart 1892, p. 28 f.; Havers, *Handbuch*, p. 180.

'in the beginning' the principle of structure was pure repetition, and from this variation must be supposed to have developed in the long run. Anyhow, in the ancient Indo-European remainders of the archaic symmetrical style as well as in the 'carmen literature' of many other peoples and in colloquial usage both phenomena usually go together, being mixed up to such a degree that any inference with regard to historical priority seems hazardous. There seems to be no convincing reason for holding that a structure such as in Avestan, Yt. 10, 30 *tūm sraogəṇā s. n. n. nmānā masitā dadāhi*; t. s. s. n. n. *dadāhi bərəzimitəm* "Thou causest the large houses to have excellent women. . . ; Thou . . . high-built house . . ." or 10, 87 has long been unknown to our prehistoric ancestors: *āt yahmāi aśnūtō bavaiti miθrō . . . , ahmāi jasaiti avaiṇhe*; *āt y. fbištō b. m. . . . ahmāi fraścindayeiti nmānəmča visəmča* etc. "and by whom M. . . has been satisfied, to his aid he comes; and by whom M. . . is offended, he shall destroy his house and homestead . . .", such sentences as occur Yt. 10, 16; 31 etc. representing the only original type.

Reserving a discussion of special types of variation such as chiasmus for other sections of this book we mention here in the first place such simple inversions as e. g. AV. 16, 9, 1; TS. 1, 6, 6 *aganma svaḥ svar aganma* "we have gone to heaven; to heaven have we gone". This inversion — discussed at greater length in another chapter — is not foreign to repeated exclamations in natural speech: Dutch street-hawkers often resort to it in uttering the endless recommendations of their merchandise: *mooie aardbeien, dertig centen een pond, dertig centen een pond, mooie aardbeien*¹²); in emotion: Menander, Circ. 256 f. *Γ. με καταλέλοιπε; κ. μ. Γ.*; Mozart, Don Giov. 1, *gente ajuto, ajuto gente*. ChUp. 1, 5, 1 *atha khalu ya udgīthaḥ sa prañavo yaḥ prañavo sa udgītha iti* "now verily the u. is the syllable om; the s. om is the u.": here this 'figure' no doubt serves to underline the complete identity of the two concepts. Cf. e. g. Homer, ι 519 *τοῦ γὰρ ἐγὼ πάς εἰμι, πατήρ δ' ἐμὸς εὔχεται εἶναι*.

Simple variations in direct speech are well known in many languages: BārUp. 4, 3, 37 "just as when a king is coming policemen . . . wait for him . . . saying": *ayam āyāti, ayam āgacchati* "here he comes, here he arrives" must therefore be considered as an instance of natural variation in the choice of words. In calling, exclaiming, or attracting a person's attention short sentences are often repeated, and this repetition is in a frequency of cases not literal: the schema of the former utterance may be retained, but one or more of its elements is replaced by synonyms: among Dutch street-hawkers there are many masters in this application of 'rhetorical figures': *mooie kamerplanten, twee kwartjes het stuk, vijftig centen het stuk* "nice indoor plants, a shilling each, two sixpence each". If we do not succeed in making ourselves understood in asking or ordering something we are all of us in repeating the question or order apt to alter part of it, whether

¹²) Similarly in Italian: K. Sachs, Zs. f. rom. Phil. 20, (1896), p. 494.

we believe our interlocutor to have misunderstood that particular part of our first utterance or not: a post-office clerk selling stamps to a deaf or inattentive man : 20 cent : : ? : : *twee dubbeltjes*.

Similar variations often occur in emotional speech: the other day I heard an angry woman exclaim: *daar gaat het helemaal niet om ! ; daar gaat het absoluut niet om* "that is entirely beside the question, that is absolutely b. the q.". Or a little boy appalled at the ruin of a toy: *ze hebben het gemold, ze hebben het kapot gemaakt*. Authors who attach much value to a correct reproduction of natural colloquial speech may also provide us with many examples: Duhamel, *Le combat contre les ombres* (Merc. de Fr. 11e éd.) p. 81 (a young man in love is speaking) *là est mon foyer, là est ma chère maison*; 284 (letter of a young man in similar conditions) *chère Jacqueline, J. chérie, mon amie, mon cher amour*; the same, Cécile parmi nous I, p. 12 *ne proteste pas, ne te défends pas*. In giving an answer the choice and order of words is sometimes altered: R.V. 3, 33, 9 and 10 is an instructive example because the order is in both lines essentially determined by the tendencies regulating the position of the vocative¹³) and that of enclitics: *o śu svasārah kārave śṛṇota . . . : ā te kāro śṛṇavāmā vacāṃsi*. Cf. also Homer ζ 57 and 69.

There is no denying that rhythmic and metrical factors may make their influence felt: the Dutch slogan *geld moet er wezen, geld moet er zijn* "there must be money" does not only consist of a very usual pair of alternate lines, but *zijn* was also made to rhyme with another line. Cf., in Greek, Homer, ζ 150 : 153; A 299. Similar metrical factors may be assumed to have played a part in e. g. AV. 6, 137, 3 *āgram yacha vi madhyam yāmayasādhe* "stretch the end, make the middle stretch out"; 1, 34, 2 *jihvāyā agre madhu me jihvāmūle madhūlakam* "at the tip of my tongue honey, at the root of my t. honeyedness"; 3, 18, 5 *aham asmi sahamānātho tvam asi sāsahīh* "I am overpowering, and you are very powerful".¹⁴) Similarly, BhG. 2, 6 *yad vā jayema yadi vā no jayeyuh* "whether we should conquer (them), or they sh. c. us". The schema line Mbh. 14, 26, 1a *ekah śāstā na dvītiyo 'sti śāstā* is 2a repeated in this form *eko gurur nāsti tato dvītiyo . . .* Compare also such fourfold repetitions as Mbh. 14, 25, 12; 27, 5. Not infrequently speakers are inclined to make the second member of a parallel or symmetric structure shorter, complete repetition being a superfluity: *Mina is een echte oude dame, Annie is nog jong*; a Malay instance, Sedj. Mal. p. 177 S. *hendak durhakalah kamu sekalian, hendak durhakalah?* "do you want to be unfaithful, all of you, d. y. w. t. b. u. ?". Although the exigencies of metrum and versification generally speaking counteract this tendency there are many instances to be found in a variety of texts and frequently these selfsame factors bring about this kind of variation: Kāl. Pur. 46, 104 *pitṛdattā bhavet kanyā tapodattā bhaven na hi*. Cases are

¹³) For which I refer to another article which is in course of preparation.

¹⁴) Other instances may be found in A. Beth, *Variatieverschijnselen in het Oud-Indisch*, Thesis Utrecht 1943, p. 48 ff.; cf. also p. 1 ff.

however not wanting in which some subtle syntactic difference or other has turned the scale in favour of a deviation from the preceding part of the utterance. JB. 1, 133 in discussing an alternative has: *yad iśānam indreti pratihared, iśāno yajamānasya paśūn abhimānukaḥ syāt* "if . . . , then the lord would be injurious with regard to the cattle of the sacrificer", a sentence which is immediately followed by *atha yac chānam i. pratiharati, neśāno y. p. abhimanyate* "if . . . , the lord does not intend to injure the c. . . .": in the latter sentence two processes are simply affirmed and negated, in the former the lord's being injurious—a nominal construction often preferred in describing an event as a 'fait accompli'—is seen as a contingency¹⁵), dependent on another contingency.

This type of modification of strictly symmetric structures may develop into rather complicated varieties: ŚB. 11, 4, 2, 16 *pradagdhāhutir ha vā anyo 'dhvaryuḥ, āhutir hānyaḥ samtarpayati* "one adhvaryu, indeed, burns the oblations, and another satisfies the o." (Eggeling). The parallel 'standard type' may even be almost completely lost: Manu 9, 116 *evam samud-dhrtoddhāre samāṃśān prakalpayet | uddhāre 'nuddhrte tveśām iyaṃ syād aṃśakalpanā* "if a special portion has thus been selected one should allot equal shares; but if no selection has been made, the allotment of the shares among them shall be as follows": here the root syllable of the verb *prakalpayet* is the only element returning in vertical correspondence. In other cases the parallelism is evident, the exigencies of versification determining a few variations in the choice of words: Mbh. 14, 28, 9 *yo hy asya pārthivo bhāgaḥ prthivī sa gamiṣyati | yad asya vārijaṃ kiṃcid apas tat sampravekṣyati*. Cf. also 14, 28, 19. Elsewhere any reminiscence of a symmetrical structure has been carefully avoided, although the thoughts expressed run exactly parallel: Kāl. Ragh. 10, 38 and 39. Kāvya authors, however, knew how to vary the more or less symmetric schemata of colloquial usage in an artistic way: Bāṇa, Hc. p. 27 F. *kasminn avatitṛṣati te puṇyabhāji pradēṣe hrdayam? kāni vā tīrthāny anugrahītum abhilaṣasi? keṣu vā dhanyeṣu tapodhanadhāmasu tapasyanti śhātum icchasi?*

It has already been observed in the introduction that this mode of expression is also very suitable for emphasizing an antithesis. Mbh. 14, 26, 14 *pāpena vicaran loke pāpacāri bhavaty ayam | śubhena v. l. śubhacāri bh. uta*: the very consistent vertical correspondence throws the words that matter most into relief. Cf. e. g. also Manu 3, 136. "Die Antithese als asyndetische Gegenüberstellung von Gegensätzen strebt von selbst nach paralleler Gliederung der gegenübergestellten Satzteile (Isokola) bzw. Sätze und ist gerne mit Assonanz und Reim verbunden."¹⁶) The order of words in antithetically balanced clauses is indeed often strikingly symmetrical : cf. also Mbh. 14, 27, 4 *naitad asti prthak bhāvaḥ kiṃcid*

¹⁵) For the 'fait accompli' see the author's article on the periphrastic future in 'Lingua', vol. 6, p. 158 ff.; for the function of the optative: 'The character of the I.-E. moods', Wiesbaden 1956, ch. V.

¹⁶) Hofmann, Lat. Gramm., p. 805.

anyat tataḥ sukham / *n. a. ap. bh. k. duḥkhataram tataḥ*. In proverbs and maxims this character of the symmetrical antithesis is much in evidence: Mbh. 14, 44, 18 *sukhasyāntam sadā duḥkham duḥkasyāntam sadā sukham*; 22, 5 *gunājñānam avijñānam guñajñānam abhijñatā*. By contrasting two thoughts in the pregnant form of two symmetrical lines the author is able to suggest a more general fundamental thought underlying both parts of the utterance, for instance in Mbh. 14, 44, 18 "no psychical experience is lasting". Mbh. 11, 17, 13. One might compare here the predilection for antithetical expression in Greek: Lys. 21, 19 *μη μόνον τῶν δημοσίων λητοργιῶν μεμνησθαι, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἰδίων ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἐνθουμείσθαι*¹⁷⁾, and in Egyptian pyramid texts: "spirit toward heaven, corpse toward the earth"; "salutation to thee, O good one, in peace—if thou lovest me, I love thee; I reject thee, O evil one,—if thou rejectest me, I reject thee".

It seems worth while mentioning that also outside parallelism there is a certain tendency to vertical correspondence. Successive lines, e. g. the two halves of a śloka, not rarely contain an identical or similar form at a corresponding place: Mbh. 14, 43, 39 *ādimadhyāvasānāntam sṛjyamānam acetanam* / *na guṇā vidur ātmānam sṛjyamānāḥ punaḥ punaḥ*; 3, 74, 12 *aham apy aśvakuśalah sūtatve ca pratiṣṭhitah* / *ṛtuparṇena sārathye bhojane ca vṛtaḥ svayam*; 3, 66, 8a *sakhā ca te bhaviṣyāmi*: c *laghuś ca te bh.* Cf. also 3, 64, 103; 109; 65, 1; 74, 26.

The component parts of a parallel group sometimes occur in special positions. In metrical texts the group is not rarely divided in such a way that the members find their places in different pādas, immediately before and after the caesura or elsewhere. Starting an enumeration of facts with the compounds we recall such lines as AV. 1, 19, 1 *I mā no vidan vivyādhino* / *mo abhivyādhino vidan* "let not the piercers find us, nor let the penetrators find (us)": we might imagine a stanza in which the pair *viv. abhiv.* would be placed in the same pāda or a double pāda in which these words occupy corresponding positions¹⁸⁾; 23, 4 *I asthijasya kilāsasya* / *tanūjasya ca yat tvaci*, where *a. t. ca* constitute an attributive word group which has been split up and for rhythmical reasons been placed in two successive pādas but, now, in such a way that they occupy the initial positions and their identical second members form a case of 'responson'; 2, 4, 6 *I kṛtyā-dūṣir ayaṃ maṇir* / *atho arātidūṣiḥ* "witchcraft-spoiling is this amulet, likewise niggard-spoiling", where the relevant compounds occupy the first and the last position of the semi-stanza; 2, 7, 3 *I divo mūlam avatatam* / *prthivyā adhy uttatam* "from the sky (is) the root stretched down, from the earth stretched up" where they, expressing an antithesis, constitute a case of epiphora; cf. also 6, 9, 2 I; 109, 1 I; 4, 10, 5 I; 6, 21, 3 II etc. The position before and after the caesura is often preferred: 6, 131, 3 I

¹⁷⁾ See e.g. Denniston, o.c., p. 70 ff.

¹⁸⁾ Cf. also instances like 3, 24, 5 *I śatahasta samāhara* / *sahasrahasta sam kira* expresses a climax, cf. RV. 8, 1, 9 (in the same pāda) *śatino ye sahasrinah*; AV. 5, 15, 11 *ś. ca me s. ca*; VS. 17, 2 *ś. ca s. ca* etc.

in a climax *yad dhāvasi triyojanam / pañcay. āśvinam*; 4, 18, 4 . . . *viśikhān / vigrivān*; 5, 7, 7 *veda tvāham nimivantiṃ / nitudantiṃ arāte*; cf. 3, 9, 6 I. It is self-evident that this position of a pair of words which etymologically and syntactically belong together does not fail to exert a strong influence upon the structure of the stanza; it is an excellent means of connecting *pādas* and of welding them together into a larger unit. It is therefore no wonder that the poets of other ancient IE. peoples likewise availed themselves of this opportunity. Homer, ι 123 *ἀλλ' ἢ γ' ἄσπαρτος / καὶ ἀνήροτος ἡματα πάντα*; Δ 540 *ὅς τις ἔτ' ἄβλητος / καὶ ἀνούτατος ὀξεί χαλκῷ*; Hes. Op. 715 *μηδὲ πολύξεινον / μηδ' ἄξεινον καλέεσθαι*. In epic and classical Sanskrit instances are likewise extremely numerous: Mbh. 3, 68, 3 *sa vai dyūte jito bhrātrā / hṛtarājyo mahīpatiḥ*; Bhaṭṭik. 19, 3 *devadryaṇco narāhārā / ny-añcaś ca dviṣatām gaṇāḥ* "the man-eaters (may be made) god-rivalling, and the hosts of their enemies be laid low".

VIII

ALLITERATION

Most obvious among the stylistic devices of the ancient Romans, Germans and other peoples is the recurrence of the same initial sound or group of sounds in succeeding words ¹⁾. Although this subject—which was made the thema of many monographies on stylistics or versification in Latin and other European languages—has with regard to Vedic and Sanskrit been much neglected for many years, there can be hardly any doubt that it was also a feature of the ancient Indian literary style. Even in languages which have no special predilection for initial assonance it may arise spontaneously and unconsciously: “L’allitération réalisée par une rencontre fortuite peut passer inaperçue: quel abonné au téléphone aura remarqué celle que lui offre sa feuille de redevance: *en venant verser, présenter le présent relevé*” ²⁾. In my Stilistische studie over AV. I-VII ³⁾ I wrote, in discussing these occurrences of alliteration, that they are not very rare; in Dutch: *ze zijn niet zeer zeldzaam*, unconsciously producing another instance of spontaneous alliteration. One day I heard a Dutch lady say *sloven en slaven* for “to drudge”, an expression which is unknown to me from other sources. As a rule these instances arrest the hearer’s attention only if they affect accentuated or otherwise important words or if a larger number of them occur in succession: *Leentje leerde Lotje lopen langs de lange lindelaan* and other such “stock examples of troublesome phonetics” ⁴⁾ like *Peter Piper picked a peck of pickled peppers*. It is however not always easy to ascertain how far an individual case of alliteration is, on the part of the speaker, studied, deliberate or conscious and how far it is noticed or stylistically appreciated by the hearer. Passages such as AV. 2, 12, 6 *tapūṃsi tasmai vṛjināni santu* “for him let his wrong deeds be burnings”; 3, 13, 1 *nadyo nāma stha* “you are streams by name”; 6, 62, 3 *vaiśvānarīm varcasa ā ramadhvam*; or, alternating with non-alliterative vocables, 2, 28, 1 *memam anye mṛtyavaḥ*; 3, 18, 5; 6, 20, 3;

¹⁾ The term alliteration is, it is true, often used in the larger sense of recurrence of the same consonantal sound in the stressed syllables of two or several words. Keith, History of Sanskrit literature, p. 49 applies it also to the figure of sound represented by *abhyastanāmo rudradāmo*. It will however be convenient to use the name, in this chapter, in the above way. For the history of the term alliteration which was coined in the XVth century see Norden, Ant. Kunstprosa, p. 59. See A. Cordier, L’allitération latine, Paris 1939, p. 1 ff.

²⁾ J. Marouzeau, Précis de stylistique française, Paris 1946, p. 28.

³⁾ O.c., p. 84.

⁴⁾ L. Bloomfield, Language, London 1935, p. 395.

29, 1; 42, 2; 49, 1 etc. do not, in any case, seem to be of any particular interest. A formula such as AV. 6, 63, 2 *namo 'stu te nirṛte* cannot be adduced as an example of deliberate use either: it recurs with many proper names other than Nirṛti's. ŚB. 3, 3, 1, 10 too the alliteration is a mere coincidence: *patnyai padam pratiparāharanti*; cf. ChU. 1, 3, 8; GobhGS. 1, 2, 5; 8, 18; 2, 1, 10. Occasionally however a passage furnishes us with valuable indications proving that the author consciously and intentionally resorted to the device under consideration: BārU. 5, 2, 3 "The heavenly voice of thunder repeats *da da da*, i. e. control yourselves, give, be compassionate": *damyata, datta, dayadhvam*.

A more or less 'instinctive' application of this device must, in discussing its occurrences, not be left out of account. Not rarely alliteration, like other kinds of sound repetition, is a result of 'affekt-motorische Prozesse', that is to say: a speaker may, under the influence of strong emotions, be inclined to repeat the same sound or sounds; reiteration and repetition of the same sound groups helps him to regain his peace of mind or psychical equilibrium: astonishment may induce us to say, in Dutch, *ik snap er geen snars van* "I don't understand a bit of it".

Terms of abuse or endearment often follow each other so as to constitute alliterative groups: in Dutch *vuile viezerik*; *schoft, schooier, schoelje*, or compounds such as *leegloper, flikflooiër, nietsnut, melkmuil*; the Homeric *Α 385 παρθενοπίνα; Γ 50; Δ 339*; in Javanese *tjatjandala, tjutjundik, kokulandara* ⁵⁾. "Alliteration und eine weite Sperrung machen den Vers Plaut. Rud. 511 *pulmoneum edepol nimis velim vomitum vomas* im Verein mit . . . *vomitum vomas* zu einem höchst wirkungsvollen Kraftausdruck" ⁶⁾; *ibid.* 49. Similarly in emphatic orders: in Sundanese *geura gesat-gesut, geuwat indit*; in curses, Jav. *I babo, bodjèng belis lanat djedjègan*, with a very expressive b. Compare, in Sanskrit, Rām. 4, 17, 23 *satām veśadharam pāpam | pracchannam iva pāvakam* where the repetition of the initial p seems to have reinforced the scornful character of the utterance.

Alliteration may also serve imitative or sound symbolic purposes: *jangling and jarring*. Any reduplication involves an element of alliterative repetition. Terms such as the Skt. *ghurghura-* "growling (of a dog or cat)", *jhiñjhi* "cricket", *jhañjhā* "the noise of the wind" are in a way alliterative ⁷⁾. That poets sometimes availed themselves of the opportunities offered by this device may appear from Aśv. S. 2, 54 *divi dundubhaya nedur | divyatām marutām iva* "drums thundered in the heavens as if the storm gods were at play". Compare, in Greek, Hes. Op. 747 . . . *κρόξῃ λαρέ-*

⁵⁾ Quoted by Bijleveld, o.c., p. 69 from Verhandeligen Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, 44, p. 284, 15.

⁶⁾ H. Haffter, Untersuchungen zur altlatein. Dichtersprache, Thesis Freiburg i. Br. 1934, p. 24. — For alliteration in Latin etc. see also F. O. Weise, Charakteristik der lat. Sprache⁴, Leipzig-Berlin 1920, p. 47; 181.

⁷⁾ For other instances see e.g. M. Grammont, Traité de phonétique, Paris 1933, p. 380 ff.

puṣa rogāṁ. A musical effect is achieved e. g. in the *Gītāgovinda*, in which lines such as 9, 2 *mādhava mā kuru mānini mānam aye* "haughty woman, don't show your wounded pride to M." bear testimony to Jayadeva's artistic and effective simplicity. Similar instances are to be found in other *kāvya* works: *Māgha*, Śiś. 18, 54 . . . *kāye kūjan kambur uccair jahāsa*. Hardly fortuitous is also *Rām*. 2, 56, 2 *śṛṇu vanyānām | valgu vyāharatām svanam*.

The phenomenon at issue is further not rarely a concomitant of adnomination, anaphora, parallelism in sentence structure and other types of word repetition: *RV*. 1, 75, 4 *sakhā sakhibhya idyaḥ*; 113, 1 *yathā prasūtā savituh savāya*; 24, 8 *apade pādā pratidhātave 'ka*; 10, 14, 9 *apeta vīta vi ca sarpatātāḥ*; *AV*. 7, 70, 1 *yajñair juhōti haviṣā yajuṣā*; 8, 4, 20 *indram dipsanti dipsavo 'dābhyam*; *AiB*. 2, 2, 12 *yajñāc ca yajamānāc ca*; 1, 6, 4 *sarveṣām chandasām sāyujyaṁ sarūpatām salokatām aśnute*; 7, 2 *prāṇānām klptyai prāṇānām pratiprajñātyai*; 11, 3 *prāṇā vai prayājāḥ prajānuyājā*; 13, 18 *rājño rājabhrātaro* . . . ; 23, 2 *upasadam upāyan*; 2, 14, 7; 17, 8; 27, 4 ff.

In epic, classic and post-classic works alliteration likewise often combines with other kinds of sound repetition: in addition to the instances already mentioned: *BhG*. 2, 45 *nirdvandvo nityasattvastho | niryogakṣema ātmavān*; *Kāl. R*. 2, 30; *LiP*. 70, 69 *prajāḥ prajānām pataya*. Cf. also the type *Kāl. R*. 10, 72 *svargo | gām gatam* (cf. 11, 85). *Kauś*. 76, 24 two assonant words of the same rhythm are followed by a word which has its initial syllable in common with the first term: *sumāngali prajāvati susīme*⁸). Ancient expressive, imitative and onomatopoetic values of the device — remember the *Rgvedic* 7, 103, 3 *akḥkhalīkṛtya* "having made a croak"; 6, 53, 7; 8 *ā rikha kikirā kṛṇu* "scratch, rend into rags"⁹) — could in this way be revived and sometimes even artificially applied or exaggerated.

The above tendencies and procedures may be regarded to have furthered, in the circles of those who produced and heard these texts, a sense of the value and effectiveness of initial sound repetition. A frequent use of phrases of the type, in Dutch *weer of geen weer* "in all weathers" (lit. "w. or no w.") may have trained the ear and sharpened the mind so as to make them more alive to the subtleties and possibilities of alliteration. Word groups which are essentially or etymologically paronomastic not rarely are practically alliterative in character: *RV*. 1, 48, 14 *śukreṇa śociṣā* "with bright light"; 51, 9 *vṛddhasya cid vardhataḥ* "of the one who though, indeed, grown, grows"; 54, 2 *arcā śakrāya śākinē śacivāte* "singe dem mächtigen, dem machtreichen, machtvollen" (Geldner); *TS*. 1, 4, 14, 1 *śukraś ca śuciś ca*; 3, 3, 3, 2 *śukrāsu te śukra śukram ā dhūnomi*. Part of these instances are examples of pseudo-paronomasia: *RV*. 10, 40, 3 *prātar*

⁸) For combination of alliteration and rhyme in Latin, see e.g. Palmer, o.c., p. 88; in Indonesian languages, Bijleveld, o.c., p. 68; 73.

⁹) See W. D. Whitney, Sanskrit grammar, § 1091a.

jarethe jaraneva "in the morning ye wake up like two old men" ¹⁰); cf. also JB. 2, 292 *vācā vadati*. Of special interest are in this connection complicated instances of sound repetition such as RV. 7, 88, 3 *pra preṅkha iṅkha-yāvahai śubhe kam* "we will swing ourselves in the swing . . .": two ordinary syntactic constructions, the so-called tmesis and the paronomasia involve initial repetition and assonance or 'internal alliteration'.

Accumulation of synonyms—i. e. words which are related or slightly differentiated in sense or usage—being a widespread means of emphasizing ¹¹), of meeting the requirements of religious, magical or juridical accuracy and satisfying the desire of expressing oneself in binary structures, and alliteration conveying the selfsame idea of partial identity, twin formulas and fixed phrases such as, in German, *Schutz und Schirm*, in Latin *purus putus* enjoy general popularity in many languages. They often express unity in duality, bipartite unity, two aspects of one and the same idea ¹²). Twin formulas often alliterate: in Old Norse in about 1/7 of the instances collected by Krause ¹³), e. g. *liúft ok leitt* "weal and woe"; *meiri eda minni* "more or less"; in Dutch: *in rep en roer* "(there was) a great stir"; *bont en blauw* "(to beat) black and blue"; *in lief en leed* "for better for worse"; *wel en wee* "weal and woe"; *op stel en sprong* "abruptly"; *van top tot teen* "from top to toe"; in Latin, Plaut. Amph. 730 *sana et salva* > Fr. *sain et sauf*; cf. Eng. *sane and sound*; Eng. *spick and span*, *kith and kin*, *hearth and home*; *fond and foolish*; Germ. *Haus und Hof*, *Land und Leute*; Lith. *gúdinczo ir gývanczo*; *greitai ir gražėi*. In Sanskrit one of every thirteen instances collected by the same scholar is alliterative, a relation which can hardly be completely due to chance, the less so as all occurrences of paronomasia or repeated prefixes were not included in the sum total. Examples are: *somaś ca surā ca* "the soma and spirituous liquor"; AiB. 3, 10, 4 *prajayā paśubhiḥ* "with offspring and cattle" (cf. AiB. 3, 7, 5; ChU. 5, 19, 2); ĀpŚS. 2, 3, 11 *sruvaṃ ca srucaś ca* "the small and the large wooden sacrificial ladles"; VS. 14, 6; TS. 1, 4, 14, 1 *śukraś ca śuciś ca* (the two summer months); VS. 14, 15 *nabhaś ca nabhasyaś ca* (the months of the rainy season); VSK. 10, 4, 5 *kṛṣyai kṣemāya*; VS. 9, 22 *kṛṣyai tvā kṣemāya tvā* "thee for land culture, thee for peace and quiet"; RV. 2, 25, 2 *tokaṃ ca tasya tanayaṃ ca vardhate*; RV. 4, 21, 8 *vidad gaurasya gavayasya goke*; MS. 2, 9, 8 *namo grhyāya ca goṣṭhyāya ca*; TS. 4, 5, 9, 1 *namo goṣṭhyāya ca grhyāya ca*; VS. 18, 15 *vasu ca me vasatiś ca me*; GobhGS. 1, 2, 5 *pāṇi pādan*; 4, 5, 8 *tapas ca tejaś ca*; cf. also BhG. 10, 4 *na . . . / vidur devā na dānavāḥ*. It is obvious that the remarkable alliterative effect gives to these phrases a greater cohesion and emphasizes the close relation existing between their components. The frequent occurrence of alliteration in

¹⁰) See Geldner, Der Rigveda in Auswahl, II, Stuttgart 1909, p. 160.

¹¹) Cf. also F. Boas, Primitive Art, p. 319.

¹²) Cf. also Th. Siebs, Zs. f. deutsche Philologie 29, p. 407.

¹³) W. Krause, Die Wortstellung in den zweigliedrigen Wortverbindungen, KZ. 50, p. 121 ff., who is mistaken in considering this alliteration a 'Schmuckmittel'.

fixed phrases of this kind, in combinations of proper names and in other idiomatic groups proves that the phenomenon under discussion could have a connective and distinctive function.

Combinations such as R.V. 10, 14, 9 *ahobhir adbhīr aktubhir* . . . remind us of the tricola with alliteration in Latin: Plaut. Men. 114 *retines, revocas, rogitas* ¹⁴).

Sometimes alliteration may emphasize a notional opposition: in Latin, *non semel sed saepius*; Tac. Ann. 4, 31 *superbiam in nos, saevitiam in populares*. Cf. BārU. 4, 4, 5 *puṇyaḥ puṇyena karmaṇā bhāvati, pāpaḥ pāpenā; puñña* is also in Pāli the opposite of *pāpa*; hence the frequent combination (e. g. Manu 8, 91) *puṇyapāpa*-.

Sayings, proverbs, fixed phrases, often belonging to colloquial usage rather than to the written standard form of a language, very often alliterate: not only those of the type Dutch *in kannen en kruiken* "cut and dried"; *paal en perk stellen* "set bounds to"; *zonder blikken of blozen* "without a blush"; *in rep en roer* "in commotion"; *kant en klaar* "ready to hand"; *willens en wetens* "knowingly and willingly"; *denken en doen* "thinking and doing"; in German *braun und blau*,—but also those like the Dutch *rust roest* "to rest is to rust", the Latin *fortes fortuna adiuvat*; *mense Maio malae nubunt*; the Greek *ἀγαθοὶ δ' ἀπίδαρχοις ἄρδρες* ¹⁵), the Malay *pikir itu pelita hati* "thought is the lamp of the mind" ¹⁶). There is no denying that the very repetition of partly identical words makes these expressions vigorous and expressive. The alliteration which must have been deeply rooted in at least part of the pre-historic Indo-European soil underlines the notional relations between the main terms of these expressions. May we compare BārU. 3, 1, 2 *katham nu no brahmiṣṭho bruviṭa* "how can he declare himself to be the wisest brahman among us?" and ChU. 5, 3, 6 *vittasya varam vṛṇthāḥ?* The device under discussion may therefore appear in emotional and pathetic passages ¹⁷), not only in deliberately effective language, but also in popular and colloquial usage. In Ter. Eun. 687 *quem tu videre vero velles* the alliteration seems to underline the popular character of the expression. Alliterative proverbs were not unknown to the ancient Indians: Mbh. 12, 203, 13 *ahir eva hy aheḥ pādān paśyati*; Rām. B. 2, 76, 25 *nāsti putrāt param priyam*; Mbh. 2, 81, 8 and 5, 34, 81 ¹⁸); Hitop. 1, 11 *daridre dīyate dānam saphalam*. If Geldner ¹⁹) was right in believing R.V. 3, 53, 5 *vimocanam vājino rāsabhasya* "the unharnessing of the ass possessed of *vāja*—" to have been 'sprichwörtlich' it may be quoted as an early example. More evident is the paronomastic R.V. 7, 32, 8 *prṇann it prṇate mayah* "only the bounteous is a pleasure

¹⁴) For other examples see L. R. Palmer, The Latin language, London 1954, p. 87.

¹⁵) See H. Usener, Altgriech. Versbau, 1887, p. 44.

¹⁶) For other examples see Bijleveld, o.c., p. 69 f.

¹⁷) For Indonesian examples see Bijleveld, o.c., p. 68.

¹⁸) Cf. E. W. Hopkins, Am. J. of Phil. 20, p. 23; other instances on p. 35.

¹⁹) Geldner, Der Rigveda in Auswahl, II, Stuttgart 1909, p. 57.

for the bounteous". AiB. 3, 39 etc. *sudhāyām ha vai vāji suhito dadhāti* "a horse well loaded gives (its rider) comfort" is introduced by the formula *tad vai yad idam ākuḥ* "this is why they say: . . .".

In the frequent fixed phrases and other syntactic groups of the type *with might and main, as flat as a flounder, as busy as a bee, as cool as a cucumber, from top to toe*; in Dutch *met man en macht, in vuur en vlam, willens en wetens, zo groen als gras, zo vrij als een vogel*; in Italian, *fuoco e fiamma*; in German, *im Groszen und Ganzen; gleich und gleich gesellt sich gern; mit Mann und Maus*²⁰); in Latin, *sanus sartus*²¹)—cf. Verg. Aen. 6, 683 *fataque fortunasque virum moresque manusque*—there is a definite and, in expressions of the same type and length, constant, interval between the two occurrences of the same initial sound, a fact which does not fail to attract the hearer's attention and to make the alliteration clearly audible. Ancient Indian texts offer many parallels of interest. There can be hardly any doubt that, for instance, ChU. 5, 2, 1 *yat kiṃ cid idam ā śvabhya ā śakunibhyaḥ* "whatever there is here, even unto dogs and birds" was a popular phrase in which these two representatives of the animal kingdom were preferred to other animals only because of their alliterative names.

Very often the word pairs or syntactic groups of the above description constitute or form part of a mantra or even a metrical unit: ṚV. 1, 148, 5 *na yaṃ ripavo na riṣanyavo . . .* "whom neither adversaries nor deceitful men"; 1, 65, 7 (with rhyme) *jāmiḥ sindhūnām bhrāteva svasrām*; AV. 7, 12, 1 *sabhā ca nā samitiś cāvatām*; 8, 7, 12 *madhumat parṇaṃ madhumat puṣpam āsām*. Compare also MŚS. 7, 2, 6 *bhūmir asi bhūtir nāma . . .*; cf. also BhG. 3, 37 *kāma eṣa krodha eṣa* "it is desire, it is wrath"; 5, 18 *śuni caiva śvapāke ca* "in a dog and an outcaste". This structure may be regarded as producing, to a certain extent, an effect similar to that of the well-known paronomastic structure TS. 1, 4, 11, 1 *tapas ca tapasyaś ca* and the repetitional formulas of the type ṚV. 10, 183, 1 *tapaso jātam tapaso vibhūtam*; 7, 51, 3.

Whereas the symmetrical character of the above examples is more or less obvious a similar alternation between alliterative and non-alliterative syllables appears in TS. 1, 6, 3, 2 *juṣṭir asi juṣasva naḥ*; MS. 3, 16, 4 *madhu reto mādhaveḥ pātv asmān*; ṚV. 3, 6, 2 *vacyantām te vahnayaḥ saptañihvāḥ* "thy seven-tongued draught animals should hurry along"; 7, 57, 1 *madhvo vo nāma mārutaṃ yajatrāḥ* / . . . ; 10, 61, 7 *vāstoḥ patim vratapām nir atakṣan* "they fashioned the Lord of the homestead who holds the ordinances"; 10, 101, 3 *yunakta sīrā vi yugā tanudhvam* "schirret die Pflüge an, stecket die Joche auf!" (Geldner); 10, 119, 4 *vāsrā putram iva priyam*;

²⁰) Cf. W. G. Smith-J. E. Hesseltine, The Oxford dictionary of English proverbs, Oxford 1935, p. 45-46; about 25 % of the cases enumerated are alliterative. Vergleiche also O. Behaghel, Die deutsche Sprache, Halle (S.) 1954, p. 98 f.

²¹) Cf. also Marouzeau, Traité de stylistique appliquée au latin, p. 43; H. Diels, Zur Geschichte der Alliteration, Sitz. Ber. Berlin 1914, p. 467; Wölfflin, Sitz. Ber. München 1881, p. 1 ff.; 38 ff.

9, 107, 6 *madhvā yajñam mimikṣa nah*; 1, 142, 3 *madhvā yajñam mimikṣati* "mixes the sacrifice with honey"; 10, 147, 2; cf. also AV. 6, 100, 1 etc.

This phenomenon leads to the discussion of the connective function of alliteration. As soon as an audience has a just sense of alliteration, as soon as its attention is arrested by these intervals and alternations, as soon as alliteration has become a means of throwing syntactic relations into relief it is apt to fulfil a connective function in versification: it may display its connective force beyond the limits of a smaller metrical unit (*pāda* etc.) and substantially add to the unity and the homogeneity of a stanza or half-stanza. Cf. e. g. Mbh. 11, 6, 6 *ye ca te kathitā vyālā / vyādhayas te prakīrtitāḥ*. It may also, under favourable circumstances, emphasize a passage, or enhance its force, energy and expressiveness²²). As is well known alliteration has in the western Indo-European, and especially in the German, languages, played an important part, characterizing, connecting and throwing into relief the main elements of a verse and being an essential factor in versification²³). Ancient German lines such as e. g. Beowulf 1271 *ginfæste gife, ðe him God sealde*; (from an Old English charm) *stōd under līnde, under lēohtum scylde*, (an ancient German 'Langzeile'²⁴) *jo en was ich niht ein eber wilde, so sprach das wip*, Latin examples of the types Naev. 32, 2 *sanctus Iove prognatus / Pythius Apollo*; Liv. Andr. 20, 2 *me carpento vehementem / meam domum venisse*; Naev. 34 *scopas atque verbenas / sagmina sumpserunt*²⁵) may be paralleled by a large number of Vedic double *pādas* in which the latter half is bound to the former by alliteration. However, in the relevant Indian passages this alliteration has never developed into a systematically applied technique, it has never become a regular device in the art of making verses; it is neither characterized by internal regularity nor completely dissociated from mere word repetition and paronomasia^{26a}). In this it resembles the likewise unsystematic use of connective alliteration in other ancient languages: cf. e. g. in Greek *Ξ 184 f. κρηδέμνω δ' ἐφύπερθε καλύφατο δία θεάων / καλῶ*; 66 *τείχος δ' οὐκ ἔχραισμε τετυγμένον οὐδέ τι τάφρος*, Hes. Op. 331^{26b}).

²²) See also Acta Orientalia 18, p. 50 ff.

²³) Cf. e.g. Habermann, Reall. d. deutschen Literaturgeschichte I, p. 18 f.; A. Heusler, in Hoops, Reall. d. Germanischen Altertumskunde IV, p. 231 ff.; the same, Deutsche Versgeschichte, Berlin-Leipzig 1925 I, p. 92 ff.; J. Schipper, A history of English versification, Oxford 1910, p. 50 ff.; F. Kauffmann, Deutsche Metrik³, Marburg 1912, p. 11 ff.; F. Saran, Deutsche Verslehre, München 1907, passim; P. Lejay, Histoire de la littérature latine, Paris, p. 141 ff.; W. M. Lindsay, Early Latin Verse, Oxford, 1922, p. 9; J. Lindemann, Die Alliteration als Kunstform im Volks- und Spielmannsepos, Thesis Breslau 1914; F. Gennrich, Grundriss einer Formenlehre des mittelalterlichen Liedes, Halle 1932.

²⁴) See J. A. Huisman, Neue Wege zur . . . Technik Walthers von der Vogelweide, Thesis Utrecht 1950, p. 13 ff.

²⁵) For Greek and other parallels see Acta Or. 18, p. 74 f.

^{26a}) For further particulars see Acta Or. 18, p. 72 ff.

^{26b}) For alliteration in the Greek epics see P. Shewan, Alliteration and assonance in Homer, Class. Phil. 1929, p. 193 ff.

Turning now to a discussion of alliteration as a means of binding a second pāda to a preceding one²⁷⁾ we may, from the large number of instances offered in the mantra collections, quote the following examples: AV. 3, 24, 5 *śatahasta samāhara / sahasrahasta sam kira*, and likewise with vertical parallelism 4, 6, 8 *vadhrayas te khanitāro / vadhris tvam asy ośadhe*; with internal word repetition: 6, 59, 1; with vertical correspondence and alliteration: 3, 10, 7 *pūrṇā darve parā pata / supūrṇā punar ā pata*. Elsewhere two or more important and corresponding elements of two successive pādas which constitute, each of them, a separate sentence, are connected by alliteration: AV. 4, 15, 2 *saṁ iksayantu taviṣāḥ sudānavo / apām rasā ośadhībhiḥ sacantām* "let the mighty, liberal ones cause to behold together; let the juices of the waters attach themselves to the herbs". Sentences exceeding one pāda are not infrequently held together by purely syntactic means such as concord etc., but also by a more or less balanced distribution of word groups: RV. 2, 33, 12 *kumāraś cit pīlaraṁ vandamānam / prati nānāma rudropayanam* "a son bows towards his father who approving approaches him, O Rudra"²⁸⁾. Very often alliteration fulfils this function: AV. 2, 4, 4 *viṣkandhaṁ sarvā rakṣāṁsi / vyāyāme sahāmahe* "we overpower in the struggle the v. (and) all demons". This kind of alliterative connection may have arisen or been furthered by its frequent occurrence in parallelisms and other more or less symmetrical structures: AV. 3, 14, 1 *saṁ vo goṣṭhena suśadā / saṁ rayyā saṁ subhūtyā*. Compare also AV. 4, 10, 1 *vātāj jāto antarikṣād / vidyuto jyotiṣas pari* "born of the wind out of the atmosphere, from the light of lightning"; RV. 9, 42, 4 *duhānah pratnam it payah / pavitre pari śicyate*; 10, 145, 2 *uttānaparṇe subhage / devajūte sahasvati* "O thou of outstretched leaves, fortunate, god-quickened, powerful"; 5, 73, 8; this procedure is sometimes an accompaniment of paronomasia or repetition: in AV. 3, 30, 3 the entire stanza is involved in the sound repetition (bh, s, v) *mā bhrātā bhrātaram dvikṣaṇ / mā svasāram uta svasā / samyañcaḥ savratā bhūtvā / vācam vadata bhadrayā* "let not brother hate brother, nor sister sister; becoming accordant, of like courses, speak words auspiciously".

Interesting observations could be made with regard to the position of the alliterative terms²⁹⁾: comparatively frequent is for instance their immediate succession, on either side of the caesura: AV. 3, 6, 2 *tān āsvattha niḥsrñhi / śatrūn vaibādhadodhataḥ*; 1, 12, 1 *vṛṣā / vātabhrajā stana-yann eti vṛṣyā*.

As the use of alliterative words may in cases like the above have been due to mere chance or, at least, to have been unconsciously produced, some passages may be added in which the words involved though probably

²⁷⁾ Other examples: Acta Orientalia 18, p. 77 f. For alliteration in Ancient Latin see Lejay, Hist. de la litt. lat. . . . , p. 141 ff.; A. W. de Groot, Revue des études latines 12 (1934), p. 284 ff.

²⁸⁾ It is my intention to revert to these structures in another publication.

²⁹⁾ See Acta Orientalia 18, p. 56 ff.

alliterating by mere chance are at the same time closely associated from a semantic or syntactical point of view: AV. 4, 9, 7 *idaṃ vidvān āñjana / satyaṃ vakṣyāmi nānṛtam* "knowing this . . . I shall speak truth . . ."; JB. 3, 187 *yady u na yājayaīṣyāmo, yajñād yaśaso 'pakramiṣyāma iti*; 2, 113; AiB. 2, 3, 10 *pīvorūpā vai paśavaḥ, . . . tad yat pīvā paśur bhavati*.

Very frequent is threefold—or even manifold—emphasis, by means of alliteration, of the salient words of two successive pādas: RV. 1, 142, 3 *narāśaṃsaḥ trir ā divo / devo deveṣu yajñīyaḥ*; 10, 101, 1 *ud budhyadhvam samanasaḥ sakhāyaḥ / sam agnim indhvam bahavaḥ sanilāḥ*. The alliterating words are often syntactically speaking closely connected: AV. 1, 15, 3 *tebhir me sarvaiḥ saṃsrāvair / dhanaṃ saṃ srāvayāmasi* "with all these confluences we make wealth flow together for me"; RV. 10, 152, 2 *svastidā viśas patir / vṛtrahā vimṛdho vaśi / vṛṣendraḥ pura etu naḥ / somapā abha-yamkaraḥ*. It should with regard to this sūkta 10, 152—which was to avert threats of aggression—be noticed that the adverb or syllable *vi* "off, away (from)" occurs no less than eight times, no doubt to reinforce the thoughts expressed by these stanzas with verbal magic. The frequent occurrence of an initial *v* in the same sūkta may perhaps be considered a means of spreading the suggestive force of the adverb *vi* over a considerable part of the utterance or to remind the hearer, in a subtle way, of the idea expressed by it: cf. st. 5 *vi manyoḥ śarma yacha / varīyo yavayā vadham*³⁰). Compare also AV. 6, 42, 1 *yathā saṃmanasau bhūtvā / sakhāyāu iva sacāva-hai* and many other passages³¹). Post-Vedic instances are e. g. Manu 2, 213 *ato 'rthān na pramādyanti / pramadāsu vipascitaḥ*; Mbh. 13, 44, 2 *ayam hi sarvadharmānām / dharmaś cintyatamo mataḥ*; 14, 17, 39 *sthānāny etāni jānīhi / janānām punyakarmaṇām*; 18, 9; 22, 24; 23, 9; 39, 4 *saṃhatya kurvate yātrām / sahitāḥ saṃghacāriṇaḥ*. Examples could easily be multiplied; Kāl. R. 12, 20.

Cases are far from rare in which all elements constituting a pāda begin with the same sound: RV. 5, 1, 12 *vaco vandāru vṛṣabhāya vṛṣṇe*. We are under the impression that AV. 1, 15, 1a *saṃ saṃ sravantu sindhavaḥ* (in *b sam* is twice repeated)—which was to accompany a ritual act consisting in bringing water together from two streams and a "confluent" (*saṃsrāvya*-) oblation—the power inherent in the last word which may have had a technical meaning (cf. 19, 1), is made effective by the repetition of the initial sound, the more so as the sequence *s. s. sr.* is also found elsewhere: 2, 26, 3a; 19, 1, 1a *s. s. sr. si. Paipp.*, *s. s. sr. nadyaḥ* Śaun.; cf. 6, 24, 1 I. AV. 1, 21, 1b *vṛtrahā vimṛdho vaśi* three epithets are connected by the initial *v.*; in pāda a Indra to whom they apply is called *viśāṃ patiḥ*, in pāda c *vṛṣā*; the same sequence occurs 8, 5, 22b; RV. 10, 152, 2b etc.³²) Cf. 6, 47, 1b *vaiśvānaro viśvakṛd viśvaśambhūḥ* (MS. 1, 3, 36b *v. viśvaśrīr v.* but Paipp. *v. pathikṛd viśvakṛṣṭiḥ*), to which compare RV. 7, 5, 2d *vaiśvānaro*

³⁰) The second half of this line occurs also elsewhere: see Vedic Concordance, p. 840.

³¹) See Acta Orientalia 18, p. 59 ff.

³²) Whitney-Lanman, o.c., p. 22.

vāyrdhāno vareṇa and 6, 8, 3d, likewise addressed to Agni or Vaiśvānara. Cf. also 3, 6, 1a; 6, 32, 2c (cf. 4, 37, 5b); 39, 1b; 2, 9, 3a *adhītir adhyagād ayam / adhi jīvapurā agan*; 6, 69, 3d; 7, 80, 2a *vr̥ṣabhaṃ vājinaṃ vayam*, however, *vayam* is often found in this particular place;³³ 7, 99, 1c. A very striking instance (all. and asson.) is 6, 18, 2 *yathā bhūmīr mṛtamanā / mṛtān mṛtamanastarā / yathota mamruṣo mana / eversyor mṛtaṃ manah*. Similarly, Mbh. 14, 16, 8 *vacanaṃ vadatām varaḥ*; Rām. 1, 50, 17 *punaṣtaṃ paripapracchā / prāñjalīḥ prayato nṛpaḥ*; 56, 22; 2, 16, 11 likewise intentionally: *vavande varadaṃ vandi vinayajño vinītavān*; ibid. 40. Aśv. S. 7, 6 *priyāṃ priyāyāḥ pratanuṃ priyaṅgum . . .* and *priyāṃ priyaṅgu-prasavāvaddātām*; 12, 17; 18, 10, no doubt intentionally: in 7, 6 the *priyaṅgu* reminds Nanda of his beloved, who was pale like the flowers of that tree; 18, 10 *kṛtsnaṃ kṛtaṃ me kṛtakārya kāryaṃ* like Rām. 1, 50, 17 produces a striking effect.

Curiously enough Indra's victory over Vṛtra is described, RV. 4, 17, 3 and 10, 111, 6, in alliterative word groups: *vadhīd vṛtraṃ vajreṇa mandasānaḥ* and *vajreṇa hi vṛtrahā vṛtram astar . . .*; cf. also RV. 1, 165, 8 *vadhīm vṛtram*. Interesting are also RV. 10, 17, 6 *prapathe patham ajaniṣṭa pūṣā* where the words *pr.* and *pa.* alliterate with the name of the god, and the suggestive AV. 7, 115, 1 *pra patetaḥ pāpi lakṣmī* "fly from here, O evil sign". RV. 1, 147, 5 this kind of alliteration combines with paronomasia: *marto martam marcayati dvayena*. Very suggestively and hardly inadvertently: RV. 10, 14, 7 *prehi prehi pathibhiḥ pūrvyebhir / yatra naḥ pūrve pitarah pareyuḥ*. Sometimes all (or most) elements of proverbial expressions are connected by the same initial sound: in Dutch *rust roest* "to rest is to rust"; *κακοῦ κόρακος κακὸν φόν*; Mṛcch. 5, 18 *kṣāraṃ kṣate prakṣipan* "throwin g salt on the wound" (notice the harsh combination *kṣ*). As is well known extended alliterations were also produced in other literatures: Ennius' lines *O Tite tute Tati tibi tanta turanne tulisti* is a famous example of ridiculous exaggeration³⁴.

Other passages in which most words of a unit alliterate are: RV. 7, 17, 5 *vaṃsya viśvā vāryāni pracetaḥ*; 7, 53, 2; AV. 4, 39, 10b *viśvāni deva vayunāni vidvān* = RV. 1, 189, 1b etc., cf. also RV. 3, 5, 6b *v. devo v. v.*; 10, 122, 2b *v. vidv. vay. sukrato*; VS. 12, 15b *v. agne vay. vidv.*; AV. 5, 20, 9c; 8, 7, 12; 12, 3, 25; 1, 17, 1a; 27, 4a; 4, 11, 4b; 5, 12, 2b; 4a = RV. 10, 110, 4a etc.; 4c = RV. 1, 124, 5c; 10, 110, 4c etc.; 7, 9, 4a, cf. RV. 6, 54, 10a; 10, 1b; 80, 1a (= TS. 3, 5, 1, 1a etc.) *pūrnā paścād uta pūrnā purastād . . .* directed to *paurṇamāsī*, the night or goddess of the full moon. Alliteration and assonance: 7, 5, 3b; 9, 2d; 19, 1a. — There are also post-Vedic instances: Mbh. 1, 188, 16; 4, 16, 28 U.; 12, 143, 2; 149, 19; 266, 21; Rām. 2, 3, 48 . . . *rājānaṃ ratham āruhya rāghavaḥ* is therefore a conscious imitation of an ancient procedure. Cf. also Kāl. R. 9, 12.

³³) See Acta Orientalia 19, p. 255.

³⁴) See also E. H. Sturtevant, Linguistic change, New York 1942, p. 53 f.; A. Meillet, Histoire de la langue latine², Paris 1933, p. 198 f.

It is worth while adding to the examples already given some instances of serial alliteration: RV. 1, 130, 4 *taṣṭeva vṛkṣam vanino ni vṛścasi*; 6 *vājeṣu vipra vājinam*; 122, 6 *śrotu naḥ śroturātīḥ suśrotuḥ suḥsetrā sindhur adbhīḥ*; 53, 7 *nībarhayo namuciṃ nāma māyjinam*; 73, 6 *vi sindhavaḥ samayā sasrur adrim*; 81, 3 *dhr̥ṣṇave dhīyate dhanā*; 85, 6 *madayadhvam maruto madhvo andhasaḥ*; 91, 11 *vayaṃ / vardhayāmo vacovidāḥ*; 1, 164, 20 *dvā suparṇā sayujā sakhāyā samānam vṛkṣam pari śasvajāte*; 3, 31, 18 *girām viśvāyur vṛṣabho vayodhāḥ*; RV.Kh. 4, 6, 9 (10, 128) *dhanañjayam dharuṇam dhārayiṣṇu*. Cf. RV. 7, 17, 5; TS. 1, 1, 4, 2 *dr̥m̐hantām duryā dyāvā-prthivyoḥ* "let them who have doors stand firm in heaven and earth". The series may be interrupted: RV. 1, 51, 5 *tvam pipror nṛmanāḥ prārujaḥ purah*; 7 *vṛścā śatoror ava viśvāni vṛṣṇyā* "cut off all the manly powers of the enemy"; 53, 10 *tvam āvitha suśravasaṃ tavotibhis / tava trāmabhir indra tūrvayānam*; 55, 6 *ava sukratuḥ sartavā apaḥ sṛjat*; 189, 1 *viśvāni deva vayunāni vidvān* (cf. 3, 5, 6); 6, 65, 5 *gotrā gavām aṅgirasō gr̥ṇanti*; 10, 18, 1 *param mṛtyo anu parehi panthām*; TS. 3, 5, 6, 2 *viśvasya te viśvāvato vṛṣṇyāvataḥ tavāgne*. An example of exaggeration is Aśv. S. 4, 17 *mūrdhnā bhayān nāma nanāma nandāḥ*. VāP. 7, 1 *ity eṣa prathamāḥ pādāḥ / prakriyārthaḥ prakīrtitaḥ* the alliteration cannot escape attention, unpoetical as the contents of the sentence are.

Double or complicated alliteration is likewise frequent: 4, 14, 5d *svaṛ yantu yaḥjamānāḥ svasti* = VS. 17, 69d etc.; 5, 12, 7b *mimānā yaḥṇam manuṣo yaḥadhvai* "shaping the sacrifice for man to sacrifice" = RV. 10, 110, 7b etc.; 6, 12, 1d = 2d = 4, 7, 1d (cf. 1, 3, 1c-5c; 6, 91, 1c); 6, 21, 1c t. a. t. a.; 47, 1a a. p. p. a.; 65, 1c etc. Sometimes the choice and the order of the words seem to have been affected by alliterative tendencies: 4, 34, 2I *anasthāḥ pūtāḥ pavanena śuddhāḥ / śucayaḥ śucim api yanti lokam*; 5I. They often constitute a means of connecting pādas: 2, 7, 4 I *pari mām pari me prajāṃ / pari naḥ pāhi yad dhanam*³⁵). Internal assonance and alliteration sometimes go together: 1, 21, 4d = 21, 4d etc. = RV. 10, 152, 5d *variyo yāvayā vadham*. This procedure is not unknown to later authors: VāP. 100, 34.

Special attention may also be drawn to some examples of two or three alliterative groups in succession: RV. 4, 34, 2 (see above); 1, 73, 9 *arvad-bhir agne arvato nṛbhir nṛn virair virān vanuyāmā tvotāḥ* (paronomasia and alliteration); AV. 3, 20, 7 *v. v. s. s. ca v.* (enumeration); 3, 54, 19 *d. d. p. p.*; 4, 54, 3 *d. d. p. p.*; MS. 4, 11, 1 *viśvaṃ vivyāca prthivīva puṣṭam*; RV. 7, 45, 3 . . . *savitā sahāvā / sāviṣad vasupatir vasūni*; 5, 74, 8. Cf. also RV. 3, 54, 21 *sadā sugaḥ pitumām astu panthāḥ*; AśvGS. 1, 18, 5 *ś. ś. māsyāyuh pra moṣiḥ*; AV. 9, 1, 8. This type of alliteration has become a structural principle in ancient Irish versification³⁶) and ancient Latin saturnine

³⁵) See Whitney-Lanman, o.c., p. 48.

³⁶) Kuno Meyer, Über die älteste irische Dichtung, Abh. preuss. Akad. d. Wiss. 1913, 6 and 10; the same, Bruchstücke der älteren Lyrik Irlands, ibid. 1919.

verses like Naev. B.P. 57 *magnae metus tumultus pectora possidit*³⁷); cf. also Plaut. Cist. 202; Bacch. 894 f. Casual instances occur in post-Vedic Sanskrit, e. g. MtP. 10, 1; BrP. 5, 3, and paronomastically e. g. Kāl. R. 8, 6 *adhikam śuśubhe śubhāmyunā / dvitayena dvayam eva saṃgatam*; 12, 7.

Other passages show repetition, not only of initial, but also of internal sounds: RV. 8, 1, 34 *subhadram aya bhojanam bibharṣi*.

There can be no doubt that alliteration often arrests the hearer's attention, sometimes even to such a degree as to affect his thought and action. Many creators of modern slogans and catchwords know how to take full advantage of this property; the vocabulary of business and advertising abounds in examples: *buy British*; *press, platform and parliament*; *Woodrow Wilson will win war*; *policy not passion*; in Dutch, *de kracht van het kiemende koren*; *veilig, vlug, voordelig*; *boeken bij Broese*; *denkende mensen drinken niet, drinkende mensen denken niet*; names of inns: *the Drunken Duck*; *the Mortal Man*; *the Blue Bell*; in titles of books etc.: *Gloom and Gleam*; *Saints and Sinners, School for Scandal*³⁸); in Dutch: *Het bos der belofte*; *Rijshout en rozen*; in characteristic names of popular heroes of romance: in Dutch *Flippie Flink*, *Bruintje Beer*; *Bello Blafmeyer*; *Frederik Fluweel*. Compare in Sanskrit, BhG. 2, 50 *yogaḥ karmasu kauśalam* "discipline in actions is weal"; 4, 17 *gahanā karmaṇo gatiḥ* "hard to penetrate is the way of work"; 21 *śarīraṃ kevalam karma / kurvan nāpnoti kilbiṣam*; 22 *samaḥ siddhāv asiddhau ca*; 5, 20 *na prahr̥ṣyet priyaṃ prāpya*; 14, 9 *sattvaṃ sukhe sañjayati* and similar statements and opinions pronounced in other didactic works. It may therefore be doubted whether a line such as Manu 3, 61 *apramodāt punaḥ pumsaḥ prajānam na pravartate* is due to mere chance; cf. 3, 192 *pitaraḥ pūrvadevatāḥ*; ChU. 2, 1, 1 *samastasya khalu sāmna upāsanaṃ sādhu*; 2, 9, 1 *sarvadā samastena sāma*.

Very often the function of alliteration is mnemonic: it is not only a means of impressing upon the hearer or reader a truth, an opinion, a necessity, but also a great aid to memory for those who are to recite these texts. Hence also its frequent occurrence in aphorisms, enumerations, and texts intended to be committed to memory. It is on the other hand only natural that in arranging words, in making lists or specifications those elements which have their initial sounds in common tend to follow each other: they are, in the speaker's or writer's mind easily associated. In Dutch (from writings and overheard conversations): *spreuken, sprookjes, novellen, fabelen, gedichten* (notice the homoioteleuton in *n. f.*); *oppalen, verbranden, verdrinken, onthoofden, doodschieten*; *het zijn afwisselende, bonte en boeiende tafelen*; in Sanskrit: AV. 19, 63, 1 *āyuh prānam prajāṃ paśun kīrtim / yajamānam ca vardhaya*. AVPar. 1, 1, 2 the nakṣatras are enumerated so as to alliterate in places: *punarvasū puṣyāśleṣā ... phālguni*

³⁷) Other instances, Marouzeau, o.c. p. 44.

³⁸) See e.g. H. Spies, Alliteration und Reimklang im modern-englischen Kulturleben, Englische Studien, 54 (1920), p. 149 ff.; Mia Schwarz, Alliteration im englischen Kulturleben neuerer Zeit, Thesis Greifswald 1921.

phalgunyan . . . *śraviṣṭhā śatabhiṣaḥ* etc.; MGS. 2, 13, 6 III *putrān paśūn dhanam dhānyam* "sons and cattle, treasures and corn"; cf. also, in an identification, RV. 9, 5, 9 *indur indro vṛṣā hariḥ pavamānaḥ prajāpatiḥ*; 9, 66, 20. BhG. 1, 34 *ācāryāḥ pitarāḥ putrāḥ* (also 'semantic' association); 2, 45. A well-known alliterative group is constituted by the *pañcamakāra*, the five words beginning with *m* indicating the essentials of the so-called lefthand tantrism: *madya, māṃsa, matsya, mudrā* and *maithuna*.

In the language of magic and religion alliteration often plays an important part: prayers, formulas, oracles, incantations are not only frequently alliterative, but also claimed to derive their efficacy from this sound repetition³⁹). According to a widespread belief a word represents the essence and power of the idea for which it stands as well as that of other ideas the names of which are similar. Ancient Egyptian snake charms are characterized by "die mehrfache Wiederkehr eines einzelnen Lautes oder bestimmter Buchstabengruppen"; one of these charms consists for instance, in a very impressive way, of a series of eight words each of them beginning with *h* and intended to threaten serpents with destruction⁴⁰). "In der deklarativen Aussage über die Unbeschränktheit des toten Königs in Raum und Zeit "meine Lebenszeit ist die Ewigkeit, meine Grenze ist die Unendlichkeit" (ist) die Übereinstimmung der beiden in den Identitätssätzen zusammengefassten Wortpaare bezüglich ihrer Laute *h* und *d* sicherlich mehr als nur eine stilistische Spielerei"⁴¹). Latin examples are *venenum veneno vincitur*⁴²); . . . *ut fruges frumenta, vineta virgultaque . . . pastores pecuaque salva servassis*⁴³). In these formulas and incantations the alliteration obviously was felt to be a means of associating and concentrating magical potencies, of emphasizing magical identity⁴⁴). The view that texts of this description must have been the very origin of all alliteration⁴⁵) cannot however be substantiated.

Turning now to ancient Indian formulas⁴⁶) it should first be noted that the 'magical' force of alliteration, or rather pseudo-paronomasia, is beyond any doubt in TS. 1, 1, 4, 1 and similar passages: "thou art the yoke (*dhūr asi*); injure (*dhūrva*) him who injures (*dhūrvati*) us, injure (*dhūrva*) him

³⁹) See e.g., for Latin, Wölfflin, Sitzungsber. München 1881, p. 27; Heim, in Fleckeisens Jahrb. 1893, p. 544 ff.; Marouzeau, Traité de stylistique, p. 43; for the Germans in general A. Heusler, in J. Hoops, Reallexikon der german. Altertumsk. IV, p. 231 ff., § 22; C. W. M. Grein-R. P. Wülker, Bibliothek d. angelsächs. Poesie I, Kassel 1881, p. 318; for various non-European peoples Werner, Ursprünge der Lyrik, p. 224 ff.; for Indonesia Bijleveld, o.c., p. 74 f.; for Hebrew, J. Scheftelowitz, Gleichklangzauber in Indien und im jüdischen Volksglauben, Z.D.M.G. 78 (1924), p. 106 ff.

⁴⁰) O. Firchow, Grundzüge der Stilistik in den altg. Pyr., Berlin 1953, p. 217 ff.

⁴¹) Firchow, o.c., p. 218.

⁴²) Heim, o.c., p. 546.

⁴³) Cato, De Agr. 141; cf. e.g. also Livius 25, 12.

⁴⁴) See e.g. Güntert, Von der Sprache der Götter und Geister, p. 66 ff.; 135 ff.

⁴⁵) (Leumann-)Hofmann, Lat. Gramm., p. 34; 801.

⁴⁶) Cf. e.g. V. Henry, La magie dans l'Inde antique, Paris 1904, p. 10.

whom we injure (*dhūrvāmaḥ*)⁴⁷): by calling an object a yoke he makes it a means of performing the process of injuring. Another example is VS. 5, 26; TS. 1, 3, 1, 1 *yavo 'si, yavayāsmad dveṣaḥ* "thou art barley; bar from us enemies, bar-evil spirits"; the alliteration between *vr̥ṣti-* "rain" and *vr̥śca* "cut asunder" TB. 3, 10, 9, 2; between *rohini* and *sarvān rohān rohāṇi* BaudhGS. 2, 8⁴⁸). It must also be remarked that the very order in which they were arranged and recited often led to the juxtaposition of assonant words: VS. 22, 23 *prāṇāya svāhūpānāya svāhā vyānāya svāhā* . . . , a repeated exclamation "hail" addressed to three different kinds of breath; 25 . . . *samudrāya svāhā sarirāya svāha* "hail to the ocean!, h. to the heaving sea!"; 26 *varṣate s. vavarṣate s. ugraṃ varṣate s. śighraṃ v. s.*, i. e. "hail to various kinds of rainy weather"; 27 *dive s. digbhyah s.* "to heaven hail, to the quarters of the sky hail!"; 31 *madhave s. mādha-vāya s. śukrāya s. śucaye s. nabhase s. nabhasyāya s. iṣāya s. ūrjāya s. saḥase s. sahasyāya s. tapase s. tapasyāya s.*, etc. etc. We are however unable to escape the conviction that, for various reasons—mnemonics, fondness of sound repetition, and above all the belief that similarity in sound reflects similarity in kind—the 'authors' arranged the terms of these enumerations often in such a way as to combine those which had part of their sounds in common; ⁴⁹) VS. 22, 30 *asave s. vasave s. nibhve s. vivasvate s. gaṇaśriye s. gaṇapataye s.* . . . "hail to the breath of life, to the Vasu, to the Mighty One, to V., to the Associating One, to the Lord of the Troops . . . "; cf. 7, 30; 15, 5 *ācchacchandaḥ pracchacchandaḥ samyacchando viyacchando . . . varivaśchando vayaśchando vayaskṛcchando viṣpardhāśchando viśūlaṃ chandaḥ* etc. In an enumeration of names of divine powers, AV. 8, 5, 10 *Prajāpati* and *Parameṣṭhin*, *Virāj* and *Vaiśvānara* are coupled together; a troop of goblins is AV. 8, 6, 10 specified as follows: *kusūlā ye ca kukṣilāḥ / kukubhāḥ karumāḥ srimāḥ*; AV. 3, 8, 1; 15, 6; 20, 7 *vātaṃ viṣṇuṃ sarasvatīm / savitāraṃ ca vājinam*; cf. Plaut. Bacch. 894 f. *Mars Mercurius Hercules Submanus Sol Saturnus*.

The enumeration of synonyms, or of words of related meaning leads, even without any intention on the part of the 'author', to produce assonance. The alliterating words are, also in languages and styles of speaking which do not especially favour this device, apt to attract attention and are often subject to emphasis, or rather, they become a means of emphasizing the utterance: in a Malay exorcization of a pontianak⁵⁰)—an evil spirit preying on women in labour and on babies—: *p. mati beranak, mati ditimpa tanah tambah* . . . " . . . , die struck down by layers of falling earth (of the grave)". No reason can as far as I am able to see be found for considering this formula to be essentially different from Vedic mantras

⁴⁷) Cf. also ĀpŚS. 1, 17, 6; incorrect: A. B. Keith, *Veda of the Black Yajus School*, Harvard 1914, p. 4, n. 1.

⁴⁸) Other examples: Caland, *Altindische Zauberei*, Amsterdam 1908, p. 30 etc.

⁴⁹) See also chapter IX.

⁵⁰) W. Skeat, *Malay Magic*, London 1900, p. 626.

such as AV. 8, 3, 4 *himsrūsanir harasā hantv enam* "let the harmful thunderbolt smite him with a flame"; 8, 6, 21 *prajāyai patye tvā pīṅgaḥ | paripātu . . .* "let the brown one protect for progeny and husband . . ." It is hardly conceivable that an accumulation of sibilants such as e. g. AV. 8, 3, 24 *śīṣite śṛṅge rakṣobhyo vinikṣe* "he sharpens his two horns to gore the demons" was not felt to be a magically powerful mode of expression; that accumulations of similar sounds as e. g. in 4, 20 *śīṣite śakraḥ piśunebhyo vadham* "the Mighty One sharpens his deadly weapon for the treacherous ones"; 23 *prthivī na pārthivāt pātv amhasaḥ* "let the earth protect us from earthly distress"; 8, 7, 23 *varāho veda virudham* escaped the attention of the reciters and their audience; that the alliteration in 8, 9, 5 *māyā ha jajñe māyāyā | māyāyā mātali pari* did not enhance the value of this line as an explication of mystic and magical relations⁵¹). In describing a troop of demons AV. 8, 6, 15 uses the following qualifications: *yeṣāṃ paścāt prapadāni | puraḥ pārṣṇīḥ puro mukhāḥ . . .* "of whom the front-feet are behind, the heels in front, the faces in front . . ." 1, 15, 1 *saṃ saṃ sravantu sindhavaḥ* "together, together let the rivers flow" the extended alliteration does not fail to produce a suggestive effect; cf. also some stanzas in 4, 15.

Now it is clear from a great abundance of examples in many languages that alliteration is not only a means of connecting two coordinated or subordinated elements of fixed phrases, but also a frequent device in a great variety of syntactic structures of a more ephemeral character:⁵²) it very often helps to bring out syntactic relations, to mark logical connections, to emphasize the essential ideas and their interrelations, to unite what belongs together. Alliterative combinations are for instance a feature of the most ancient latinity, not exclusively in proverbial phrases—e. g. Plaut. Ep. 592 *plaustrum perculi* "I have upset the apple-cart"—; from almost any page of Plautus word groups such as *rebus relictis* (Ep. 605), *male morigerus* (607), *praeter sese secum* (610), *pictum pulchre* (624), *pulchrum praedicas* (625), *pedibus plumbeis | qui perhibetur prius venisset* (627 f.) may be collected, which cannot be conceived as having integrally arisen by pure accident. In Malay pantuns lines like Indra Bangs. 13 *potong papaja dipinggir pantai* are by no means exceptional. It would appear

⁵¹) The preceding half-stanza runs as follows: *brhati pari mātrāyā | mātur mātrādhi nirmītā*. Whitney-Lanman, o.c., p. 508 in observing that the desire to play upon the root *mā*. "measure, fashion" is the leading motive in the making of this stanza fail to see that for the ancients these 'etymologies' were a source of knowledge and an indication of special relations between the ideas conveyed by the words involved in these paronomasias.

⁵²) Cf. e.g. W. Riese, *Alliterierender Gleichklang in der französischen Sprache*, Thesis Halle 1888; F. Kauffmann, *Deutsche Metrik*³, § 11; Mia Schwarz, *Alliteration im englischen Kulturleben*, Thesis Greifswald 1921 (cf. L. Spitzer, *Stilstudien I*, München 1928, p. 105); Palmer, *The Latin language*, p. 86 ff.; 122; (Leumann-) Hofmann, o.c., p. 802 f.; Bijleveld, o.c., p. 70 ff.; Ch. Riedel, *Alliteration bei den drei grossen griechischen Tragikern*, Erlangen 1900.

that also in the ancient Indian prose and metrical texts alliteration of elements of the same unit emphasizes, in a large majority of cases, syntactic relations.

Entering into details attention may be drawn to the following syntactic groups⁵³). A substantive and genitive depending on it alliterate e. g. RV. 7, 5, 5 the god Agni Vaiśvānara is described as *patim kṛtīnām rathyaṃ rayīnām* "the lord of the races of men, the charioteer of riches": parallelism, rhyme and alliteration; cf. AV. 4, 9, 2 *paripāṇam puruṣānām / paripāṇam gavām iva*; 6, 21, 2 *śreṣṭham asi bheṣajānām / vasiṣṭham virudhānām*. Some phrases are of considerable frequency; thus RV. 3, 54, 19; 5, 26, 6; 6, 15, 9 etc. *devānām dūtaḥ* "the messenger of the gods"; 1, 58, 8 *sūnuḥ sahasaḥ* "the son of conquering and dominant power", a phrase frequently applied to Agni, but alternating with the synonymous *putraḥ sahasaḥ*; 5, 82, 6 etc. *devasya savituḥ save* (cf. 5, 82, 3 *suṇvāti savitā*) "in the impulse of the divine impeller", a frequent formula, cf. also in other Vedic texts: *devasya tvā savituḥ prasave*;⁵⁴) 1, 24, 10 *varuṇasya vratāni*; 1, 48, 1 *duhitar divaḥ*; 8, 69, 4 etc. *sūnuḥ satyasya*; RV. 1, 89, 9 *śatam . . . śaradaḥ*; BrP. 3, 113 *śaradaṃ śatam*. RV. 8, 69, 4 Indra is described as *sūnuṃ satyasya satpatim*, a combination of words which cannot have failed to arrest the hearer's attention for the recurrent *s*. Examples from the AV. are: 1, 3, 7 *vartram veśantyā iva* "like the weir of a tank"; 6, 13, 1 *viśyānām vadhāḥ* "the weapons of the vaiśyas"; AV. 4, 37, 6 *virudhām vīryavati*. The parts of the alliterating phrase may be separated by other words: AV. 7, 26, 1 *viṣṇor . . . vīryāni*; 74, 1 *muner devasya mūlena*. Cf. also Kāl. R. 1, 51 *viśvāsāya vihaṅgānām*.

Although many alliterative combinations of substantive and adjective, numeral, or apposition are in any language due to a mere coincidence and pass by unnoticed, it would be easy to produce evidence to the contrary. In Dutch a "striking example" is called a *sterk staaltje*; *de Snelle Snip* "the swift snipe" is the name of a transport firm; cf., in English, a *stony stare*, a *stiff style*. Some Indian instances are so frequent as to warrant the supposition that they owed their popularity also to their alliterative character. RV. 1, 90, 9; Mbh. 3, 77, 25 the above *śaradaḥ śatam* "a hundred years"; RV. 1, 32, 12 etc. *sapta sindhūn* "the seven rivers"; or AV. 6, 3, 1 etc., *sindhavaḥ sapta*; 1, 191, 14 *sapta svasūras* "the seven sisters"; ŚB. 6, 2, 2, 34 etc. *daśo diśaḥ*; Kāl. R. 11, 85 *puruṣaṃ purātanam*, beside *purāṇa-puruṣa*; AV. 5, 11, 9 etc. *saptapadaḥ sakḥā*. Other Vedic instances are: RV. 1, 80, 7 *māyinaṃ mrgam*; 2, 3, 8 *sarasvatī sādhayanti*; 11, 4 *śubhram nu te śuṣmaṃ*; 35, 4 *śukrebhiḥ śikvabhiḥ* "with clear flames (?)"; 10, 14, 15 *pūrvebhyah pathikṛdbhyah* "for the ancient makers of the path"; 15, 10; 1, 85, 1 *rudrasya sūnavah sudamśasaḥ*; 1, 87, 5; 5, 73, 8; 9, 65, 25; 1, 48, 14 *śukreṇa śociṣā* (paron.); AV. 1, 32, 3 *rodasī rejamāne* "the trembling

⁵³) In the Bantu languages 'alliteration' has essentially a grammatical (syntactic) function.

⁵⁴) Bloomfield, Vedic Concordance, p. 492 ff.

heaven and earth"; 2, 28, 3 *paśūnām pārthivānām* "of earthly cattle"; 3, 4, 3 *bahuṃ balim*; 17, 3 *pīvarīm ca prapharvyaṃ* "a plump wanton girl" (VS. 12, 71 etc. *praph. ca pīv.*); 4, 1, 1 *sīmataḥ surucaḥ*; 5, 12, 6 *śriyaṃ śukrapīśam*; 6, 3, 2 *subhagā sarasvatī*; 18, 2 *mṛtaṃ manaḥ*; 34, 3 *parasyāḥ parāvatas* (paron.); 6, 69, 1 *surāyām sicamānāyām*; 122, 5; 9, 5, 3 *śuddhaiḥ śaphaiḥ*; 7, 60, 4 *sakhāyaḥ svādusaṃmudaḥ*; 1, 30, 4 *pañca pradiśaḥ*. In AV. 7, 99, 1 *hotṛśadanam haritam hiraṇyayam* the connective force of the alliteration seems to be obvious: "the hotar's seat is yellow, golden". Cf. also AV. 7, 107, 1 *sapta sūryasya raśmayāḥ*; TĀ. 10, 1, 7 *dūrvā duḥsvapnanāśini*; AiB. 1, 6, 7 *sarvaṃ satyam*; 5, 16, 14 *saṃjñānam saṃtani sūktam*; ŚvU. 4, 6 *duvā suparṇā sayujā sakhāyā*; KāthU. 6, 13 *śāptis śāśvatī*. The alliterative terms may be separated by other vocables: AV. 4, 3, 2 *pareṇaitu pathā vṛkaḥ*; 20, 7 *sūryam iva sarpantam*; 6, 53, 1; 60, 1. Alliteration and flecional rhyme may combine in producing sonorous word groups: MS. 1, 10, 3 *gambhīrebhiḥ pathibhiḥ pūrvebhiḥ*. In the epics we find, e. g. BhG. 3, 2; 5, 26; 28; Mbh. 14, 42, 35 *sarvāṃś caiva sarisṛpān*; Rām. 1, 35, 14 *vidyās ca vividhās . . .*; 2, 4, 41 *puruṣe puṣkarekṣane*; 40, 28; 34 *puraṇḥ paramapīḍitam*; 3, 4, 2; 47, 25; Kāl. R. 12, 58; 15, 14; MtP. 11, 23 *tejas tīvram*; BrP. 7, 83 *vārimayaṃ vegam*. An interesting 'tautologic' instance is Mbh. 14, 27, 18 *sapta saptarśayaḥ*. Compare, in the Avesta, Yt. 5, 77 *vaṇuhīm vītaṇuhaitim*; in early Greek, Γ 81 etc. *ἀναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγαμέμνων*; K 16 *κνδάλμιον κῆρ*; 380 *ἀπερῆλοι ἄποινα*; in Latin, Plaut. Cist. 63 *in pectore penitissimo*; 123 *parvolam / puellam projectam*; Pseud. 1253 *magnis munditiis et dis dignis* and many other examples.

Alliterative word groups consisting of two co-ordinated substantives (or words which do duty as substantives) — cf., in Dutch, *in kannen en kruiken*, *stok en staf*; in Latin, *manu mancipio*, *lance et licio* etc. — are not rare. As a rule the substantives belong, semantically, to the same class of words: RV. 10, 40, 8 *vidhantaṃ vidhavām*; AV. 1, 22, 1 *hr̥ddyoto harimā ca te* "your h. (an internal disease) and jaundice"⁵⁵; 3, 10, 9c (= 11, 6, 17c) *samāḥ samvatsarān*; cf. 4, 35, 7 *dviṣantaṃ devapīṇyam*; 36, 1 *agnir vaiśvānaro vṛṣā* (elsewhere: *a. v. bṛhan* or *mahān*); 6, 5, 2 *jīvātave jarase naya*; 24, 2 *pārṣṇyoḥ prapadoś ca yat*; 45, 1 *vṛkṣām vanāni* and *gr̥heṣu goṣu*; 61, 2 *vācam viśaś ca*; 40, 1 *somaḥ savitā* "sun and moon"; 3, 28, 5 etc. *puruṣān paśūṃś ca*; cf. also 2, 33, 5; 6, 42, 3 and the type 6, 25, 1 *pañca ca yāḥ pañcāśac ca*. AV. 7, 87, 1 *agnau . . . apsu* do not follow each other immediately. JB. 2, 285 etc. *bahuḥ prajāyā paśubhiḥ prajāyeya*, cf. also JUB. 1, 36, 4 *prajāyā paśubhiḥ* (see above), RV. 5, 41, 17 *prajāyai paśumatyai*, etc. Post-Vedic instances are e. g. Rām. 3, 11, 45 *sarāṃsi saritaś caiva*; VāP. 7, 44 *paśavaḥ pakṣiṇāś caiva*. Manu 2, 178 the frequent group *kāmaṃ krodhaṃ ca* is, like similar phrases elsewhere, natural, ancient and popular. Latin instances are very numerous: *victu et vita*; *cibatus*

⁵⁵ J. Fillozat, La doctrine classique de la médecine indienne, Paris 1949, p. 89 who takes *hr̥d(d)yota-* to be "la cause supposée de la jaunisse: un éclat intérieur jaune".

commeatusque; Plaut. Cist. 201 *laudem et lauream*; Rud. 78 *tectum et tegulas*; Greek examples are *M* 239, ι 26 *πρός ἧν τ' ἡέλιόν τε*; *B* 262 *χλαῖνάν τ' ἠδέ χιτῶνά*; Hes. Op. 243 *λιμόν ὁμοῦ καὶ λοιμόν*. For Avestan see e. g. Yt. 5, 120 *vātəmčā vārəmčā* "wind and rain".

Combinations of alliterative adjectives are, in Latin, *purus putus, albus et ater*; Plaut. Pseud. 659 *claudam crassam*; in English, *slow and sure*: RV. 2, 3, 6 *saṃvayanti samīcī*; 6, 28, 1 *prajāvatīḥ purūrūpāḥ*; 8, 14, 9 *divo / dr̥hāni dr̥mhitāni ca*; 9, 67, 29 *priyam paṇipnatam*; cf. 10, 103, 6 *gotrabhidaṃ govidaṃ*; AV. 3, 28, 1 "(she destroys the cattle) snarling, angry": *riphatī ruṣatī*, alliteration, rhyme, isosyllabism, expressiveness; 4, 15, 1 and 5 *nadato nabhasvato*, describing a bull; 23, 4 *agnīm vaiśvānaraṃ vibhum*; 6, 56, 1 *satokānt sahapūruṣān*; 66, 2; 7, 68, 3; 11, 2, 12 *haritaṃ hiraṇyayam*; AiB. 6, 13, 1 etc. Compare also: AV. 6, 62, 3 *śuddhā bhavantaḥ śucayaḥ pāvakaḥ* (cf. 4, 34, 2)⁵⁶). Post-Vedic instances are e. g. Mbh. 14, 45, 19; Rām. 2, 38, 8; VāP. 6, 33 *saptadvipām saparvatām*; BḍP. 1, 5, 83 etc.; they show the authors' fondness of sound repetition. Very often these adjectives are complementary or more or less synonymous; AV. 7, 115, 4 *punyah* and *pāpīḥ*, belonging to two different pādas and sentences, are antithetical. Not rarely the shorter adjective has, in these co-ordinated groups, precedence⁵⁷): BḍP. 1, 5, 83 *divyā devagaṇānvitāḥ*.

Two nouns which are otherwise associated alliterate in a considerable number of cases: RV. 1, 191, 4 *gāvo goṣṭhe* (paronomasia); AV. 5, 26, 1 *yaḥūṃsi yajñe* (paronomasia); 28, 3 *anaktu pūṣā payasā*; 29, 6; 10; 31, 8 *kṛtyāṃ kūpe*; 6, 27, 1 *devāḥ kapota īṣito yad ichan*; 1, 27, 1; 4, 3, 6; 15, 10; 6, 28, 3; 47, 3; 7, 56, 6; 57, 2; 96, 1. Cf. also AV. 7, 59, 1 *vr̥kṣa ivo vidyutā hataḥ*; 70, 1; 13, 2. The conclusion is therefore warranted that post-Vedic instances like Rām. 2, 17, 10 *rāmaṃ rājye pratisthitam*; 11 *rāmasya rājye-nāmītejasah*; 36, 33 *rāmaṃ / rājyam* . . . ; 26, 21; Kāl. R. 8, 41 *aṅkam aṅganām*, though developing into an ornamental device, are not essentially different from the ancient procedure. MtP. 11, 37 "the Asvins were born from the nose" is not by accident expressed thus: *saṃjātau nāsatyau nāsikāgrataḥ*. In Latin, Plaut. Pseud. 1250 *vitium vino*.

Not rarely the subject and the verb following each other in close proximity have the same initial sounds. In MHG. we find *dō sprac ein spileman* etc.⁵⁸); in Latin, Plaut. Amph. 623 *vigilans vidī*. Examples are: RV. 1, 48, 5 *ut pātayati pakṣiṇaḥ* "she causes the birds to fly up"; 105, 1; 141, 3 *mātariśvā mathāyati*; 4, 30, 24 *devo dadātv aryamā*; 5, 2 *devo dadau* (cf. AV. 3, 5, 3 and 14, 2, 41 *devair dattam* etc.). In these cases the alliteration may help to create the impression that the idea acting as subject and the verb are rather intimately connected, that there is a special relation between them. AV. 1, 11, 6 *yathā patanti pakṣiṇaḥ*; 6, 16, 3 *avāyam ailaba ailayit*

⁵⁶) Cf. also Bloomfield, Vedic Concordance, p. 931.

⁵⁷) See also Wölfflin, Arch. f. lat. Lex. 3, p. 444.

⁵⁸) J. Lindemann, Alliteration . . . im Volks- und Spielmannsepos, Thesis Breslau 1914, p. 51.

"this noise has quieted down"; 26, 2 *anyaṃ pāpmānu padyatām*; 1, 3, 6 *evā te mūtram mucyātām* "so be your urine released"; 1, 19, 1 *mā no vidan vivyādhinaḥ* the context is emotional: "let not the piercers find us"; 18, 3 *devas tvā savitā sūdayatu*; 2, 3, 4; 3, 4, 2; 4, 15, 4; 6, 6, 1; cf. also 3, 4, 7 b and c. Cf. also AV. 1, 17, 1 *amūr yā yanti yoṣitaḥ*. Sometimes the terms involved in the alliteration are separated by other terms: AV. 6, 3, 3 *uśāsānaktota na uruṣyātām*; three words are involved in the alliteration: MS. 1, 5, 4 *pūṣā mā paśupāḥ pātu*.

It is hardly possible to ascribe the order of words RV. 7, 18, 7 *ā pakthāso bhalānaso bhanantālīnāso* ... "the P., Bh., A. called themselves ..." to a mere coincidence. Compare also the type VS. 12, 34 *dīdāya daivyo atithiḥ* "the heavenly guest has shone". Post-Vedic examples are: BhG. 2, 61; 8, 11; Aśv. S. 4, 24 *nananda nandaḥ*; Kāl. R. 10, 71.

Subject and object alliterate e. g. AV. 2, 13, 1 etc. *pitreva putrān*; 6, 40, 2. Object and verb alliterate, e. g. RV. 1, 48, 11 *vājaṃ hi vaṃsva*; 7, 17, 5 *vaṃsva viśvā vāryāni*; 2, 11, 8 *vāṇīm vardhayantaḥ*; 5, 4, 5 *ā bhārā bhojanāni*; 10, 124, 7 *kṣemaṃ kṛṇvānā janayaḥ*; 125, 2 *dadhāmi draviṇam* (cf. AV. 4, 30, 6; 36, 4); 8, 42, 2 *vandasva varuṇam*; AV. 2, 28, 2 *vayunāni vidvān*; 4, 5, 2 *striyaś ca sarvāḥ svāpaya*; 4, 15, 10 *varṣam vanutām*; 14 *varṣam ā vada*; 18, 2 *kṛtyāṃ kṛtvā*; 23, 4 *havyavāhaṃ havāmahe*; 37, 11 *sacate striyaḥ*; 5, 28, 5 *dakṣam dadhātu* (cf. RV. 7, 32, 12; 1, 2, 9 etc.⁵⁹); 6, 12, 1 *vāraye viṣam*; 15, 1 *yo asmāṃ abhidāsati*; 16, 2; 23, 3; 30, 2; 49, 2; 7, 101, 1; TS. 1, 1, 7, 2 *diśo dṛṇha*; MS. 1, 5, 14 *grhān gopāyataṃ yuvam*; ŚvU. 2, 9 *prāṇān prapīḍya*; 4, 9 *yac ca vedā vadanti*. Cf. also Kāl. R. 1, 18 *ādatte hi rasaṃ raviḥ*. Frequent phrases are e. g. ŚB. 11, 5, 4, 5 etc. *karma kuru* (paron. cf. also TS. 1, 1, 9, 3 etc.); *vācam vad-* e. g. AV. 3, 30, 2. Compare also AV. 4, 14, 6 *ajam anajmi* where an internal syllable is involved in the assonance. The alliterating syllables are sometimes separated by other words: AV. 6, 1, 1 *stuhi devaṃ savitāram*; 34, 4 *yo viśvābhi vipaśyati*. Similarly, in Greek, Hes. Op. 352 *καὶ κερδαίνειν*; 604 *καὶ κόρυκα ἔχραρόδορτα κομείν*; in post-Vedic texts: BhG. 11, 28; 36.

The alliterative group may consist of a verb and an instrumental: RV. 2, 4, 5 *citreṇa cikite*; AV. 1, 35, 4 *payasā piparmi*; 34, 3 *vācā vadāmi* "with (my) voice I speak", the combination *vac- vad-* being a fixed phrase; ĀpŚS. 6, 27, 5 *grhān āgāṃ manasā modamānaḥ*; Kāl. R. 13, 62 *prājyaīḥ payobhiḥ parivardhitānām*. A verb and a dative may alliterate so as to attract attention: BhG. 2, 38 *yuddhāya yujyasva*.

A verb and another case-form alliterate e. g. in Rām. 2, 37, 27 *vane vasantam* (cf. *vanavāsa-*, *vanavāsin-* etc.); 40, 12; 3, 49, 15; Āryaś. Jāt. 28, 68 *vane vasan*; a variation on this frequent phrase is Rām. 2, 37, 5 *caturdaśa vane vāsam | varṣāṇi vasato mama*; Kāl. R. 14, 71 *vilāpād viratā ravande*.

Incidentally two or more coordinated verbal groups alliterate: AV. 4,

⁵⁹) See Bloomfield, Vedic Concordance, p. 468.

20, 1 *yā paśyati prati paśyati / parā paśyati paśyati*; Kathās. 10, 127 *papāta prāpa pañcatām*; 165 *prātaḥ pratathe prāpac ca*. A verbal tricolon: RV. 10, 14, 9 *apeta vīta vi ca sarpata*. Verb and predicate, verb and word belonging to the object etc.: AV. 3, 15, 5; 4, 5, 3; 36, 1; 5, 18, 5; 6, 2, 3.

A verb and an indeclinable word: very frequent is the phrase *jyog jīv-* "to live long": RV. 1, 136, 6; TS. 1, 6, 2, 1 *jyog jivema*; TB. 1, 2, 1, 14 *jyog jivantaḥ*; cf. also TB. 3, 7, 7, 3 *jyog jīvā jarām aśimahi*. It is hardly conceivable that the fourfold *s-* in JB. 1, 182 *tena satrā sarvān asurān asahata*, which is repeated in the following clause remained unnoticed. Cf. also RV. 8, 44, 22 *vardhantu viśvahā*; AV. 4, 18, 2 *taṁ pratyag upa padyatām*; 5, 21, 5 *dhāvanti bahu bibhyatiḥ*; 6, 45, 1 *paro 'pehi*. Similarly, A 37 *δεῦδὼν δερκομένη*; Hes. Op. 401; A 422 *πολέμων δ' ἀποπαύεο πάμπαν*; Plaut. Cist. 59 *male maceror*; Amph. 448 *sane sapio et sentio*.

It can, for reasons of space, not be attempted to collect here instances of other combinations. The brief statement will suffice that the poets of the classical period also were by no means averse to word groups such as Kāl. R. 1, 11 *mānanīyo manīṣiṇām*.

Sometimes the main term of a simile alliterates with one of the main terms of the sentence of which the simile forms part, a procedure which may substantially add to the suggestive force of the comparison, emphasizing the idea of identity or similarity: RV. 1, 39, 9 *gantā vṛṣṭim na vidyutaḥ* " . . . do ye come (to us, O Maruts), as the flashes of lightning to rain": rain and lightning often go together^{59a}); AV. 6, 54, 1 *vṛṣṭir iva vardhayā tṛṇam* "do thou increase . . . as the rain the grass"; if this alliteration was felt it may have helped to underline the connection between the concepts of raining and growth; RV. 1, 56, 3 *gīrer bhrṣṭir na bhrājate tuṣṭā śavaḥ* "as the top of the mountain his prowess radiates push"; 73, 2 *devo na yaḥ savitā satyamanmā*; 9, 20, 7 *kṛīḷur makho na mamhayuḥ / pavitraṁ soma gacchasi*; 2, 10, 1 *prathamah piteva*. The type AV. 2, 13, 1 *piteva putrān* is discussed under another heading⁶⁰). Expressive and imitative is Mbh. 11, 16, 18 . . . *prakīrṇakeśāḥ krośantiḥ kurarir iva* . . . We may compare, in Engl., *as busy as a bee, dead as a door-nail*, etc.⁶¹).

Vocative and imperative are connected by similarity of their initial sounds: RV. 2, 3, 11 *vṛṣabha vakṣi*; in the AV. this combination is not rare, but most cases are paronomastic: 1, 23, 1; 4, 13, 3; 30, 4; 6, 4, 3 etc.; mere alliteration: 5, 29, 10 *jahi jātavedaḥ*; 7, 46, 1 *devi dididdhi nah*; 10, 4, 6 the alliteration may have added to the effectiveness of the order: *paidva prehi prathamah* "go first, O P.". VS. 11, 69 *dr̥mhasva devi* "stand firm, O goddess"; KS. 39, 6 *subhūte sīda*; Rām. 2, 37, 34 . . . *devi / dehi* . . . In all those cases the sound repetition may help to suggest the idea that the

^{59a}) These examples, like many of the other passages quoted in this chapter, are not adduced to establish the conviction that the author employed this device consciously and intentionally.

⁶⁰) For other examples see Acta Orient. 18, p. 63.

⁶¹) For Indonesian parallels see Bijleveld, o.c., p. 71.

person addressed is the one who is expected to perform the action. A fortuitous development of this device is the paronomastic Rām. 2, 28, 24 *na bhetavyam ca bhetavye*. Nominative and imperative: RV. 8, 24, 10 *dr̥ḥas cid dr̥hya*.

A vocative is sometimes placed so as to alliterate with one of the words with which it is in contact: RV. 10, 42, 2 *pra bodhaya jaritar jāram indram* "awaken, O singer, the lover I." ⁶²); 1, 48, 6; 80, 7. Completely uncertain are cases like AV. 3, 16, 5 *sa no bhaga puraetā bhaveha*. It is however worth noticing that in the AV. *marut*-alliterates in almost 50% of its occurrences, *soma*- twice (six occurrences), *agni*- and *jātavedas*-alliterate seldom. In AV. 7, 68, 3 *sumṛḍīka sarasvatī* the alliteration may have been noticed; cf. also 3, 20, 5; 4, 15, 6; 6, 7, 2; 7, 68, 1; 77, 2 etc. Rām. 1, 54, 2 *rāma rājñā*; 3, 7, 6 *bhagavan bhavantam*; BrP. 4, 76 *vināśyeyuḥ prajāḥ pārthiva*; 77; Kāl. Ragh. 8, 53; 54.

The frequent occurrences of *taṁ te* (e. g. AV. 6, 18, 1), *teṣāṁ tvām* (e. g. AV. 3, 9, 6) and similar alliterative combinations of pronomina—*tasmai te*; *tasya te*; *taṁ tvā*; *taṁ u tvā* etc. ⁶³)—are a matter of little interest in this connection. Instances such as AV. 6, 47, 3d ... *no ... nayatu* must not be discussed like 'alliterations' of the type AV. 4, 3, 5 *sa sampiṣṭo* ... ⁶⁴); 6, 58, 1; 26, 2 *naḥ ... na* must likewise be left out of account: they may have had some stylistic value only in exceptional circumstances. Similar remarks could be made with regard to alliterative combinations of preverbs and verbs: AV. 6, 5, 2 *saṁ sṛja*; 14, 3 *pra pata*. Generally speaking they are not expressive in themselves, but may acquire some stylistic value as soon as they combine with other alliterating vocables: AV. 3, 10, 7 *pūrṇā darve parā pata / supūrṇā punar ā pata*. Combinations of an adverb and an adjective may however in accordance with the natural function of the adverb gain in force and expressiveness if the initial sounds are identical: RV. 1, 124, 5; 10, 110, 4; AV. 5, 12, 4 *vy u prathate vitaram variyaḥ* "... more widely"; similar expressions with *vitaram* are of some frequency in these texts: RV. 1, 123, 11 *v. vy uccha*; 2, 33, 2 *v. vi* in a line containing five occurrences of *vi* or *vi-*; 4, 18, 11 *sakhe viṣṇo v. vi kramasva*; 5, 29, 4; 6, 1, 11; 10, 1. Cf. also AV. 4, 40, 1 etc. *pratyag enān pratisareṇa hanmi*.

In the alliterative combinations of AV. I-VII the substantive is by far the most frequent word class: the relation being subst. : adj. : verb : adv. = ± 14 : ± 5 : ± 5 : 1, numerals and pronouns are very infrequent. These figures are broadly speaking in accordance with the result of similar calculations with regard to the German alliterative verse ⁶⁵).

It is not easy to decide how far the recurrence of the same consonant

⁶²) See Geldner, Rigveda in Auswahl, II, p. 162; Rig-veda übersetzt, III, p. 196. I would avoid using the term "Wortspiel".

⁶³) Compare the Vedic Concordance, p. 398 f.; 406; 414 f.

⁶⁴) Compare the Vedic Concordance, p. 998.

⁶⁵) J. Schipper, A history of English versification, p. 50 ff.

was felt in AV. 6, 3, 1 *pātam na indrāpūṣanā*; 8, 2 *suparnah prapatan*; 13, 2 *sumatyai mṛtyo te namaḥ*; 45, 1 *paro 'pehi manaspāpa* etc. (cf. e. g. 6, 3, 2; 4, 1; 14, 1; 46, 3; 52, 3), with identity of an initial and an internal sound beginning the second member of a compound ⁶⁶⁾.

The wide distribution of compounds both parts of which alliterate is another proof of the popularity of this device. In Dutch we have, e. g. *veelvraat* "glutton"; *vlootvoogd* "admiral" (but not *legervoogd* for "general"); *legerleiding* "command of the army" (but not *vlootleiding*); *heethoofd* "hothead"; *wereldwonder* "wonder of the world"; *wagenwijd* "very wide"; *kletskous* "chatter-box"; in German ⁶⁷⁾ *nagelneu*. A general survey of these alliterative compounds in a large number of languages will no doubt show, on the one hand their often expressive character and on the other hand their popularity in colloquial speech.

Sanskrit examples are for instance, the frequent *saṃsārasāgara*- "ocean-like worldly existence"; Mbh. 1, 102, 31 *sarasaṅkati*- "arrows and spears"; 14, 16, 21 etc. *pāpapunya*- "vicious or virtuous deeds"; 14, 45, 2 *vyādhivyasa*- "disease and calamity"; 8 *kāmakrodha*- "affection and anger"; 18 *pāṇipāda*- "hands and feet"; 12, 147, 3 *nikṛtiniścaya*- "of deceitful design"; 3, 3, 63 *saptasapti*- "with seven horses"; 12, 112, 18 *jaṅghāja-ghanyāni*; 143, 1 *sarvapaṇapraṇāsinim*; 144, 3 *vātavarṣa*-; Rām. 1, 13, 7 etc. *naṭanartaka*- "actors and dancers"; 2, 23, 41 *vaṃśavardhana*- "increasing a family"; 2, 13, 15 *maṇḍalamāṇḍita*-; 22, 5 *saṃsārasaṃbhrama*-; 27, 22 *vānaravārana*-; Kāl. R. 1, 1 *pārvatīparameśvarav*; Dśkc. p. 194 and Kāl. R. 15, 16 *dhūmadhūmra*-; BhāgP. 3, 14, 24 *dhūlidhūmra*-; 5, 17, 3 *jaṭājūta*-; *vidhividhāna*- "performance of prescribed ritual acts"; *divyadr̥ṣṭi*-; *bhūta-bhāvin*-; *vajravega*-; *rājarāṣṭra*-; *rājarājya*-; *pr̥thivīpāla*-; *vaśavartin*-; *dhanurdhara*-; *bhūbhuj*-; *mattamataṅga*-; *vanavāsa*-; *varavar̥ṇinī*; *sasāritsaras* (cf. e. g. Rām. 2, 34, 59 *saritas sarāṃsi ca*). Other instances are e. g.: Mbh. 14, 35, 12 *sarvasaṃśayasamaṇchettā*; Aśv. S. 10, 53 *vāgvāri*-; Mr̥cch. 8, 30+ *kavaḍahāvadika*- "extremely roguish"; Kāl. R. 13, 9 *prakṛtiprugalbha*-; 51 *tryambakamaulimāla*-; 52 *nivātaniṣkampatā*; 14, 12 *vāyuvāsa*-; Śak. 2, 13+ *ratnarāṣi*-; Bhav. Utt. 5, 16 *guṇagaṇa*-; Dśkc. p. 197 *labdhalaḥkṣa*-; p. 213 *naikanaṇkāparivṛtaḥ*; Pañc. K. ⁶⁸⁾ p. 43, 1 *kṣutkṣāma-kanṭha*-; *bhayaabhraṣṭa*-; *kṣataḥkṣiti*-. With internal alliteration: Kāl. R. 12, 73 *pādapāviddhaparighaḥ*. Not infrequently the masculine and the feminine form of the same stem combine so as to form a dvandva: epic *dāsīdāsa*- "male and female slaves"; *nadanadī* or *nadinada*- "rivers"; *naranārī*- "men and women"; *vadhūvara*- "bride and bridegroom" ⁶⁹⁾.

Vedic instances are: RV. 1, 162, 5 *grāvagrābha*- "a functionary who handles the soma stones" ⁶⁹⁾; 1, 5 *kavikratu*- "having the strength of mind of a wise man"; 103, 6 *paripanthin*- "standing in the way, street-robber";

⁶⁶⁾ Adnomination of this type is at least in AV. VI more frequent.

⁶⁷⁾ Cf. E. Schröder, Zs. f. deutsches Altertum 43 (1899), p. 363 ff.

⁶⁸⁾ See also Wackernagel, Altindische Grammatik II, 1, p. 162 f.

⁶⁹⁾ Cf. Geldner, Der Rig-veda übersetzt, I, p. 222.

166, 9 *prapatha*- "journey"; 164, 13 *bhūribhāra*- "heavily laden"; 58, 8 etc. *mitramahas*-; 7, 1, 23 *vasuvani*-; 10, 30, 9 *tritantu*-; 8, 92, 14 *kāma-kāṭayaḥ*; *viśvavāra*-; *viśvavid*-; *viśvavedas*-; *viśvavyacas*-; *vṛddhavayas*-; *śataśārada*-; *satyasatvan*-; *satyasava*-; *sabhāsāha*-; *sahasrasā*-; *sahasrasāva*-; *sahasrastarī*; *sahasrasthūṇa*-; *somasut*-; *somasuti*-; *somasutvan*-. Compare also the paronomastic *śukrasōcis*-. In the Atharvaveda we find, inter alia, the paronomastic *karmakṛt*- "performing actions"; *karmakṛtya*-; *kṛtyākṛt*- (26 times) and *kṛṣṇakarna*- "blackeared"; *paripāṇa*- "protection" (12 times); *paśupati*- "lord of animals"; *puṣṭapati*- (6 times); *prajāpati*- (over 70 times); *prṣṇiparna*- "a spotted leaf"; *pratipaṇa*- and *prapaṇa*- "barter, exchange"; *pratiprāsa*- "adversary"; *prapada*- "the point of the foot"; *mṛtamanas*-; *varṣavṛddha*-; *viśvatovīrya*-; *vṛddhavṛṣṇa*-; *śataśalya*-; *śataśākhā*; *śataśārādāya*- (13 times); *satyasamūḍha*-; *sabhāsad*-; *sahasrastuka*-; *suparṇasuvana*-; *somasatsaru*-; *hiraṇyahaṣṭa*-.

This alliteration is sometimes reinforced by other words in the same unit: ṚV. 1, 166, 11 *dūredṣo ye divyā iva stṛbhiḥ*; 1, 173, 7; 4, 30, 20 *divodāsāya dāṣuṣe*; TB. 3, 1, 2, 9 *puṣṭipati paśupā vājabastyau*; KŚS. 6, 5, 27 *pratiprasthātāḥ patnīm ud ā naya*; ŚGS. 4, 10, 4 *pratipurusaṃ pitarāḥ* (viz. *trpyantu*); cf. also the types ṚV. 10, 17, 6 *prapathe divaḥ prapathe pṛthivyāḥ*, and ṚV. 9, 113, 5 *saṃ sravanti saṃsravāḥ*. Other examples are AVPar. 54, 7, 10 and 70b, 9, 4 *bhakṣabhojya*-; 63, 2, 7 *vātavrṣṭi*-; 8 *jalaiva lanacaurāṇām*; BārU. 2, 1, 5 *pūryate prajāyā paśubhiḥ*; 6, 1, 6 *prajāyate ha prajāyā paśubhiḥ*; cf. also Kāl. R. 8, 68; 10, 76 *devadundubhayo divi*; 12, 20. Compare, in English *standing straight and stiff* etc.

Whereas some of the above compounds consist of usual words belonging to the same semantic class (*śaraśakti*-, *pāṇipāda*-), other combinations are far-fetched (*saptasapti*-) and doubtless created for the sake of alliteration and assonance. The preference for *pāṇipāda*- to the synonymous *hastapāda*- (Manu 2, 90 etc.) etc. may however be attributed to the same motive, and the popularity of many compounds of this class may have been largely determined by its assonance. That is why poets of the classical period attempted to create artificial imitations of, and variations on, current models and to score off their predecessors. Thus we may account for Aśv. S. 6, 25 *rodanāroṣitaraktadrṣṭi*- "with eyes reddened with the salve of tears"; 7, 29 *parāśaraḥ śāpaśaraḥ* "P. master of the weapon of the curse".

Sometimes a new word or form is coined after the model of another term with which it comes to constitute an alliterative combination: thus the Roman Cato, in order to achieve alliteration, wrote 87, 10, J. *aestate frigido, hieme formido*. A locality elsewhere called *plakṣa-prāsravaṇa*- is JB. 2, 298, perhaps under influence of the *pr.* of the second word known as *pr. pr.*

A word group often quoted in the mantra literature is AV. 6, 36, 1 *ṛtāvānam vaiśvānaram*: if occurring in a classical text the recurrence of the syllables *vā* and *am* would constitute a type of yamaka.

Special effects are achieved by placing three alliterating 'synonyms' at

the end of an interrogation: Mṛcch. 9, 16 + *asti bhavato 'syāḥ ... duhitrā saha prasaktiḥ prañayaḥ prītir vā* ?, by underlining in a comparable way an important part of the utterance: *ibid.* 9, 21 *cāritryāc cārudattaṃ calayati*. An alliterative last line of a long stanza describing an important event may produce a striking impression: Kāl. R. 9, 61 *taṃ pātayāṃ prathamam āsa papāta paścāt*. Comic authors and parodists sometimes avail themselves of this device—e. g. Plaut. Men. 252—; Vedic examples have not however turned up in my collections ⁷⁰).

A proper, elegant and moderate use of alliteration may even if it has no, or at least no strongly marked, syntactic function substantially add to the melodiousness, suggestiveness or expressive force of a passage. Occasional lines in Aśvaghoṣa's works are very happy in the collocation of consonants ⁷¹) : Saund. 10, 64 *tato muniḥ pavana ivāmbārāt patan / pragrhya taṃ punar agaman mahītalām*. It may be true that the effect is achieved by heaping up labial sounds, the recurrence of the four p's constitute two instances of ancient alliterative pairs, whereas that of the m's has nothing to do with any form of initial repetition. Compare also Kāl. R. 1, 27.

⁷⁰) For other functions of alliteration see also Marouzeau, *Traité de styl. latine*. p. 44 ff.; Haffter, *o.c.*, p. 18 f.; Norden, *Antike Kunstprosa* I, p. 60.

⁷¹) E. H. Johnston, *The Buddhacarita*, II, Calcutta 1936, p. XCIII.

IX

RHYME AND HOMOIOTELEUTON

Closely akin to, and so to say the counterpart of, alliteration is the phenomenon called homoioteleuton, i. e. the identical ending of two or more clauses or verses, or rhyme, a term comprising also the identity of sound or sounds between the latter part of one or more syllables occurring in separate words which form part of the same syntactic unit or of corresponding units.¹⁾ Using the generally adopted latter term for the phenomenon at issue wherever it occurs it may first be recalled to memory that there are a great variety of types. Often the identity of a single vowel, i. e. of the vowel of the last syllable, suffices to bring about those effects which are characteristic of sound repetitions occurring at the beginning or end of words or syntactic units. Thus the last words of the following Toradja double line *O, pokira-kira i Nggasi | lawinjamo ku-incani* "yes, those tricks of the nggasi²⁾, I am acquainted with them a long time"³⁾ constitute, like those of de Musset's verse *Les plus désespérés sont les chants les plus beaux | et j'en sais d'immortels qui sont de purs sanglots*, a rhyme. Vedic examples of rhyme—in the limited sense of the term—and homoioteleuton of this simple type are far from wanting: RV. 1, 1, 1 *hva-yāmi agniṁ prathamam svastaye | hvayāmi mītrāvaruṇāv ihāvase* "I call on A. first for welfare; I call on M. and V. here for aid"; ibid. 4 *abhīrṣtam kṛśanair viśvarūpam | hiraṇyasaṁyam yajato bṛhantam*; cf. e. g. also 1, 127, 5; 141, 7; 151, 2; 153, 2; AV. 6, 4, 2a may be quoted as an example of continuous rhyme in the same metrical unit: *aṁśo bhago varuṇo mitro |* ... As a rule however rhyme is more 'massive'.

¹⁾ Compare, in general, e.g. P. Habermann, in Merker-Stammler, Reallexikon der deutschen Literaturgeschichte, Berlin 1928/9, III, 25 ff. whose views on the origin of rhyme are not satisfactory; H. Werner, Die Ursprünge der Lyrik, p. 182–223 attempts to delineate the origin and development of this phenomenon from the 'entwicklungspsychologische' point of view: the ethnologic and linguistic material used is however largely antiquated; V. Lundström, Zur Geschichte des Reims in klassischer Zeit, Eranos 1897, p. 81 ff. (antiquated ideas: W. Grimm, Zur Geschichte des Reims, Abh. Akad. Berlin 1851); Norden, Antike Kunstprosa, esp. p. 810 ff.; for ancient Latin H. Usener, Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher 43 (1873), p. 174 ff.; for Latin in general: Ed. Wölfflin, Der Reim im Lateinischen, Archiv f. lat. Lex. 1, p. 350 ff.; H. Güntert, Ueber Reimwortbildungen im Arischen und Altgriechischen, Heidelberg 1914; A. W. de Groot, Algemene versleer, The Hague 1946, passim; B. J. Bijleveld, Herhalingsfiguren in het Maleisch . . . , p. 49 ff.; 62 ff.; F. S. Eringa, Loetoeng Kasa-roeng I, The Hague 1949, p. 112 ff.

²⁾ An animal (*tarsius fuscus*) playing an important part in folklore and literature.

³⁾ Toradja (island of Celebes); see N. Adriani, Verzamelde geschriften I, Haarlem 1932, p. 19.

Being of very wide occurrence among many peoples the phenomenon is often much favoured by those circles and individuals which are not especially characterized by high intellectual training, efforts or development. Children's jingles and variations on names in the style of the Dutch *dag meneer juttepeer*, *Ankie – stankie*, *Anneke Tanneke toverheks* (notice the alliteration), or the German *Heinrich Kateinrich Wideweinrich* are well known ⁴). In small, remote, and traditionalist communities people are already in their early childhood trained to produce, more or less automatically, rhyming and assonant jingles. In the island of Flores (Indonesia), for instance, the so-called *durit*, i. e. jingling or assonant speech, is still much practised in daily life, in singing and playing, but also in quarrelling and litigating. Little children often display considerable skill in adding rhyming lines to words spoken by others; when the teacher says, in Malay, *kelas satu ambil batu* "the first class must take the slates", a child of six may almost automatically continue: *kelas tiga ambil tinta* "the third class must take ink". ⁵)

In these communities one and the same person may have two rhyming or assonant names which are used promiscuously: thus among the Mangarai (Flores) a person may be called *Dasung* and *Kasung*, or *Podu* and *Dolu*, or *Sima* and *Djelima* ⁶). Similar variations on the names of divinities are, in classical antiquity, *Ala* and *Faia*, *Bárxos* and *'Idárxos*, *Merope* and *Sterope* ⁷); in India *Jiṣṇu* "the conquering One" came to be used as another name of *Viṣṇu*, cf. Mbh. 5, 70, 13 *viṣṇur vikramaṇād devo | jayanāj jiṣṇur ucyate*. Guntert was no doubt right in assuming that the tendency not to mention, for reasons of 'tabu', the real name of a god on the one hand, and the practice of enumerating many names and epithets in formulas and litanies on the other, has substantially added to the number of rhyming names of divinities. In a *Śivasahasranāmastotra*, occurring SaurāP. 41, 10 ff. the names of the god are indeed often arranged in such an order as to rhyme, to alliterate, or to be otherwise semi-identical: 12 *bhavaḥ śivah*; 14 *gaṅgādharaḥ śūladharaḥ*; 18 *viśvarūpo virūpākṣo* . . .; 26 *nītiḥ śunītiḥ*; 27 *mahānītir mahāsmṛtiḥ* etc., and in any other enumeration of names or qualities similar instances may be found: RV. 7, 10, 3 *susamdrśam supratikam*; 8, 12, 33 *svīryam svasvīyam*. However, the purity of the rhyme is often marred by sandhi phenomena: TS. 2, 4, 7, 2 *jyotiṣmatīs tamasvarir undatīḥ sapphenāḥ*. Sandhi may, on the other hand, give rise to interesting alternations: TB. 2, 5, 7, 1 *yaśo bhargah saha ojo balaṃ ca*.

Songs and recitations are in certain communities often characterized

⁴) For 'kindliche Lallmonologe' in general see K. Groos, *Seelenleben des Kindes*, Berlin 1904, p. 96; Guntert, *Reimwortbildungen*, p. 183.

⁵) J. Verheyen, *Assonantie in het Manggarais*, *Tijdschrift voor Ind. Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 81 (1941), p. 456 f.

⁶) Verheyen, o.c., p. 457. See also chapter XXIII.

⁷) See Guntert, *Reimwortbildungen*, p. 219 ff.

by rhyming or repeated interjections or other vocables which in themselves do not convey much sense: thus, in a Bushman song: *tat a 'ta, ye ya, ye ya*. "Ueberall dort, wo die Rede schalltragende Bedeutung und Wirkung haben soll, stellt sich die Assonanz gleichsam von selbst ein".⁸⁾ Repetition of identical sounds was also a structural principle of the Vedic chant: instead of SV. 1, 1 (= RV. 6, 16, 10) *agnā ā yāhi vitaye* the priests sang, e. g. *ognā-i āyāhi3 vi-itoyā2i toyā2i*⁹⁾. In his mind the chanter retained the words as they were given in the text, e. g. *adugdhā iva dhenavah, īśānam asya jagatah*; in his utterance he kept the vowels and retained the other sounds by one and the same consonants: *bhābhuhbā bhibha bhebbhabha*, etc.¹⁰⁾

However, identity of sound in the terminal syllables of two or more words is especially striking in balanced structures; "das Substrat des Reims ist der Parallelismus"¹¹⁾. Even in those languages in which rhyme is often, it is true, but not correctly, said to be unknown, or at least regarded as sporadic and due to accident, parallel units not infrequently exhibit cases of homoioteleuton. Some Greek examples are: in the rhetra of Lycurgus (Plut., V. Lyc. 6) . . . *φυλάς φυλάξαντα καὶ ὠβάς ὠβάξαντα*; in an often recurring formula¹²⁾ *μηδὲ τέκνων ὄνησις μηδὲ βίου κρείττης, ἀλλὰ ὧλῃ πανόλῃ*; in ancient Roman incantations it reads e. g. *si tortionatus, si hordiatatus, si lassatus, si calcatus* etc.; *si hodie nata, si ante nata | si hodie creata, si ante creata*¹³⁾, and in the German Merseburg formulas *insprinc hapbandun | invar vīgandun*. In the poetry of Indonesian peoples, for instance the Malays, rhyme plays an important part: parallel units, consisting, in principle, of four words, are as a rule characterized by assonance and consistently by rhyme¹⁴⁾: *dari djauh kapallah datang | berlabuh dekat pulau Pandan | dari djauh kakanda datang | rasa semangat pulang kebadan* "from afar the ship has come, it anchors near the island of P.; from afar you (my husband) have come, it seems to me that my soul has returned to my body".

Similar instances of rhyme are often found in ancient Indian formulas and other balanced structures¹⁵⁾: RV. 7, 5, 5 *patiṃ kṛṣṭinām rathyaṃ*

⁸⁾ Werner, o.c., p. 189.

⁹⁾ J. M. van der Hoogt, *The Vedic chant*, Thesis Amsterdam, 1929, p. 1 ff.; 7; 20 etc.

¹⁰⁾ B. Faddegon, *Acta Orientalia* 5, p. 181; cf. also F. Boas, *Primitive Art*², New York 1955, p. 302.

¹¹⁾ Norden, *Die Antike Kunstprosa*, p. 814, and Agnostos Theos, *Untersuchungen zur Formengeschichte religiöser Rede*, Leipzig-Berlin 1913, p. 259 f., where attention is drawn to Plato, *Symp.* 197 D.

¹²⁾ See Norden, *Kunstprosa*, p. 822.

¹³⁾ See Heim, *Fleckeisen's Jahrb.* 1893, p. 544 f.

¹⁴⁾ Cf. e.g. Hoesen Djajadiningrat, *De magische achtergrond van de Maleische pantoen*, Batavia (Djakarta) 1933; Den Hollander, *Handleiding bij de beoefening der Maleische Taal en Letterkunde*⁶, Breda, 1893, p. 302; A. Teeuw, *Taal en Versbouw*, Univ. Utrecht 1952, p. 8 ff.

¹⁵⁾ Compare also the relevant examples quoted in chapter II and other parts of this book.

rayīnām | *vaiśvānaram uśasām ketum ahnām*; 2, 20, 3; VS. 1, 8 *devānām asi vahnitamam sasnitamam* | *papritamam juṣṭatamam devahūtamam* "thou art the gods' best carrier, bound most firmly, filled fullest, welcomest, the gods' best invoker"; 10 *aśvinor bāhubhyām pūṣṇo hastābhyām*; 16 *parāpūtām rakṣaḥ parāpūtā arātayaḥ*; 23 *tritāya tvā dvitāya tvaikatāya tvā*; BārU. 6, 3, 2 *cakṣuṣe svāhā, sampade svāhā . . . śrotrāya svāhā, āyatanāya svāhā*; in comparable parallel cola occurring in prose: AiB. 6, 2, 6 . . . *vi tathā chandāṃsi lupyeran, bahūni tathākṣarāṇi hīyeran* "the metres would be broken up so, many syllables would so be omitted"; 6, 13, 5 *śaṃsanti prātaḥsavane, śaṃsanti mādhyamdīne hotrakāḥ*; JB. 2, 299 *teṣām yāṃs tatra jaghnus te svargam lokam iyuḥ*; ChU. 2, 1, 4 *ā ca gaccheyur upa ca nameyuḥ*; 6, 16, 1 *apāhārṣīt, steyam akārṣīt* "he has stolen, he has committed a theft"; compare also ChU. 5, 18, 1 *sa sarveṣu lokeṣu sarveṣu bhūteṣu sarveṣu ātmasv annam atti* "eats food in all worlds, in all beings, in all selves".

Similar instances of rhyme occur in structures which are not balanced or symmetrical in any strict sense of the term: BārU. 4, 3, 8 *sa vā ayaṃ puruṣo jāyamānaḥ, śarīram abhisampadyamānaḥ . . .* The most noteworthy instances of this homoioteleuton are those occurring in stanzas which form part of the great mantra collections: RV. 1, 157, 6 *yuvam ha stho bhiṣajā bheṣajebhir* | *atho ha stho rathyā rāthyebhiḥ* "ye are the physicians with (your) medicaments and ye art the charioteers with (your) skill in driving"; RV. 1, 146, 3 *anapavrjyāṃ adhvano mimāne* | *viśvān ketāṃ adhi maho dadhāne*; 2, 7, 6 *pratno hotā vareṇyaḥ* | *sahasas putro adbhutaḥ*; very frequently in the other mantra collections: AV. 2, 9, 3 *śatam hy asya bhiṣajaḥ* | *sahasram uta vīrudhaḥ*; 3, 19, 5 *eṣām aham āyudhā sam śyāmy* | *eṣām rāstraṃ suvīraṃ vardhayāmi*; cf. also RV. 1, 142, 12 *pūṣanvate marutvate viśvadevāya vāyave*; 2, 1, 1.

In popular usage, low colloquial etc. rhyming phrases and combinations are of frequent occurrence in a great variety of languages. Many of them gained access to standard or literary styles of speaking, as a rule as emotional or picturesque doubles of other terms. Very often identity of sound between the latter—and not rarely greater—part of two successive or intimately connected words helps to emphasize identity or a close relationship of the ideas expressed.¹⁶⁾ The repetition of sounds at the end of a pair of closely associated words makes the hearer suppose them to express one single, but more or less varied idea. The similarity in sound tends to transform the meanings of the two components of these phrases into one new semantic unit. "Durch eine gleiche Lautung in zwei oder mehreren Wörtern wird das mit dieser Lautung verbundene oder verbindbare Gefühl stärker aktualisiert. Die Einheit von Lautung und Gefühl schafft einen Stimmungsgrund, auf dem nun die Wortgehalte in besonderer

¹⁶⁾ Compare also part of the instances quoted under the heading proper nouns; see especially H. Amman, Wortklang und Wortbedeutung . . ., Neue Jahrb. für Wiss. und Jugendbildung 1 (1925), p. 221 ff.

Durchleuchtung erstehen" ¹⁷). Hence such sayings, proverbs and similes as the Marathi *zase zhāda tase phala* "as is the tree so the fruit"; the Dutch *trouwen is houwen; een is geen* "one is none"; *zo rood als een kroot* "as red as a beet"; in Latin, Cic. Amic. 21 *omnia praeclara rara*; ¹⁸) German *Ehstand — Wehstand*; Engl. *the masses and the classes; jobbery and robbery* ¹⁹); Mal. *muka separti tjuka* "a face like vinegar, i. e. sour-faced", etc. Hence also such more or less tautological or complementary twin phrases in which the identity of sound is clearly 'ausdrucksverstärkend': e.g. in German *Saus und Braus* (e.g. in *Saus und Braus leben: Saus* <MHD. *sūs* "Saus, Braus"); *Hülle und Fülle* ²⁰); *Kniffe und Pfiße; Schritt und Tritt; Saft und Kraft*; Dutch *pak en zak* "bag and baggage"; *reilen en zeilen* (*zoals het reilt en zeilt* "lock, stock and barrel, as it stands"); *wijd en zijd* "far and wide"; *hoog en droog* "high and dry"; *goed en bloed; groei en bloei* "growth and prosperity"; *steen en been klagen* "to complain bitterly"; *hutje en mudje* "bag and baggage"; *zaaien en maaien* "sowing and reaping"; *belogen en bedrogen* "lied to and deceived"; and expressions of the type *hotsy-totsy, razzle-dazzle, hugger-mugger, okey-dokey*, in English. In Arabic: *hainūn lainūn* "light and mobile" ²¹). The repetition of sounds at the end of a pair of closely associated words is therefore very suitable to express one single, but more or less varied idea. The similarity in sound tends to suggest that the meanings of the two components of these phrases have fused into one new semantic unit.

In Sanskrit more or less fixed twin phrases of the rhyming type—compare also the well-known Latin *urbi et orbi*—are far from rare: Mbh. 3, 64, 30 *hrītā bhītā ca* "shy and timid"; 3, 57, 10 *damah samah*; Rām. 2, 46, 8 *pitaram mātaram ca*; 3, 4, 2 *satyavān chīlavān śuciḥ; śrāntaḥ klāntaḥ* (cf. Mṛcch. 1, 30 +); BhavP. 15, 111 *ṛddhir vṛddhir*... "growth and increase". Compare also the rhyming compounds: Mbh. 3, 2, 23 *ādhivyādhi* "care and disease" (cf. 3, 3, 65 *nādhayo vyādhayaḥ*); Manu 1, 94 etc. *havyakavya-* "offerings to the gods and Fathers"; Rām. 2, 50, 9 *tuṣṭapustā-* (also Jāt. p. 41, 16 etc.) "satisfied and thriving"; 1, 23, 14 *astrasāstrāṇi* "arms and swords, i. e. all sorts of arms" (cf. Manu 10, 79; Rām. 2, 27, 3 *śastrāstra-*); the frequent Aśv. Bc. 7, 52 etc. *svargāpavarga-*; GarP. 1, 66, 8 *bhuktimukti-*, also *śamadama-*; *mantratantra-*, *vastraśastra-*; *nīriti-*; *gadyapadya-*; *aṅgavaṅga-* (names of two connected peoples and countries in Bengal); *dhūpadīpa-* "incense and light"; *śirṇajirṇa-* "broken and withered"; Pañc. 347 *dānasnāna-*; (pur.) *paṭhanapāṭhana-* "reciting and teaching"; *jambūkamaṇḍūka-*; *iṣṭamiṣṭa-* "agreeable and delicate"; and more complicated combinations which may, in a way, be compared to the type Mbh. 6, 56, 20 *kayaughāś ca rathaughāś ca*; BḍP. 1, 36, 215 *tadāhārās*

¹⁷) H. Seidler, Allgemeine Stilistik, Göttingen 1953, p. 252.

¹⁸) Cf. also Bijleveld, o.c., p. 63; 68.

¹⁹) H. Spies, Alliteration und Reimklang . . . , Engl. Studien 54, p. 157.

²⁰) Cf. e.g. K. O. Erdmann, Die Bedeutung des Wortes, Leipzig 1922, p. 175.

²¹) Cf. F. Praetorius, Z.D.M.G. 42, p. 676 ff.

tadācārās ... ; derivatives such as Rām. 3, 3, 6 *acchedyābhedyatvam*. Vedic examples are ²²⁾ : R̥V. 10, 156, 5 *preṣṭhaḥ śreṣṭhaḥ* “dearest, most excellent”; 1, 140, 13 *gavyaṃ yavyaṃ* (cf. TB. 3, 8, 18, 3) “of cows and corn”; AV. 19, 15, 2 *anu rādhyāśma dvipadā catuṣpadā* ²³⁾ “biped and quadruped” (cf. R̥V. 1, 49, 3 and elsewhere); AV. 14, 2, 21 *śarma varma* “shelter and defence” (cf. TS. 4, 1, 3d); TĀ. 4, 39 *chindhī bhindhī* (followed by *handhī*); this phrase (cf. also Manu 3, 33 *hatvā chittvā ca bhittvā ca*) enjoyed popularity: Mbh. 1, 19, 18; Vār. BS. 46, 77;—AiB. 1, 5, 3; 2, 1, 11 etc. *tejasvī brahmavarcaśi*; ŚB. 1, 2, 5, 7 etc. *arcantaḥ śrāmyantaś ceruḥ* “praising and toiling”; BārU. 4, 4, 23 *śānta- dānta-*; ChU. 5, 1, 1 *jyeṣṭhaṃ ca śreṣṭhaṃ ca*; Manu 3, 273 *varṣāsu ca maghāsu ca* (see also further on). In a magical formula TĀ. 4, 39 *khaṭ phaṭ* ... ; 37 *khaṇ phaṇ*. ²⁴⁾ In enumerations this rhyme is apt to occur: R̥V. 5, 46, 2 *agna indra varuṇa mitra devāḥ*; MGS. 1, 2, 19 *śayanaṃ smayanaṃ saranaṃ sthānaṃ yānaṃ gānaṃ*; the arrangement is not fortuitous.

In other ancient I.-E. languages the same type of phrases can be observed: in Latin *mel et fel, spes opes*, etc., (Plautus) *error terror etc.* ²⁵⁾; in Lithuanian *alauš midaus* “beer and mead”; in Russian *ručki — noženiki* “hands and feet”; *pitija — kušanija* “of meat and drink”.

Identity of sound in the terminal syllables of two or more successive words is also in more or less fortuitous or incidental combinations—compare, in Avestan, e. g. Yt. 5, 8, 15 *amavaitim xšōiθnīm bərəzaitim* ... ; 38; 63; 92—not rare in Vedic and post-Vedic texts: R̥V. 1, 143, 1 *pra tavyasīm navyasīm dhitim* ... *bhare* “I offer a powerful and new prayer”; 1, 180, 6 *preṣad veṣad vāto* “must please and impel like the wind”; cf. also 8, 15, 1 *puruhūtam puruṣtutam*; AV. 5, 22, 11 *balāsaṃ kāsaṃ* ... ; 9, 3, 13 *gobhyo aśvebhyo* ... | *vijāvati prajāvati*; 12, 1, 11; in ritual formulas AB. 7, 6, 2 *agnaye vītaye svāhā* “to A. (as) enjoyment”; VS. 10, 23 *agnaye gr̥hapataye s.* “to A. (as) lord of the house”; 28, 29 *viśvam indraṃ vayodhasam*; 21, 42 *pibantu madantu vyantu*; VSK. 3, 2, 5 *agnaye gr̥hapataye rayimate puṣṭipataye s.*; AB. 8, 6, 3; 8, 8 *svādiṣṭhayā madiṣṭhayā*; in brāhmaṇas: JB. 1, 287 *oṣiṣṭhā baliṣṭhā bhūyīṣṭhā* ... ; 1, 291 *kūpasya khātasya gambhīrasya*; ibid. *nādhīṣṭhivanti nādhicaranti*; AiB. 1, 10, 1 *pravatyō netrmatyāḥ pathimatyāḥ svastimatyāḥ*; 1, 22, 6 *somasya gharṃsya vājīnasya*; 15 *ṛṇmayo yajurmayāḥ sāmamayo vedamayo brahmamayo 'mrtamayāḥ*; 23, 1 *yathauj-jiyāṃso baliyāṃsa evam*; in the construction 2, 3, 3 *anvādyāyāmbhāya*; 11, 1 *dīpyamānā bhrājamānā atīṣṭhan*; 36, 4 *āyatīnām ājayantīnām*; 40, 7 *tokavān puṣṭīmān*; 9 *chandomayo devatāmāyo brahmamāyo 'mrtamayāḥ*; 41, 9 *sahasravāṃs tokavān puṣṭīmān*; 7, 6, 3 *agnaye vivīcaye*; 8, 4 *so 'gnaye*

²²⁾ Compare also some of the examples of juxtaposition enumerated by Delbrück, Vergl. Syntax, III, p. 181 ff.

²³⁾ Properly speaking, compounds.

²⁴⁾ Cf. also A. Hillebrandt, Ritualliteratur, p. 170; Güntert, o.c., p. 218. For the type *hocus-pocus* and similar adaptations see also Bijleveld, o.c., p. 62.

²⁵⁾ See K. Polheim, Die lateinische Reimprosa, Berlin 1925, p. 158 ff.

tapasvate janadvate pāvakavate nirvapat; 16, 9 *indro vai devānām oṣiṣṭho baliṣṭhaḥ sahiṣṭhaḥ sattamaḥ pārayiṣṇutamah*; 29, 2 *ādāyā āpāyā āvasāyā*; 8, 10, 9 *anārtyā ariṣṭyā ajyānyā abhayāya*; 11, 6 *gavām āsvānām puruṣānām*; 12, 2; also 5, 18, 3; 20, 3; 6, 9, 1; participles ²⁶⁾ ŚB. 3, 2, 4, 6 *vādayanto nigāyanto niṣeduh*; 3, 3, 17; ChU. 2, 22, 5; 5, 16, 1. It should be noticed that the pairs or groups of words involved belong to the same grammatical, and as a rule also to the same semantical classes. This peculiarity which must be explained from the balanced structure of the sentences or cola in which these combinations occur, from the marked preference for repetition and co-ordination of similar elements, and from the frequency of correspondences, is not absent in post-Vedic texts: Mbh. 7, 51, 15 *hrimān | kṣamāvān rūpāvān*; BhG. 4, 9 *janma karma ca*; 11, 19; 13, 16 *grasiṣṇu prabhaviṣṇu ca*; Rām. 2, 63, 20 *dhanuṣmān iṣumān rathī*. However, other combinations come to the front: Rām. 2, 20, 29 etc. *viṣane vane*; 3, 2, 22 *kruddho | ruddho nāga iva . . .*; 4, 17, 11 *mahendraputram patitaṃ vālinam hemamālinam* (very rich and no doubt deliberate rhyme); 2, 15, 40 *samākulaṃ rājakulaṃ virājayan* is also artificial: the compound substantive *r.* combines with the adj. *s.* the second component of which (*ā.*) is in all probability no compound ²⁷⁾. These verses have yamakas of the classical type ²⁸⁾, which comprise also sound repetitions of a character unknown to or only incidentally produced by authors of the early period. A poet whose works are worth studying in this connection is Aśvaghoṣa (\pm 100 A. D.): Aśv. S. 2, 8 *vipule kule* (cf. the frequent *viṣane vane*); Bc. 2, 23 *dhīyā śriyā ca*; 4, 26 *madena madanena ca*. These combinations, which are real pairs of rhymes in the traditional way, easily developed into yamakas: Aśv. S. 9, 49 *-upasaṃhitam hitam*; 1, 56 *āpūpuran puram*. Aśvaghoṣa however often utilized this device to mark the end of a period or discourse, or to express emotion or emphasis; ²⁹⁾ later poets tended to show their skill in producing various effects caused by the repetition of sounds without aiming at a definite syntactic or aesthetic function comparable to those of the original rhyme. It would be worth while to examine the question as to how far the ancient manner of rhyme was followed by the classical poets notwithstanding their fondness for yamaka. Cf. e. g. Kathās. 10, 69 *āmajjanāntaṃ vṛttāntam . . .* beside an example of the original 'fleotional' rhyme 12, 151 *bhuktvā dattvā ca*.

At times opposite ideas are associated in this way: KauṣU. 2, 15 etc. *sukhaduḥkhe* "pleasure and pain"; ViP. 3, 5, 19 *kartā hartā ca*; Nār. Samh. p. 88, 17 *sthāyinām yāyinām* "of staying and travelling . . .". Compare, in Sundanese, occasional opposition between *untung* "happy" and *buntung*

²⁶⁾ Delbrück, Altindische Syntax, p. 73.

²⁷⁾ For *ākula-* see M. Mayrhofer, Kurzgef. etymol. Wörterbuch des Altindischen, Heidelberg. 1953 ff., p. 69 f.

²⁸⁾ See Diwekar, Les fleurs de rhétorique, p. 44; 59 ff.; 74; Daṇḍin, Kāvyaḍ. 3, 20 ff.

²⁹⁾ See also E. H. Johnston, The Buddhacarita II, Calcutta 1936, p. LXXXV; XC.

"unhappy" ³⁰⁾, in Dutch, *meer geschaad dan gebaat* etc. and, "in der rhetorisch zugespitzten Hochsprache" instances such as Schiller's *der Rhein-strom ist worden zu einem Peinstrom, | die Klöster sind ausgenommene Nester . . .* ³¹⁾

Complicated cases of different structure occurring in post-Vedic works are e. g. Bhāsa, Consecr. 4, 18 *śaravaravātapāta*- "the buffets of the blasts of the excellent arrows".

Some examples are characterized by asymmetry: the frequent combinations *yamaniyama*- "restraint and self-control"; *jñānavijñāna*- ; Jātak. 97, 13 *gabhīradhīra*- ; 106, 19 *bhavane vane vā*; SkP. Kā. kh. 37, 137 *patya-patyanipātanaḥ*; Vetālap. *līna-vilīna*- ; LiP. 70, 250 *narakinnara*- ; compare also BhG. 12, 15 *harṣāmarṣa*- (*h.* + *am.*), and Dutch *God en gebod* "God and commandment".

Passing mention must be made here of a subject which does not properly speaking belong to the matter discussed in this book, viz. sound-symbolism, onomatopoeia and rhyming compounds of the nursery type Germ. *mukühchen*, Dutch *moe-koetje*. Imitative or echoic words like the Engl. *hoopoe*, *bow-wow*, though often geminated or alliterative may also constitute instances of regular rhyme. ³²⁾ In Malay, *hiru-biru*, *haru-biru* and similar forms suggest the idea of disorder or noisy disturbance; in Hindi, where this type of word formation is frequent, *ulṭā-pulṭā* means "turned upside down or inside out"; often the second member "seems to be added merely for the jingle" ³³⁾: *khoja-khāja* "to search"; *pūccha-pāccha* "inquiry"; in Bengali and other Modern Indo-Aryan languages a word is likewise often followed by a jingling repetition: *jiriyē-ṭiriyē* "resting and reposing" ³⁴⁾; Sanskrit has also some words of this type: *cicikūci* or *cicikuci*, an onomatopoeia for the warbling of birds (Mbh. 16, 2, 6 etc.) ³⁵⁾.

Another interesting category, likewise occurring in many languages, is characterized by the repetition, with some variation, of a word outside the imitative sphere. Like the imitative words they are usually rare in intellectual and literary speech. Malay expressions such as *sajur-majur* "greens of all sorts" (*sajur* "vegetables", *majur* alone does not exist) and *serta-merta* "simultaneously" (from *serta* "along with, with, and", which is the Skt. *sārtha*- "company") have nothing to do with sound imitation, but much with the almost universal fondness of the general public for expressiveness and sound repetition. In European languages there is the

³⁰⁾ Bijleveld, o.c., p. 62.

³¹⁾ Cf. Güntert, o.c., p. 183.

³²⁾ See Some remarks on onomatopoeia, sound-symbolism and word formation, Tijdschrift Indische Taal-, Land-, Volkenkunde, Batavia 80 (1940), p. 133 ff.; Lingua 2, p. 170 ff.

³³⁾ S. H. Kellogg, A Grammar of the Hindi language³, London 1938, p. 366.

³⁴⁾ S. K. Chatterji, Origin and development of the Bengali language, Calcutta 1926, p. 1018.

³⁵⁾ Cf. also Renou, Grammaire sanscrite, p. 192, and especially Wackernagel, Altind. Gramm. II, 1, p. 7; Güntert, o.c., p. 78 ff.

more or less colloquial type Engl. *hurly-burly*, *hufty-tufty*; Dutch *rompslomp* "muddle"; *schorriemorrie* "the riff-raff"; Fr. *pêlemêle*, *tirelire* etc.; cf. also Engl. *hodge-podge* and Fr. *pique-nique*; ³⁶⁾ in modern Indian languages this repetition is as a rule a common practice, cf., in Nepali *lugā sugā* "clothing and necessities", *petrol setrol* "petrol and lubricants". Exact Vedic counterparts of this type seem to be wanting, although we may be sure that they did occur in colloquial usage.

As already appears from some of the above instances other categories of rhyming compounds and combinations are not avoided by the early and epic authors ³⁷⁾: *uccanīca-* "high and low, variegated" (Mbh.); *niṣca-praca-* "backwards and forwards" (gramm.) ³⁸⁾; ŚB. 6, 4, 4, 22 *dig udīcī prācī* "the north east"; VS. 30, 14 *utkūlanikūla-* "going up and down" (compounds); AV. 7, 95, 1 *gr̥dhrau . . . ucchocanaprasocanau* "up-heater and forth-heater"; *khādata-modatā* "eat and rejoice", i. e. "continual eating and rejoicing" (gramm.); *hitāhita-* (*hita-* + *ahita-*) "good and (or) evil" (Manu); AV. 9, 6, 15 *ulūkhala-musala-* "mortar and pestle"; *dārajāra-* "wife and lover"; *lekhakavācaka-* "writer and reciter" (inscr.); *pada-kakramaka-* "who study the pada and the krama text" (gramm.). Compare also the classical *kṣananaṣṭadr̥ṣṭa-* (Mṛcch.) "seen and disappeared at once"; *jātanaṣṭa-* "(no sooner) appeared (then) disappeared".

Another widespread type of rhyme, technically known as leonine rhyme or 'Binnenreim', may be exemplified by some sayings, proverbs and fixed phrases – in which it is extremely frequent – quoted from various languages: Engl. *from the womb to the tomb*; *what soberness conceals drunkenness reveals*; Hes. Op. 356 δὼς ἀγαθή, ἀπραξὶ δὲ κακή; Fr. *nouveau roi nouvelle loi*; Dutch *de een z'n dood – de ander z'n brood* "one man's death is another man's bread" cf. the Engl. *one man's meat is another man's poison*; in Russian *prinjali jego sū čestiju sū radostiju* "they took them up with homage and joy"; in Malay ³⁹⁾ *biar lambat, asal selamat* "be slow if you will but be sure"; *datang ribut, keluar semut* "entering, a whirlwind; departing, an ant" and likewise in poetry in other Indonesian languages: in the Sundanese Lutung Kasarung, 1012 *djaran kurung dawuk rujung* "the fancy horse, the iron-grey".

A similar structure, the last word of the unit rhyming with that just before the middle is characteristic of many metrical units of the mantra literature: RV. 2, 21, 6 *poṣaṃ rayīnām ariṣṭīm tanūnām*; AV. 4, 27, 3a *payo dhenūnām rasam oṣadhinām* (b *javam arvatām kavayo ya invatha*) "ye, O poets, that send the milk of the kine, the sap of the herbs, the speed

³⁶⁾ M. Müller, *Die Reim- und Ablautkomposita des Englischen*, Thesis Strassburg 1909; O. Weise, *Die Wortdoppelung im Deutschen*, Zs. f. de. Wortforsch. 2, p. 8 ff.; Hungarian examples: S. Simonyi, *Die ungarische Sprache*, Strassburg 1907, p. 265 f.; Indonesian examples, *Remarks on onomatopoeia . . .* (see above), p. 186 f.

³⁷⁾ For rhyming proper names (which for instance abound in Old Norse) see chapter XXIII.

³⁸⁾ Cf. Wackernagel, *Altind. Grammatik* II, 1, p. 171 f.

³⁹⁾ Cf. also Bijleveld, o.c., p. 49.

of the coursers"; 13, 3, 19 *pitā devānām janitā matinām*; 19, 31, 5 *payah paśūnām rasam oṣadhīnām*; Kauś. 115, 2a *payo deveṣu paya oṣadhīṣu* and the variant *ibid. payo yad apsu paya usriyāsu*; ṚV. 4, 1, 12 *spārho yuvā vapuṣyo vibhāvā*; the type VS. 18, 9 *payas ca me rasaś ca me*; AV. 6, 55, 2 the six seasons are enumerated so as to effect rhyme *grīṣmo hemantaḥ śiśiro vasantah | śarad varṣāḥ* ⁴⁰⁾, the summer (*g.*) occupying, in the natural order, the place after springtime (*v.*); cf. also ṚV. 1, 62, 9 *payah kṛṣṇāsu ruśad rohinīṣu*; with repetition of the complete last word MS. 2, 7, 12 *puṣā yunaktu savitā yunaktu*.

The same type of rhyme often occurs in non-balanced, unsymmetrical structures: ṚV. 1, 5, 2 *indram some sacā sute*; 3, 34, 2 *indra kṣitīnām asi mānuṣiṇām*; 10, 73, 9 *payo goṣv adadhā oṣadhīṣu*; cf. 1, 24, 1; 4, 41, 8; 9, 110, 4; 10, 94, 13; 3, 1, 10 *pitus ca garbham janitus ca babhre*. Compare also the type of pāda represented by ṚV. 8, 53, 4 *viśvā dveṣāmsi jahī cāva cā kṛdhi*; 2, 13, 8, and the type HG. 2, 14, 4 *payasvān agne rayimān puṣṭimāmś ca*. In a sentence forming part of a stanza Aśv. S. 6, 35 *tām cārudantīm prasabham rudantīm* "the beautiful-toothed one, weeping stormily"; Kāl. Śak. 1, 18 *kim iva hi madhurāṇām maṇḍanam nākrītinām*. It is not foreign to prose texts either: AiB. 1, 7, 2 *prāṇānām kṛtyai prāṇānām pratiprajñātyai*; cf. also the type AiB. 1, 7, 3 *matprāyaṇā yaṣṇāḥ santu madudayanā iti*. The same structure must have been popular in ancient Rome, where it often was a part of a tripartite whole: *abest limus, deest fimus, lues nulla cernitur; crescit arbor, gliscit ardor, ramus implet litteras* ⁴¹⁾; in Greece where it occurs in saws or proverbs: *κακὰ μὲν θῑπτεες κακὰ δ' ἄντες; ἔφρυγον κακόν, εἴδοι ἄμεινον*. In the works of post-Vedic poets this structure sometimes received some extension. Aśvaghoṣa, Bc. 8, 25 for instance availed himself of it to show his fondness for perfect forms: *na cukruśur nāśru jahur na śaśvasur na celur* . . .

In other metrical or syntactic units the first and the third words constitute a homoioteleuton: VS. 8, 37 *indras ca samrād varuṇas ca rājā*; TS. 4, 2, 7, 2 *ṛtasya dhāmno amṛtasya yoneḥ*; VS. 12, 105; AthVPar. 70 b, 7, 2 *rudanto vā hasanto vā*; AiB. 1, 21, 5 *anīyo iva ca sthavīyo iva ca*; 5, 15, 3 *daivyaī ca mānuṣyaī ca*; 6, 23, 1 *athāto 'hīnasya yuktiś ca vimuktiś ca*; 2, 1, 2; ŚB. 3, 3, 3, 17 *taṃ vā iti haranti, anasā parivahanti* — from these examples it appears that there are parallels in prose —; Mbh. 1, 178, 12 *dhānyena ca dhanena ca*; Rām. 3, 9, 20 *mūlāni ca phalāni ca*; 24 *snehāc ca bahumānāc ca*; also 2, 35, 5 *uvāca . . . | tāḥ prajāḥ svāḥ prajā iva*; Aśv. Bc. 4, 5; 61; 14, 1; Mṛcch. 4, 12 *ye strīṣu ca śrīṣu ca viśvasanti* "who place their trust in women and riches". Some poets, especially Aśvaghoṣa, had a predilection for combinations of two rhyming verb forms, e. g. Aśv. Bc. 4, 19 *jagrāha ca jahāra ca*; 58 *kṛdanti ca hasanti ca*; Kathās. 12, 74 *jahāsa ca tutoṣa ca*; cf. also Aśv. Bc. 3, 53 *svalaṃkṛte caiva parikṣite ca*. In later texts: VāP. 9, 95 *jale vāpi sthale 'pi vā* "either in water or in dry land";

⁴⁰⁾ Cf. MG. 2, 8, 6 *hemanto vasanto grīṣma ṛtaḥ* . . .

⁴¹⁾ H. Usener, o.c., p. 174.

10; 47 *varmaṇaś caiva* | *carmaṇaś ca*. Compare also sentences such as Rām. 6, 21, 8 *adya me taraṇaṃ vātha* | *maraṇaṃ sāgarasya vā*, based on a rhyming . . . *vā* . . . *vā* group.

Sometimes the constituents of a pāda rhyme crosswise, that is to say: they have a double rhyme of the following type: R.V. 4, 2, 11 *ditim ca rāsva aditim uruṣya*, or the rhyme combines with other forms of sound repetition AB. 5, 31, 6 (stanza) *divā kīrtiyam adivā kīrtayantaḥ*; cf., in Latin, Plaut. Asin. 184 *volt famulis, volt etiam ancillis*.

Matters are further complicated by the well-known fact that sounds or sound combinations may under the influence of strong emotions be liable to repetition. Combinations of rhyming interjections, like *heueuh, leuh* in Sundanese, or interjections combining with assonant words—e. g. Mbh. 3, 62, 3 *hā nātha, hā mahārāja, ha svāmin, kiṃ jahāsi mām*—are found in many languages. Rhyme is a frequent accompaniment of agitation and excitement, of boastful and injurious speech; it is emphatically effective, insisting on partial identity and continuance of a definite mood, feeling, emotional value conveyed by the first word involved in the homoioteleuton: in Latin, Ter. Ad. 319 *ceteros ruerem agerem raperem tunderem et prosternerem*; in Javanese, W. S. Djawi, p. 156 *e, utjuḥna, retja buḍur blegedur kaja endasmu* ⁴²). It is, generally speaking, even as flecational rhyme, often an indication of the speaker's continuous emotion or rapture, cf. e. g. also in Homer *B* 412 *Ζεῦ κόδιστε μέγιστε* etc. The person addressed is so to say crushed by the hammering of the repetition. In bursts of affliction or enthusiasm strings of rhyming words are not rarely intruded into the sentence: Ter. Ad. 472 *venit ipsus ultro lacrimans, orans, obsecrans*; Eun. 1034 f. *o mearum voluptatum omnium* | *inventor, inceptor, perfector* ⁴³). In these circumstances "bedient sich die Mitteilung der natürlichen und unwillkürlichen Äusserungen affektiver Zustände" ⁴⁴). It would appear that a certain inner compulsion led also the ancient Indian poets sometimes to seek expression in this form of sound repetition. In the Uṣas hymn R.V. 1, 92 instances of rhyme are strikingly frequent: cf. 3 *iṣaṃ vahantiḥ sukrte sudānave* | *viśved aha yajamānāya sunvate*; 7 *prajāvato nrvato aśva-budhyān* | *uṣo goagrām upa māsi vājān*; 14 *uṣo adyeha gomaty aśvāvati vibhāvati* | *revad asme vy ucha sūnrtāvati*; 17 *ā na ūrjaṃ vahatam aśvinā yuvam*, cf. also 1; 8 etc.; 1, 123, 2; 124, 2 *aminati daivyāni vratāni* | *praminati manuṣyā yugāni* | *iṣuṣiṇam upamā śasvatīnām* | *āyatīnām prathamōṣa vy adyaut*; 6; 9; in a text addressed to the most-to-be-feared Rudra, 1, 114, 7. Cf. e. g. also R.V. 2, 12, 11; 10, 34, 7; 9; 13; Mbh. 3, 55, 9; 64, 30 *hritā bhītā ca samvignā*; 67, 17 f.; Kāl. Urv. 4, 7.

It is in this connection to be noted that various poets—e. g. Shakespeare and Schiller—, in harmony with a tendency in natural speech,

⁴²) Bijleveld, o.c., p. 63; cf. also Hofmann, Lat. Umgangssprache, p. 93.

⁴³) For other examples: Marouzeau, Traité de stylistique appliquée au latin, p. 56 f.; see also Lundström, o.c., p. 96 f.

⁴⁴) Werner, o.c., p. 189.

resort to rhyme to mark the end of a period or an emotional culminating point of their narrative. Compare e. g. RV. 1, 124, 13 (at the end of a *sūkta*): *yusmākaṃ devīr avasā sanema | sahasrīṇaṃ ca śatīnaṃ ca vājaṃ*. It is probable that poetical effusions such as the long description of the manifestation of the supreme Being in BhG. 11 provoked the poet to increase the number of rhyming vocables: st. 10 *anekavaktranayanam | anekā-dbhutadarsanam | anekadivyaḥbharanam | divyānekodyatāyudham*; 11; 17 *kīrīṇaṃ gadīnaṃ cakrīṇaṃ ca | ... dīptimantam | ... | ... aprameyam*; in 19 7 times -am or -aṃ; 21, 23 etc. : 'flectional rhyme' ⁴⁵⁾, it is true, and largely determined by the 'enumerative' character of these passages, but, on the other hand, helping the poet in giving vent to his emotions.

The phenomena under consideration, rhyme and homoioteleuton, are no doubt apt to arise spontaneously; they even may elude the attention of those authors who refrained from using them in writing. Thus the Roman poet Lucilius after having written *quem visere nolueris cum debu-eris* felt obliged to rectify this 'error' immediately ⁴⁶⁾. In inflected languages rhyme is the natural result of the syntactic agreement between the elements of the sentence: Aśv. Saund. 6, 42 *kulodgatāyāḥ patidevatāyāḥ*. Many authors, however, endeavoured to avoid even these natural cases of identity of sounds: Cicero's *res mihi invisae visae sunt* was declared unfit for correct literary expression. It must indeed be admitted that an excess of flectional rhyme is apt to create the impression of monotony and jingling composition. As soon as authors began to abandon the archaic symmetrical style and to give up the preference for exact horizontal or vertical word correspondence they felt also an objection to using too many repetitions of the same endings and terminal parts of words which were, in many cases, a mere corollary of this form of expression. ⁴⁷⁾ Thus an excess of flectional rhyme became in the course of time a characteristic of archaic compositions and of those genres in which the archaic style was for some reason or other retained: proverbs, magical and ritual texts etc. At this period of development the effect made by an immoderate use of flectional rhyme on the ears and the minds of the hearers necessarily was different from the impression which it made in archaic milieus as well as those circles which, for some specific purpose, kept up the ancient traditions. Thus it came by its comparative rarity and conspicuity to be, in later times, mainly a favourite means of attaining special effects ⁴⁸⁾.

In an unquestionable majority of cases rhyme and homoioteleuton are, in the Veda, in perfect harmony with the character of this literature and the style in which it is expressed, flectional. Two or more co-ordinated words of the same category, e. g. two nouns, are very often characterized

⁴⁵⁾ See further on.

⁴⁶⁾ Cf. also Marouzeau, o.c., p. 48.

⁴⁷⁾ Cf. also G. Gerber, *Sprache als Kunst* ² II, Berlin 1871, p. 157; Wölfflin, *Arch. f. lat. Lex.* 1, p. 365 f.; Lundström, o.c., p. 83.

⁴⁸⁾ For Latin instances see Marouzeau, o.c., p. 52 f.

by the same ending and, hence, by rhyme: RV. 1, 1, 4 *agne yaṃ yajñam adhvaram* "O Agni, the worship and sacrifice which . . ."; 1, 35, 2 *amṛtaṃ martyaṃ ca* "the immortal and the mortal"; 1, 160, 2 *pītā mātā ca*; 2, 12, 15 *sunvate pacate* "for him who presses and him who bakes"; 7, 63, 1 *caḥṣur mitrasya varuṇasya*; 8, 58 (Vāl. 10), 3 *jyotiṣmantam ketumantam*; cf. also the type 10, 82, 2 *dhātā vidhātā*. This identity of sound in the terminal syllables of two or more words is often most conspicuous if it extends over a considerable part of isosyllabic vocables: AV. 1, 18, 4 *riśyapadīm vṛṣadatīm* "the antelope-footed, the bull-toothed"; 3, 9, 1 *karṣaphasya viśaphasya* (two obscure words); 3, 11, 3 *sahasrākṣeṇa śata-viryeṇa*; 4, 26, 1 *subhojasau sacetasau*; 38, 4 *ānandinīm pramodinīm*; 6, 19, 3; 24, 2; 38, 2; 43, 1; 45, 2; 53, 3; 54, 1; 63, 1; 85, 2; 108, 1; 2.

Very often pairs of rhymes are distributed over a pāda so as to occupy corresponding positions: RV. 2, 33, 4 *mā duṣṭutī vṛṣabha mā sahūti*; 8 *prababhṛave vṛṣabhāya śvitice*; AV. 4, 30, 3 *juṣṭam devānām uta mānuṣāṇām*; 6, 12, 2; 68, 3 *gomān āśvavān ayam astu prajāvān*.

Most effective are those lines in which two rhyming word pairs, while combining with other forms of sound repetition are placed at regular intervals: RV. 1, 35, 3 *yāti devaḥ pravatā yāty udvatā | yāti śubhrābhyāṃ yajato haribhyāṃ* "the god goes by a downward, he goes by an upward path; adorable he goes with his two bright steeds"; 4 *abhīvṛtam kṛṣanair viśvarūpaṃ | hiraṇyāśamyāṃ yajato brhantam* "adorned with pearls, omniform, with golden pins, lofty"; 2, 12, 14 *yaḥ sunvantam avati yaḥ pacantam | yaḥ śamsantam yaḥ śaśamānam ūti*.

Other examples are: AV. 1, 18, 4 *vilīdhyāṃ lalāmyam*; 35, 1 *āyuse varcase balāya | dirghāyutvāya śataśaradāya*⁴⁹); 3, 6, 2 *mitreṇa varuṇena ca*; 3, 30, 1 *sahṛdayaṃ sāmmanasyam*; 4, 15, 9 *abhraṃ varṣam*; 21, 5 *hrdā manasā*; 24, 4 *vaśāsa ṛṣabhāsa . . .*; 30, 5 *brahmadviṣe śarave*; 6. It is clear that similar word groups could not be avoided by writers of prose either: AiB. 6, 9, 1 *vṛṣaṇvatīḥ pītavatīḥ sutavatīr . . .*; 18, 8 *abhijīti viṣuvati viśvajīti*; 18, 9; 32, 1 *nārāśamsyā gāyatrīyā*; 6, 8, 9 *pūrvedyuh śamseyuh*; 13, 6 *mādhyamāndine dve dve sūkte śamsanti*.

Although similarity in sound in general is, as already observed elsewhere in this book, an excellent means of emphasizing semantic and syntactic relations, rhyme i. e. repetition of terminations is especially suitable for this purpose. Even in non-inflected languages rhyme is a favourite syntactic device: for instance in sayings and proverbs⁵⁰): Jav. *wong dableg wareg* "the reckless are satisfied"; Mal. *tjinta itu buta* "love is blind"; Sund. *urang kampung saba gunung* "village people visiting the mountains".⁵¹) How much the more in ancient Indo-European languages.

Subject and predicate are connected by the same termination: RV. 6, 75, 19 *brahma varma mamāntaram*; AV. 9, 2, 16 *brahma varma vitatam*,

⁴⁹) See Whitney-Lanman, p. 35.

⁵⁰) See above.

⁵¹) For other examples see Bijleveld, o.c., p. 64 f.

anativyādham kṛtam; 2, 29, 3 *kṛtvāno anyān adharānt sapatnān*; 4, 6, 1 *sa cakārārasam viṣam*; 8 *yato jātam idam viṣam*; 21, 5 *gāvo bhago* ... "the cows are Bhaga".

In harmony with the elementary rules of concord a substantive and its adjective(s) often rhyme: RV. 1, 1, 2 *pūrvebhir ṛṣibhir* ...; 1, 35, 2 *hiranyayena savitā rathena*; 10; 85, 1; 9 *vajram sukṛtam hiranyayam*; cf. also 6, 54, 8 *śṛṇvantam pūṣanam vayam | iryam anastavedasam | iśānam rāya imahe*; AV. 1, 35, 1 *balāya | dīrghāyutvāya śataśārādāya*, a sequence which is often repeated in other parts of this corpus, e. g. 3, 5, 4; 4, 10, 7 etc., and elsewhere: 3, 3, 1 *rodasī urūci*; 11, 3 *śatāyuṣā haviṣāhārṣam enam*; 4, 7, 7; 13, 2; 14, 6 *ajam* ... | *divyam suparṇam payasam brhantam*; 15, 1; 18, 3; 37, 5; 5, 7, 5; 11, 8; 13, 2; 17, 9 etc.; an opposition: AV. 4, 29, 1; subject and nominal predicate ŚGS. 1, 17, 9 *pumāṃsau mitravarunau*. A noun and a verb constituting a syntactic group are more intimately connected by rhyme in cases such as AV. 3, 10, 9 and 10 *bhūtasya pataye yaje*; 12, 5 *trṇam vasānā sumanā asas tvam*; 6, 11, 1; 28, 1 *iṣam madantaḥ pari gāṃ nayāmaḥ*; 76, 2 *aham āyūṣe padam ā rabhe*; 108, 2 *devānām avase huve*. Subject, object and verb: AV. 4, 6, 4 and 5 *nir avocam aham viṣam*. The members of a nominal group: AV. 4, 17, 1 *iśānam tvā bheṣajānām*; 6, 38, 1 *sā na aitu varcasā samvidānā*; two co-ordinated nouns: ŚSS. 15, 27 *jyaishthe śraishthe ca gāthinaḥ*; TB. 3, 1, 2, 2; two co-ordinated verbs: AV. 4, 16, 2 *yas tiṣṭhati carati yaś ca vañcati*; in a principal and subordinate clause: 5, 5, 2 *yas tvā pibati jīvati* "he who drinks you lives", these instances are perfectly natural.

In this Vedic does not essentially differ from ancient Greek and Latin: Hes. Op. 30 *νεκρέων τ' ἀγορέων τε*; 72 *ζῶσε δὲ καὶ κόσμησε*; 100 *ἄλλα δὲ μύθῳ λυγρὰ*; and in Latin carmina: *hunc dolorem, hunc tumorem, hunc ruborem* etc. It would be an interesting theme to describe, in a comparative study, the divergences between Indian and Graeco-Latin style at the later stages of its evolution.

Similar instances of flecational rhyme are, in inflected languages, frequently found in enumerations: in Greek, Dittenberger, Syll.², 50 *Δελφοὶ ἔδωκαν Σωσιγράτῳ . . . προξενίαν, θεαροδοκίαν, προμαντείαν, προδικίαν, προεδρίαν, ἀσυλίαν, ἀτελείαν . . .*; in Latin, Plaut. Poen. 220, eight infinitives (. . . *poliri expoliri, pingi fingi*) creating the impression of fussy activity; Liv. Andr. Od. 5 *argento polubro aureo ecglutro*; in Vedic, AiB. 8, 24, 7 *kṣatram ca balaṃ ca rāṣṭram ca viṣam ca*; Āśv. GS. 4, 8, 19 *harāya mṛdāya śarvāya śivāya bhavāya* ... Although these repetitions are to a certain extent natural and often hardly avoidable they are apt to underline the enumerative character of the passage, to create the impression of abundance, to emphasize the idea of variety or accumulation: Plaut. Amph. 1062 *strepitus crepitus sonitrus tonitrus*; Rtus. 2, 19 *vahanti varṣanti nadanti bhānti | dhyāyanti nṛtyanti samāśrayanti* | ... Here also the similarity of the terminations helps to associate two or more ideas and to emphasize the existence of special relations. That is why it is not disre-

garded by speakers of non-inflected languages: in Malay, an enumeration of the seven feminine graces⁵²⁾ contains seven words ending on *-an*: *bangsawan* "nobility" etc. Compare, in Vedic, R.V. 4, 50, 2 *pr̥santam̐ sr̥pram̐ adabdhām̐ ūrvam̐*: qualification of a herd of cattle; AV. 6, 4, 2 *am̐so bhago varuṇo mitro . . .*; 6, 71, 1.

That flecational rhyme was not avoided even by the finest masters of Indian poetic style may appear from Kāl. R. 1, 20 *tasya samvrtamantrasya* | *gūḍhākāreṅgitasya ca* | *phalānumēyāḥ prārambhāḥ* | *saṃskārāḥ prāktanā iva*; Harṣa, Ratn. 56; Bhav. Uttarak. 1, 20. Cf. also Manu 3, 227.

Cases are however not wanting in which rhyme does not depend on the syntactic agreement between words characterized by the same flecational ending: R.V. 7, 86, 4 *kim āga āsa varuṇa* "what was the sin, O V.?"; AV. 4, 13, 4 *trāyantām marutām gaṇāḥ* "let the troops of M. rescue"; 15, 5 *marutaḥ* (voc.) *samudrataḥ* "O M., from the sea"; 22, 4 *priya indrasya*; 24, 4 *yasya vaśāsa ṛṣabhāsa . . .*; 36, 7 *yam ahaṃ grāmam . . .*; 6, 5, 2; 69, 3; 101, 3. In later literature e. g. Manu 3, 14.

Rhyme being one of the corollaries of the balanced sentence structure, it is important to notice that it very often appears at regular intervals, especially at the end of two or more corresponding units. Identity of sound in the final syllables of two or more successive pādas is, in the Vedic mantra literature, a phenomenon of considerable frequency: R.V. 1, 1, 1 *agnim̐ ile purohitam̐* | *yajñasya devam̐ ṛtvijam̐* | *hotāraṃ ratnadhātāmam̐*; 1, 35, 1 *hwayāmi agnim̐ prathamam̐ svastaye* | *h. mītravaruṇāv̐ ihāvase*; 2, 33, 2 *tvādattebhī rudra saṃtamebhīḥ* | *śatam̐ himā aśiya bheṣajebhīḥ*; 11 *stuhi śrutam̐ gartasadam̐ yuvānam̐* | *mṛgam̐ na bhīmam̐ upahatnum̐ ugram̐*; 7, 88, 3 *ā yad ruhāva varuṇas̐ ca nāvam̐* | *pra yat samudram̐ irayāva madhyam̐*, 7, 5, 5; 7, 37, 2; with responsio: 7, 34, 9. In the 6th book of the Atharvaveda (454 stanzas) there are about 100 examples of this structure, which often connects two terms of the same category more closely with one another: 6, 21, 2 *śreṣṭham̐ asi bheṣajānām̐* | *vasiṣṭham̐ vīrudhānām̐*; 86, 3 *samrād̐ asy asurānām̐* | *kakun manuṣyānām̐*; 6, 5, 2 *rāyaspoṣeṇa sam̐ srja* | *jīvātave jarase naya*. At times the syntactic or metrical units involved do not run parallel and the rhyming terms are not syntactically associated: AV. 4, 7, 1 *tatrāmṛtasyāsikṭam̐* | *tenā te vāraye viṣam̐*; 4, 36, 3. In a minority of cases this homoioteleuton is due to literal repetition of words: AV. 6, 72, 2 *yāvat parasvataḥ pasas̐* | *tāvat te vardhatām̐ pasah̐*. In R.V. 10, 180, 1 *patiḥ sindhūnām̐ asi revatīnām̐* the structure of the pāda has nothing to do with binary parallelism, but the rhythmical schema and the rhyme are similar to those of the above instances. This type of rhyme corresponds to the so-called leonine or internal rhyme in the versification of classical antiquity and Europe, which is likewise characterized by identity in sound of the last word and that just before the caesura⁵³⁾: *A 65 εἴτ' ἄρ' ὄγ' εὐχολῆς*

⁵²⁾ Quoted by R. J. Wilkinson, A Malay-English dictionary, I, Mytilene 1932, p. 240.

⁵³⁾ See e.g. Lundström, o.c., p. 97; Grimm, o.c., p. 627; Wölfflin, Arch. f. lat.

ἐπιμέμεται εἴθ' ἐκατόμβης; 145; 157; 204; Naevius 22 *iamque eius mentem Fortuna fecerat quietem*; Plaut. Most. 870 *si huic imperabo, probe tectum habebo*; Lucr. 1, 318 *saepe salutantum tactu praeterque meantum*; Verg. G. 2, 408 *primus humum fodito, primus devecta cremato* (notice the parallelism, the anaphora and the prescriptive character of the communication). See also BhG. 11, 21; 16, 12. Classical instances are: Aśv. S. 4, 46; 5, 20; 6, 25; 8, 35; 14, 14; Kāl. R. 2, 18; 3, 34; cf. 9, 43 ... *aṃśukaiḥ* | ... *yavāṅkuraiḥ*; Harṣa, Ratn. 55; Bhav. Uttarar. 2, 8; 12.

Its main source being, again, flectional agreement, this homoioteleuton occurs also in prose, in a Latin fragment (Cornificius) *satius est uti regibus quam uti malis legibus*; in brāhmaṇas: AiB. 6, 14, 2 *marutvatīyaṃ potriyāyai, vaiśvadevaṃ neṣṭriyāyai*; 3 *atha kasmād dvipraiṣaḥ potā, dvipraiṣo neṣṭā*; 7, 1, 2 *hanū sajihve prastotuh, śyenam vakṣa udgātuh* . . .

Especially, if the elements connected by rhyme agree syntactically in case, person or otherwise this homoioteleuton is a forceful means of forging stanzas or greater syntactic units: RV. 10, 12, 7 *yasmin devā vidathe mādayante* | *vivasvataḥ sadane dhārayante* "bei welchem Opfer die Götter schwelgen, (für welche) Stätte des Vivasvat sie sich entscheiden (wissen wir nicht)" (Geldner); AV. 4, 21, 7 *prajāvatīḥ sūyavase ruṣantiḥ* | *śuddhā apah suprapāṇe pibantiḥ* "rich in progeny, shining in good pasture, drinking clear water at a good watering place". An interesting example of incomplete rhyme is RV. 2, 3, 7 *daivya hotūrā prathamā viduṣṭara* (representing *viduṣṭarā*) | *rju yakṣataḥ sam ṛcā vapuṣṭarā*. Cf. also 2, 3, 6; 2, 6, 7; AV. 1, 27, 2. The 'leonine' rhyme is sometimes reinforced or extended by other elements of the structure which are conspicuous by the same termination: RV. 7, 104, 22 *ulūkayātum śuśulūkayātum* | *jahi śvayātum uta kokayātum* | *suparṇayātum uta ṛdhrayātum* | *ṛṣadeva pra mṛṇa rakṣa indra*; RV. 3, 32, 13 *ya stomēbhir vāvṛdhe pūrvyebhir* | *yo madhyamebhir uta nūtanēbhīḥ*; AV. 3, 10, 1 *sā naḥ payasvatī duḥām* | *uttarām uttarām samām* "let her, rich in milk, yield to us each further season". Although the author of this line does not appear to have strained after special artistic effects, the repeated syllable may be felt as suggesting the ideas of abundance and continuity. In places such as AV. 4, 7, 2 *arasam prācyam viṣam* | *arasam yad udīcyam* the unity and the cohesion of the line are doubtless enhanced by the sound repetition. Cf. also 4, 10, 4; 37, 10; 38, 2; 5, 12, 6; 28, 5; 30, 7; compare, in Latin, Plaut. Asin. 241 *portitorum simillumae sunt ianuae lenoniae*; in Greek, e. g. A 157. Especially interesting are those half-verses, one pāda of which is in itself a rhyming binary structure: RV. 10, 10, 8 *na tiṣṭhanti na ni miṣanty ete* | *devānām spaśa iha ye caranti*; AV. 4, 14, 5 *agne preḥi prathamā devatānām* | *cakṣur devānām uta mānuṣānām* "O Agni, go forth first of the divinities, eye of gods and of human beings"; a post-Vedic example is Bhāsa, Svapnav. 5, 5 *sutāyāḥ* | *samarantyāḥ* | . . . | . . . *pātayantyāḥ*; Kāl. Māl. 1, 10. Similarly,

Lex. 1, p. 353 ff.; Werner, l.c.; Gonda, Alliteration und Reim im Satzbau des Atharvaveda I-VII, Acta Or., 18, p. 64 ff., where many other examples are given.

in a Latin curse⁵⁴): *de Tebeste usque ad Tergeste liget sibi collum de reste*. At times this rhyme combines with other forms of sound repetition: RV. 10, 155, 5 *parīme gām aneṣata | pary agnim ahr̥ṣata*; cf., in Latin, Plaut. Asin. 183 *volt placere sese amicae, volt mihi, volt pedisequae*.

At times all words constituting the half-stanza are connected by the same rhyme: AV. 5, 5, 6 *hiranyavar̥ṇe subhage | sūryavar̥ṇe vapuṣṭame*; 31, 12; in a well-balanced binary structure: 6, 44, 2 *śreṣṭham āsrāvabheṣajam | vasiṣṭham roganāśanam*; 7, 50, 2. A curious instance is RV. 8, 35, 10 *pibatam ca tr̥pnutam cā ca gachatam | prajām ca dhattam draviṇam ca dhattam*: syntactically, the repeated syllables *-am* constitute two groups. Classical examples are R̥tus. 2, 19; Bhav. Uttarak. 1, 50.

Identity of sound in the final syllables of half-stanzas — cf. e. g. Homer, *Δ* 90 f.; *Δ* 187 f.; *ζ* 60 f.; Hes. Op. 1 f.; 383 f. Plaut. Am. 413 f.; M. G. 79 f. (a principal and a subordinate clause) — though far from rare appears to be a less pronounced feature in the versification of the ancient poets.⁵⁵) Because of the greater distance between the rhyming vocables this type of sound correspondence does not claim the hearer's attention with the same intensity. Yet it may add to the cohesion of the stanza. Some examples are, in addition to instances of assonance such as RV. 9, 99, 2 *adha kṣapā pariṣkr̥to | vājām abhi'pra gāhate | yadī vivasvato dhiyo | harim̐ hin-vanti yātave* (cf. also 9, 101, 8; 10): RV. 10, 22, 6 and 7; 10, 37, 1 . . . | *maho devāya tad ṛtam saparyata | . . . | divas putrāya sūryāya śamsata*; 7, 29, 3; 31, 11; 32, 14. AV. 9, 2, 15 . . . *sarvān | . . . sahasvān*; 11, 8, 32, and the symmetrical lines 11, 9, 25 I and II *iśām vo maruto deva | ādityo brahmaṇas patiḥ | iśām va indras cāgniś ca | dhātū mitrah̐ prajāpatiḥ*; with repetition of the same word *ajāyata*: 11, 8, 8; ābharat 12. Cf. also Manu 2, 238; 3, 108; 111. Classical examples are: Kāl. R. 1, 14; 38; 40; 43; 47; emphasizing an antithesis: 3, 44 . . . *nigadyase | . . . katham̐ pravartase*; Bhav. Uttarak. 1, 25 . . . *tapovanāni | . . . gr̥hiṇo gr̥hāni*; 26 (with anaphora). There are counterparts in prose texts: AiB. 6, 2, 6 . . . *vi tathā chandāmsi lupyeran, bahūni tathākṣarāni hiyeran*; 7, 2, 7; JB. 2, 222. RV. 2, 1, 5 may be quoted as an instance of repetition of sound at the end of two non-parallel lines.

Sometimes rhyme is obtained by repeating complete words: AV. 3, 31, 10 *ud āyusā sam āyusā*; cf. also 3, 11, 1 *ajñātayakṣmād uta rājayakṣmāt*; 3, 21, 6 *ukṣānnāya vaśānnāya*; 4, 37, 11 *śvevaikah̐ kapir̐ ivaikah̐*. Similarly, Rām. 4, 28, 25. This procedure is described in the Bhāratīya-Nāṭyaśāstra — which may date from the 2nd cent. A. D. — 17 (16), 65 f. as *pādānta-yamaka* (yamaka characterized by the occurrence of similar syllables at the end of all four quarters of a stanza). In other cases rhyme is accompanied by *responsio* (other forms of vertical correspondence): RV. 4, 2, 1 *hotā yajīṣṭho mahnā śucadhīyai | havyair̐ agnir̐ manuṣa īrayadhyai*; 3, 36, 7 *aṃśum̐ duhanti hastino bharitr̥air̐ | madhvaḥ punanti dhārayā pavitr̥air̐*,

⁵⁴) Carm. epigr. ed. F. Bücheler, Leipzig 1895, p. 242, 10.

⁵⁵) For Avestan parallels see J. Hertel, Beiträge zur Metrik des Avestas . . . , Leipzig 1927, p. 35.

throwing the correspondence between the processes into relief. Cf. also Aśv. S. 4, 8 *kandarparatyor iva lakṣyabhūtam* | *pramodanāndyōr iva nīdabhūtam*.

Reference should also be made to early instances of the habit of composing tripartite stanzas the last part of which, being twice as long as the first and the second, has its final syllables in common with these: R̥V. 10, 19, 8 *ā nivartana vartaya* | *nī nivartana vartaya* | *bhūmyāś catasrah pradiśas* | *tābhya enā nī vartaya*; 7, 56, 19 ... *rāmayanti* | ... *ā namanti* | ... | ... *da-dhanti*.⁵⁶⁾ It is the same structure as that exhibited by a Latin 'Heilspruch'⁵⁷⁾ which has come down to us from a work of Marcellus Empiricus, p. 111 C, *albula glandula nec doleas nec noceas nec paniculo facias*. Of similar structure is Bhav. Uttarar. 1, 36.

Sometimes all four pādas of a stanza end in the same way: R̥V. 9, 98, 10 *indrāya soma pātave* | *vṛtraghne pari śicyase* | *nare ca dakṣiṇāvate* | *devāya sadanāsade* "for I, the killer of V., thou, O S., art poured out to be drunk, and for the lord who gives the dakṣiṇā, for the god who is sitting on the (sacrificial) seat"; cf. 9, 98, 1; 6. Cf. also AV. 1, 2, 1. This procedure was also adopted by post-Vedic poets: Bhāsa, Svapnav. 6, 2; Kāl. R. 11, 16 *tivravegadhrutamārgavṛkṣayā* | *pretacivaravasā svanograyā* | *abhyabhāvi bharatāgrajas tayā* | *vātyayeva pitrkānanotthayā*; sometimes, e. g. Kāl. R. 1, 5-8, even in a group of stanzas.

So far we have only touched upon the function of rhyme in the structure of stanzas. Some of the ancient poets had, however, a sensitiveness to variations of sound and applications of rhyme which are a source of joy or a cause for astonishment. Thus R̥V. 9, 107, 15 *tarat samudram pavamāna ūrmiṇā* | *rājā deva ṛtam bṛhat* | *aṣṇan mitrasya varuṇasya dharmanā* | *prahinvāna ṛtam bṛhat* and 10, 37, 1 ... *cakṣase* | ... *saparyata* | ... *ketave* | ... *śamsata* are examples of alternate rhyme. Elsewhere the first and second pāda are connected by rhyme and the third and fourth by another rhyme: R̥V. 9, 89, 4 ... *aśvam* | ... *ṛṣvam* | ... *mārjayanti* | ... *ūrjayanti*, or two pādas only are characterized by the same termination: R̥V. 7, 72, 4 ... *bharante* | ... *jarante*⁵⁸⁾; 10, 106, 1. Compare also Manu 3, 9 ... *-nām-nīm* | ... *nāmikām* | ... *nāmnīm* | ... *nāmikām*; 3, 56; 4, 54; Rām. 2, 88, 7 ... *-varyeṣu* | ... *sugandhiṣu* | ... *-kalpeṣu* | ... *-bhittiṣu*; Aśv. S. 4, 11; Kāl. R. 3, 70 (not a very striking instance); Śak. 6, 8. Even a foot may rhyme with an alternate foot: Rām. 5, 59, 23 *pativratā ca suśroṇī* | *avaṣṭabdhā ca jānakī*.

Interesting is also the continuation of rhyme beyond the caesura: AV. 6, 55, 3 *idāvatsarāya parivatsarāya* | *samvatsarāya kṛṇutā bṛhan namaḥ*; 6, 41, 2; 7, 56, 5 *arasasya śarkoṭasya* | *nīcīnasya* ... ; 2, 4, 2: 4 times an ablative ending in *-āt* asyndetically; 2, 12, 4: 6 times *-bhiḥ*; 3, 10, 10: 4

⁵⁶⁾ Cf. also Th. Aufrecht, Z.D.M.G. 60, p. 57; Oldenberg, Rigveda, Textkrit. u. exeg. Noten, II, Berlin 1912, p. 8.

⁵⁷⁾ See Helmreich, Arch. f. lat. Lex. 2, p. 423.

⁵⁸⁾ See Diwekar, Fleurs de rhétorique, p. 12 f.

times *-bhyah*; 12, 2: 6 times *-vatī* in the second and third pādas; 15, 7 *sa naḥ prajāśv ātmasu | goṣu prāṇeṣu jāgrhi*; 18, 2; cf. also 30, 5 *jyāyasvantas ... | samrādhayantaḥ sadhurāś carantaḥ*, and often elsewhere. Similarly, Rām. 4, 24, 13; 6, 73, 5 (tristubhs); 5, 20, 36 (in a puṣpitāgrā stanza).

Of some frequency are the instances of identity in sound of the terminal syllables of two words on either side of the caesura. As it cannot, as a rule, fail to attract the hearer's attention it is an excellent means of enhancing the cohesion of the line: R.V. 3, 40, 9 *yad antarā parāvataṃ | arvāvataṃ ca hūyase* "when Thou art, on the way, invoked far and near"; AV. 5, 21, 2 *ud vepamānā manasā | cakṣuṣā hṛdayena ca*; not rarely with chiasmus in the parallel sentences: AV. 6, 21, 2 *somo bhaga iva yāmeṣu | deveṣu varuṇo yathā*; 7, 95, 2 *kurkurāv iva kūjantāv | udavantau vṛkāv iva*; 6, 56, 2; cf. also 68, 1 etc. This variety of rhyme (übergehender Reim) occurs also in AV. 3, 7, 6 *vedāhaṃ tasya bheṣajaṃ | kṣetriyaṃ nāśayāmi tvat*; 4, 2, 3 and other places where two sentences of different construction follow each other so as to constitute a half-stanza. In epic Sanskrit e. g. Mbh. 14, 44, 3; 5; Rām. 2, 27, 24; 56, 8; 3, 52, 7; cf. also Rām. 2, 27, 10 . . . *mātrā ca | pitrā ca ...*; Mbh. 14, 45, 11. Homeric parallels are e. g. *Α 692 δῶδεκα γὰρ Νηληϊος ἀμύμονος υἱέες ἦμεν*; 699.

Much that is interesting is to be found in those stanzas which exhibit rhyme and assonance or alliteration at the same time. In addition to the places mentioned hitherto attention may be drawn to AV. 7, 12, 2 *ye te ke ca sabhāsadas | te me santu savācasah*; 5, 30, 4 *unmocanapramocane | ubhe vācā vadāmi te*.

As already intimated in the preceding sections of this book many stylistic phenomena which are of considerable frequency and of a more or less systematic application in later times have their roots in early and even prehistoric periods, in which they occurred — as far as we are able to see — in a 'free' and 'irregular' way. Another remarkable coincidence in the position of rhyming vocables concerns the counterpart of the so-called 'Pausen' in European versification, an example of which is the German *tuot mir dīn līp wol, so bist du guot*⁵⁹); cf. also, in Greek, *Γ 331*; Eur. Ion 2. That is to say: the first rhyming word is sometimes placed at the very beginning, the second at the end of a metrical unit or of a line or stanza. Compare: R.V. 1, 182, 2 *indratamā hi dhiṣṇyā maruttamā*, a pāda which combining with *dasrā daṃsiṣṭhā rathyā rathitamā* may at the same time be quoted to illustrate the possibility of complications "for ye . . . are the most Indra-like, the most Marut-like, the . . . best charioteers"; a double instance is R.V. 8, 62, 12 *satyam id vā u taṃ vayam | indram stavāma nānṛtam* "with truth we will praise I., not contrary to the real facts"; R.V. 10, 10, 8 the rhyme recurs also in the midst of the line. In post-Vedic poetry e. g. Rām. 3, 52, 35 *sakhīm iva gatotsāhām śocantīva sma maithilīm*; 4, 1, 73 *puṣpitām . . . -śobhitām*.

⁵⁹) See Habermann, Reall. d. deutschen Lit. Gesch. III, 30.

In the smallest metrical unit, the pāda, this type of rhyme seems to have enjoyed some popularity: RV. 10, 133, 2 *viśvaṃ puṣyasi vāryam* "thou possessest all that is precious". Similarly, TB. 3, 12, 7, 3 *sarvān marīcīn vitātān*; AV. 4, 9, 7 *satyaṃ vakṣyāmi nānṛtam*; TB. 3, 12, 7, 5 *satyaṃ śraddhām tapo damam*; TS. 1, 1, 7, 2 *yāni gharṃe kapālāni*; cf. TS. 4, 7, 12, 1 *rathair yātā hiraṇyayaiḥ*; KS. 37, 9 *yebhir ādityas tapati pra ketubhiḥ*. It is evident that especially in those cases in which the rhyming words are syntactically closely associated this identity of termination may substantially add to the unity of the pāda. The rhyming terms constitute, so to say, a pair of tongs gripping and including the rest of the elements. Even non-inflected languages afford sufficient proof of the stylistic value of this figure. Thus the Sundanese sentence *untung mitoha mah, kaula buntung* "my father-in-law (m.) is lucky, I, on the other hand, am unfortunate" expresses by means of rhyme and chiasmus a marked antithesis.⁶⁰⁾

The conclusion may therefore be that the binding and associative force of rhyme, if the words involved are intimately connected, implies an association of ideas. Even in daily life many categories of beings or objects are denoted by words ending in the same termination, that is to say: they are characterized by 'rhyme': the names of the months, *January, February; September, October*, etc.; the names of the Roman goddesses *Bellona, Pomona, Angerona, Alemona*; the botanical terms *āsvattha-, mahittha-, dadhittha-, kapittha-* etc. in Sanskrit and many other similar groups. This leads us again to the occurrence of rhyme in enumerations. The same phenomenon may occasionally transform words: thus RV. 1, 141, 4 *prkṣudho vīrudho* ... was considered by Oldenberg⁶¹⁾ to stand for *prkṣo v. "food and plants"*.⁶²⁾

It is true that rhyme was not only not avoided, but often deliberately retained and cultivated in magical texts. In later times it even was one of the characteristics of the ancient, nay archaic and sacral style in which they were composed and in which they continued to be recited. As already observed, the many enumerations, synonyms, repetitions, and other phenomena of horizontal correspondence, and last but not least their very symmetrical structure combining to constitute the markedly assonant character of these texts, the frequent occurrence of rhyme and other forms of sound repetition is, in prayers, formulas, and incantations highly appreciated because of the 'magical force' believed to be inherent in them⁶³⁾.

⁶⁰⁾ Rhyme of the typus AG. 1, 10, 23 *sarvān naḥ kāmān samardhaya* is conditioned by Wackernagel's law (enclitics occupy the second place).

⁶¹⁾ H. Oldenberg; Rigveda, Textkritische u. exeg. Noten, Berlin 1909, 1912, on 1, 141, 4 but cf. P. Thieme, Z.D.M.G. 95, p. 344 (?). See also Güntert, o.c., passim.

⁶²⁾ For an harmonic and even 'erotic' function of rhyme compare R. Blümel, Der neuhochdeutsche Rhythmus, Heidelberg 1930, p. 141.

⁶³⁾ See e.g. J. Grimm, Deutsche Mythologie, Berlin 1875ff., II⁴, p. 102; A. Wuttke, Der deutsche Volksaberglauben³, Berlin 1900, p. 168 ff.; A. Audollent, Defixionum tabellae, Paris 1904, p. LXX; Dieterich, Fleckeisen's Jahrb., Suppl. 16, p. 769;

The principle 'similia similibus' was not only applied to ritual acts but also to the vocabulary of magic. The efficacy of spells depending in large measure upon their mysteriousness, ⁶⁴) the archaic or even cryptic language in which they are couched and the preference for an unusual, solemn and impressive sound of their elements which, though they may even be nonsensical, gain in effectiveness by their mode of utterance, have largely contributed to the popularity of rhyme and homoioteleuton in this genre of 'literature'. A Latin formula prescribed for sprains and dislocations, Cato, R. R. 160 *daries dardaries astataries*, or the formula *argidam margidam sturgidam*, Sanskrit spell-words of the type *diṣaṃ viṣaṃ* has ⁶⁵), the Greek mystical formula *ὦε νόε ἰνερχέε* ⁶⁶), Javanese strings of words such as *pajung agung agung lantaran kaddarriah, rupijah, supijah* ⁶⁷), and the well-known Dutch juggler's formula *hokus-pokus-pilatus-pas* may be quoted in illustration. Whether intelligible or unintelligible, whether a coherent statement or a series of nonsense syllables these formulas act as catalyzers in the magical process. Whereas poets sometimes imitated this mode of expression in describing magical rites or similar practices — e. g. Verg., Ecl. 8, 79 *limus ut hic durescit et haec ut cera liquescit* —, the ancient Indian texts furnish us with a considerable number of authentic instances of real magical formulas: AV. 6, 28, 2 *parīme 'gnim arṣata | parīme gām aneṣata* "these have taken fire about; these have led the cow about" occurring in an incantation intended to avert birds of ill omen; 1, 18, 4 *riṣ-yapadīm vṛṣadatīm | goṣedhām vidhamām uta | vilīdhyam lalāmyam | tā asman nāṣayāmasi*. Compare for instance also AV. 2, 33 (RV. 10, 163); 3, 9 etc. etc., and German parallels such as *lig lig lang, du teyfelische schlang; ic ic mane u bi den banne | ende bi den goeden sente Janne . . .* ⁶⁸). However, the opinion that these magical texts are the real sources and ultimate origin of all rhyme ⁶⁹) cannot, as far as I am able to see, be substantiated.

This is not all. Rhyme may also be 'impressionistic', helping to record the sensuous impressions made upon the poet, and picturing a variety of sentiments and dispositions; it may for instance express pressure, urgency, insistence, obsession, overwhelming oppression etc. ⁷⁰) It may produce imitative or onomatopoeic effects: in Latin, Verg. Aen. 2, 313 *exoritur clamorque virum clangorque tubarum*; in Old-Javanese, Rām. 6, 133 *sēmpal papal kaparapal kapupuh pukah puh*, describing the sound of falling trees; and similar examples of 'onomatopoeia' in the choice of words are also

Heim, *ibid.* 19, p. 547; F. Bücheler, *Rheinisches Museum* 34, p. 344; E. Wölfflin, *Der Reim im Lat.*, Arch. f. lat. Lex. 1, p. 355; 3, p. 454 ff.; Güntert, *Reimw.*, p. 216 f.

⁶⁴) The reader may be referred to H. Webster, *Magic*, Stanford Cal. 1948, p. 94 f.

⁶⁵) Sāmaveda, Bibl. Ind. II, p. 388 f.

⁶⁶) H. Usener, *Kleine Schriften*, IV, p. 315; Güntert, *Reimw.*, p. 217 f.

⁶⁷) Bijleveld, o.c., p. 66.

⁶⁸) Schönbach, o.c., p. 36, 48.

⁶⁹) Thus Güntert, *Reimw.*, p. 219; *Sprache der Götter und Geister*, p. 46; (Leumann-) Hofmann, *Lat. Gramm.*,⁵ p. 803.

⁷⁰) Cf. e.g. M. Grammont, *Traité de phonétique*, Paris 1950, p. 420 f.

found in the works of Indian poets ⁷¹): in Damayanti's words, Mbh. 3, 62, 3, *hā nātha, hā mahārāja . . . | hā hatāsmi, vinaṣṭāsmi* the repeated interjection *hā* and the assonant *a* sounds in the following words may safely be regarded as imitating, together with the rhyme, protracted lamentation and as evoking a corresponding emotion in the hearers. The places in which the Veda gives evidence of these functions of rhyme are no doubt rare; if there is any such use, the present author does not remember that he has noticed it.

Combining with vertical correspondence and complete repetition homoioteleuton may add to the earnest clear-cut character of a stanza, suitable for the expression of a truth, a conviction or an experience: Āśv. S. 8, 40 *guṇavatsu caranti bhartṛvad | guṇahīneṣu c. putravat | dhanavatsu c. tṛṣṇayā | dhanahīneṣu c. avajñayā*.

Sometimes rhyme is suggestive. The poet Āśvaghoṣa obviously was averse to mentioning the name of Buddha's wife Yaśodharā without adding one or more compounds ending in *-dharā* or beginning with *yaśas-*: Bc. 2, 26 *yaśodharāṃ nāma yaśoviśālāṃ* "Y. by name, of widespread renown"; 8, 31 *uvāca niśvāsacalatpayodharā | vigāḍhaśokāśrudharā yaśodharā* "she spoke, her bosom heaving with sighs, and tears streaming down with the grief she was enduring": whereas in the former instance the repetition helps to revive the etymological sense of the proper name, the repetition in the latter line may to a certain extent serve to prelude and announce it. However, the mere delight in sound repetition was not foreign to the production of these verses and very often this predilection for sonority was, in the poems of the classical period, the main factor in their genesis. ⁷²) A consistent or systematic use of rhyme was, generally speaking, made neither at the Vedic period, nor during the ensuing centuries. In this the authors of Indian antiquity agreed with their colleagues in the ancient West. This is not to deny that rhyme and homoioteleuton, in early Indian poetry, often fulfilled an important function in the construction of verses and sentences; a considerable part of the above instances may be quoted in substantiation of this statement. ⁷³)

Some words need to be said on a special type of rhyme, viz. the repetition, in the outward form of a separate word, of the last syllables of the preceding vocable. With regard to the aesthetic effect and the desirability of this 'figure' poets and authors of works on poetics have not always been in agreement. In classical antiquity the immediate succession of two identical syllables belonging to different words was often avoided and

⁷¹) For Hindi see S. H. Kellogg, Grammar of the Hindi language³, London 1938, p. 497.

⁷²) Some modern authors have incorrectly attempted to explain the phenomenon of rhyme in general from 'plays on sounds', nay from a "komisch wirkendes Sprachmittel, (das) dann in seiner frühen Entwicklung noch als geistreiches Klangspiel galt" (W. Schneider, Ausdruckswerte der deutschen Sprache, Leipzig-Berlin 1931, p. 151).

⁷³) See also Acta Orientalia, 18, p. 50 ff.

condemned as *κακοφωνία* "ill-sound".⁷⁴) Whereas poets of rank did not like combinations such as Verg. Aen. 6, 88 *Dorica castra* the homoioteleuton of a monosyllabic word at the end of a verse was sometimes deliberately preferred to other modes of expression in order to produce a special effect. In the famous line Hor. A. P. 139 *parturiunt montes: nascetur ridiculus mus* "le poète s'amuse à représenter par le monosyllabe un objet menu"⁷⁵), and the smallness of the mouse is accentuated by placing the word *mus*, before the verse end, after a long word with which it has two of its three sounds in common. Although combinations of this type may occasionally, in speaking and writing, escape our notice⁷⁶), it is difficult to believe that they are, in the works of careful authors, unintentional.

It has already been observed that the poet Aśvaghoṣa was not only fond of sound repetitions, but also of using them in emphatic positions, attributing to them a definite syntactic and aesthetic value. One of his favourite forms of yamaka is the repetition of two syllables at the end of a pāda: S. 1, 56 *tasmād alpēna kālēna | tat tad āpūpuran puram* "then in a short time they filled the city with people". Here and elsewhere—9, 49 (two examples); cf. also 17, 16 *vicikāya kāyam* (twice)—the second word is shorter, repeating only the latter part of the preceding vocable. At times the same poet went so far as to string a large number of these yamakas together: thus S. 10, 56 f. there are eight of them in succession, no doubt a deliberate artificiality: . . . *madānahinā hi nā | . . . anavasthitāḥ sthitāḥ | . . . ātmano mano | . . . śantanus tanuḥ* etc. Incidentally he repeated three syllables: S. 15, 41 *svajanasya janasya ca*.⁷⁷) Other classical instances are, at the end of a line: Mṛcch. 9, 36 *karkaśāḥ kaśāḥ* "heavy lashes of the whip", no doubt an instance of 'sound symbolism', the word *karkaśa*—"rough, hard" lending itself excellently to imitative purposes (cf. BhāgP. 3, 17, 11 *kharāś ca karkaśaiḥ kṣattaḥ khurair ghnantaḥ*); Harṣa, Ratn. 3, 55 *padmānukārau karau*; in the midst of a line: Āryaś. Jātakam. 18, 5 *bhavane vane vā*; Var. BS. 46, 19 *nṛpativadhāḥ praharaṇe raṇo raudraḥ* (notice the repeated *r*, the word *raudra* is frequently used in similar combinations suggesting roughness and emphasizing, by means of sound effects, the meaning) "fierce, violent": ". . . death of the king; if a weapon (blazes), there is to be a dreadful battle". Similar instances occur in the epics Mbh. 3, 64, 40 *na ca me bālabhāve 'pi kiṃcit pāpakṛtaṃ kṛtaṃ |* ; 3, 295, 22 *teṣāṃ tadā nivasatāṃ satāṃ |* ; 11, 17, 13 *ramayanty aśivāḥ śivāḥ |*, especially in the last case the poet's propensity for assonant sound combinations has

⁷⁴) See W. Schulze, *Kakophonie*, Kuhn's Zs. 43, p. 185 ff. (= Kleine Schriften, Göttingen 1933, p. 304 ff.); Norden, P. Verg. Maro Aeneis Buch VI erklärt², Leipzig 1916, p. 150 f.; 278; H. Kraffert, *Kakophonien im Lateinischen*, Zs. für Gymnasialwesen 1887, p. 713 ff.; Marouzeau, *Traité de stylistique*, p. 38 ff.

⁷⁵) Marouzeau, o.c., p. 284.

⁷⁶) A collection of relevant facts and examples may be found in Marouzeau, *Précis de stylistique française*², Paris 1946, p. 23 ff.

⁷⁷) Another type of repetition may be exemplified by Rām. 4, 40, 29 *plavanena plavena ca*.

obviously been the main factor in its genesis, together with the desire to throw light upon the mystical connections between words and the properties of the objects denoted by them; jackals (*śivāḥ*) are indeed unkind and dangerous (*aśivāḥ*) animals. A Greek parallel of this kind of 'yamaka' is Homer, *B* 758 *Πρόθοος* *θοός* "the swift P."

Although, in the Veda, instances of a monosyllabic word at the end of a pāda, line, or stanza are not very rare,⁷⁸ the typus *ridiculus mus* does not appear to have been particularly favoured in that position. AV. 1, 20, 1 and 5, 3, 6 it reads: *mā no vidad vṛjinā dveṣyā yā* "let not the wrong that is hateful find us". In another position we find: AV. 4, 17, 4 *āme māṃse kṛtyām yām cakruḥ*; 3, 14, 5 | *śivo vo goṣṭho* . . . ; 5, 17, 6 | *devā vā* . . . Nor are disyllabic repetitions frequent: AV. 9, 3, 16 *prthivyām nimitā mitā* "fixed, built upon the earth".

Attention may also be drawn to combinations of the type JB. 1, 11 *yathā hasti hastyāsanam upary āsinam ādāyotiṣṭhet* "just as an elephant stands up together with the person who is sitting on the seat (on his back)": the Sanskrit idiom does not avoid repeating the idea of elephant in connection with the seat. Similarly, 2, 134 *sa yathāhir ahicchavyai nirmucyeta*. The type 2, 103 *saṃnaddhaḥ saṃnaddhasūrathih* is discussed elsewhere. Other more or less 'cacophonous' sound combinations of the types discussed or even denounced in European books on style are, e. g. JB. 2, 134 *apahatapāpmā tapati* "he gives out heat, free from evil".

Short words (*ha*, *ca* etc.) often serve, in the epics and in the works of Aśvaghoṣa and other authors, as a means of increasing the resonance of the sound or sounds of the preceding syllables⁷⁹: in the epics the type *jaḡāma ha*, *dadarśa ha* at the end of a metrical unit is well-known, and Aśvaghoṣa was fond of combinations such as S. 15, 33 *janasya svajanasya ca*. These sequences are, of course, also Vedic, but the early authors do not appear to have intentionally utilized these short words for producing a variety of sonorous effects: cf. Aśv. S. 4, 11 *anyonyam arīramac ca* . . . *anyonyam amīmadac ca*.

Finally some more complicated occurrences of rhyme may be considered: RV. 3, 39, 6 *guhā hitam guhyam gūlham apsu* | *haste dadhe dakṣiṇe dakṣiṇāvān*; AV. 3, 20, 6 . . . *iha* | *suhaveha havāmahe* (paronomasia); 4, 7, 1 *tenā te vārāye viṣam* (alliteration); 4, 9, 10 *ubhe te bhadre* (all.); 5, 13, 3 *aham tam asya nṛbhir agrabham rasam*; 6, 30, 1 *devā imam madhunā saṃyutam yavam*; 6, 36, 3 *agniḥ pareṣu dhāmasu* | *kāmo bhūtasya bhavyasya*; 6, 40, 2 *ūrjam subhūtam svasti savitā naḥ kṛṇotu*; 6, 97, 3 agreement in sound between the first words *imam* : *indram*.

The conclusions to be drawn from this survey may be stated somewhat as follows. In the Vedic mantra collections rhyme is in the first place an

⁷⁸) See Monosyllaba am Satz- und Versschluss im Altindischen, *Acta Orientalia* 17, p. 123 ff.; cf. L. Spitzer, *Aufsätze zur romanischen Syntax und Stilistik*, Halle 1918, p. 336.

⁷⁹) See *Acta Orientalia*, 17, p. 135; 138 ff.; Renou, *Grammaire sanscrite*, p. 521.

accompaniment or natural consequence of other stylistic peculiarities, especially of the balanced structure, the horizontal and vertical correspondences and of the special character of the inflectional system. Words of the same grammatical category being often placed in corresponding positions, flectional homoioteleuton was apt to occur rather frequently. Enumerations of similar terms were not avoided, so the same suffix or ending not seldom appeared twice or more in succession. The prose of the early ritualists and philosophers being free from the rhythm and regularity of the *samhitās* occasions for correspondences and their corollaries such as rhyme and assonance were fewer, but not essentially different. Incidentally rhyme might be due to chance: since some nominal and verbal endings are characterized by the same terminal sound (e. g. the locative in *-i* and the personal endings *-mi*, *-si*, *-ti* etc.) casual combinations such as AV. 4, 15, 5 *udīrayata marutaḥ samudrataḥ* "send up, O Maruts, from the ocean" are neither a reason for astonishment nor an indication of the poet's fondness for sound repetitions. Occasionally, an author seems to have devised a more or less elaborate piece of word-music, a sound-echo for magic and 'aesthetical' reasons (i. e. 'Klangfreude'), but even in compositions such as AV. 5, 13 the first motive doubtless prevailed: st. 7 *āligi ca viligi ca pitā ca mātā ca*; 10 *tābuvam na tābuvam na ghet tvam asi tābuvam, tābuvēnārasam viṣam*.⁸⁰) This Vedic rhyme is widely different from those classical instances of *yamaka* in which terminations of words are involved: neither symmetry in sentence structure nor horizontal and vertical word correspondences have, as a rule, anything to do with the latter, and the sound repetition, devised for its own sake may affect other syllables of the words as well. Whereas in the *Mahābhārata*, where connection of *pādas* by rhyme is not uncommon⁸¹), apart from cases such as 3, 65, 65 *vasasva mayi kalyāṇi | prītir me paramā tvayi* where the identity of termination was practically unfelt, most examples concern flectional rhyme of the traditional vertical and horizontal types, the poet of the *Rāmāyaṇa* set out to pay greater attention to the type of assonance exemplified by 2, 43, 18 *vivatsā vatsalā kṛtā*, which stands half-way between archaic word repetition and classical sound repetition or *yamaka*. Being refined by the poets of the following generations, e. g. *Aśvaghoṣa*—who writes *pranastavatsām iva vatsalām gām* "like a loving cow which has lost its calf"—this syntactic unit constitutes an instance of that repetition of the same syllables in close relation which may, in the classical *yamaka*, also occur without the limitations of the syntactic group and semantic or etymological relationship. It is true that in the works of the Buddhist poet effects approximating to rhyme of the type *udārasamkhyaiḥ sacivair asamkhyaiḥ* "with countless ministers of noble counsels"—which is *yamaka* in the classical sense—are seldom sought⁸²), but an excessive fondness for

⁸⁰) Cf. also Hillebrandt, *Ritualliteratur*, p. 170.

⁸¹) See also Hopkins, *The great epic of India*, New York-London 1902, p. 200 ff.

⁸²) A. Berriedale Keith, *A history of Sanskrit literature*, Oxford 1920, p. 63.

vertical rhyme is not rarely displayed: S. 1, 15 *yatra sma mīyate brahma | kaiścīt kaiścīn na mīyate | kālē nimīyate somo | na cākālē pramīyate*, and this essentially is the archaic type of correspondence. At a still later period Kālidāsa⁸³), though usually with skill, employed the yamaka figure frequently, showing now and then—for instance in Raghuvamśa canto 9⁸⁴) and 18—that he could vie with any rival in technical perfection. But even among the yamakas in these cantos of the Raghuvamśa variations on the ancient types of rhyme or paronomasia are not entirely absent: 9, 1 *yamavatām avatām ca* though rather artificial is an instance of horizontal correspondence; 9, 20 *rudhīre rudhīreṇa* is pseudo-paronomasia. And although rhyme of the parallelistic pattern is not entirely disregarded by India's greatest poet, he obviously attempted to match sound and sense in accordance with the aesthetic ideals of his epoch which had widely diverged from the archaic style of the early period, a style to which studied and deliberate combinations of words similar in sound but different in meaning—e. g. Kāl. R. 9, 34 . . . *śuśruvire girāḥ | kusumitāsu mitā vanarāṇiṣu* "the measured voices were heard in the tracks of forests in full blossom"—were foreign.

However, the evolution of the stylistic device of terminal sound repetition and allied phenomena does not only become clear to him who endeavours thoroughly to investigate the relevant phenomena in the Veda, the epics, post-epic and classical authors—a task which cannot be undertaken here—; it may also appear from the description in Bharata's Nāṭyaśāstra which may, in substance, have existed already in the second half of the second century A. D.⁸⁵). This important work while recognizing four 'figures of speech'⁸⁶)—a number considerably more limited than that given by the later authorities⁸⁷)—describes them in such a way as to refer to more elementary or less developed forms of the figures engaging the later writers on poetics and employed by authors of the classical period.⁸⁸) Although yamaka is explicitly defined as repetition of sound⁸⁹) (17, 61 or 16, 59)—*śabdābhyāsaṃ tu yamakam pādādiṣu vikāpitam*—it appears from the following definitions and the examples added in illustration that the reiteration affects, in most cases, words, not syllables or grammatical elements. This opinion and this practice deviated

⁸³) See e.g. A. Hillebrandt, Kalidasa, Breslau 1921, p. 106 ff.

⁸⁴) In the fourth quarters of the stanzas 1–54.

⁸⁵) Manomohan Ghosh, The date of Bharata-Nāṭyaśāstra, Journal Dept. of Letters, Calcutta Univ. 25 (1934); the same, The Nāṭyaśāstra ascribed to Bharata-Muni, Calcutta 1951, p. LXXXI ff.

⁸⁶) Viz. the simile (upamā), the metaphor (rūpaka), the dipaka, and the yamaka.

⁸⁷) For which see e.g. Keith, o.c., p. 380; P. V. Kane, Sāhityadarpaṇa², Bombay 1923, p. 1 ff.

⁸⁸) See also J. Nobel, Beiträge zur älteren Geschichte des Alamkāraśāstra, Thesis Berlin 1911, p. 73 ff.

⁸⁹) The word *śabda-* may mean "sound" as well as "grammatical element" and "word".

from the standards followed by the classical and post-classical periods as well as the rules laid down by Daṇḍin, Kāvyaḍarśa 3, 1 and others: yamaka is the repetition of groups of syllables (*varṇa*-).⁹⁰ Moreover, most of the ten kinds of yamaka distinguished by Bharata are natural forms of word repetition, well-known in Vedic times: the pādānta-yamaka has already been referred to; the repetition at the beginning of the next quarter of the word at the end of the preceding quarter as defined 17, 73 f. — *śarais tathā śatrubhir āhatā hatā | hatās ca bhūyas tv anupūṅkhagaiḥ khagaiḥ | khagaiś ca* ... — evidently is a developed form of the particular form of repetition discussed in another section of this work⁹¹); the phenomenon described under the heading pādādi-yamaka, i. e. recurrence of the same word at the beginning of each pāda is nothing but anaphora; the āmṛedita-yamaka "reiteration of the last word of a quarter" and the sandaṣṭa-yamaka, the same phenomenon at the beginning of a quarter, merely are applications of the grammatical word iteration exemplified by *muhur muhuḥ* "frequently", *punaḥ punaḥ*, *paśya paśya*, and imitations of this procedure; in two other cases the term yamaka obviously applies to special kinds of refrain-like repetition (recurrence of the same pāda, and an artificial variation). Another type of yamaka consists in a combination of compounds such as *vyaktāvyakta*-⁹²) and repetition of a 'cacophonous' nature, whether it concerns compound and simple words (*viśmayate ca smayate ca*) or other combinations (*candravatinām dravatinām*). These eight kinds of yamaka may, in substance, be regarded as conscious applications of definite forms of sound repetition occurring in natural speech, which were, generally speaking, far from avoided, or even readily employed, by authors of the Vedic and epic periods. In the examples furnished by Bharata it is, moreover, their artificial frequency and their cumulative character that strike us. A studied artificiality was no doubt the repetition in the latter half of 17, 72 *sa pūrvam vāraṇo bhūtvā | dviśrṅga iva parvataḥ | abhavat dantavaikalyād | viśrṅga iva parvataḥ* "formerly being an elephant comparable to a two-peaked mountain, its two tusks being broken it (now) has become like a mountain without any peak": however, it must be admitted that in any spoken or written text a combination -d vi- might have been interpreted as dvi-. Of two of the ten kinds of yamaka only — significantly enough, of the two final ones — no Vedic counterparts can, as far as I am able to see, be traced, and in both cases their artificial character is *luce clarius*: the fourfold recurrence of the same words or groups of syllables in four different meanings, and the constant repetition of the same consonant with different vowels: *halī balī halī malī* ... | *balo balocca-lolākṣo muṣalī tv abhirakṣatu*. However, even this statement can, on second thoughts, not be approved of without any qualification: as has been shown

⁹⁰) Cf. e.g. also Ruyyaka's definition: H. Jacobi, in Z.D.M.G. 62, p. 302 ff.; V. Raghavan, Studies on some concepts of the alaṃkāraśāstra, Adyar 1942, p. 298.

⁹¹) See 315.

⁹²) See above.

in the chapter on assonance combinations of the type RV. 4, 51, 9 *samanā samānīr* do occur in the mantra collections and the word group Mbh. 1, 25, 1 *param pāram* is epic.

The conclusion may therefore be that in spite of the essential difference between the Vedic rhyme and assonance on the one hand and the classical yamaka on the other, the latter has, after a long process of evolution, originated in the former, or more generally, in sound repetitions which occurring in natural speech, were not avoided and at least in part even cultivated by the ancient authors.

X

ASSONANCE

Some words may also be said on a phenomenon which may be indicated by the general term assonance, taking this to refer to any agreement in sound between two, or more, words which does not come under the above headings. In the ancient Italian carmina and in the related compositions of other peoples co-ordinated words belonging to the same colon and connected neither by rhyme nor by alliteration were sometimes characterized by a common assonant vowel: e.g. in an Umbrian prayer ¹⁾ it reads *tuscom naharcom iabuscom nome* and *tuscer naharcer iabuscer nomner*. In those circles in which emotion, phantasy, a sense of beauty, a predilection for striking sound combinations, and a tendency to 'play' with the elements of speech, have come to prevail, the habit of expressing oneself by means of 'rhyming', jingling, or assonant word groups is often wide-spread among the speakers of a language ²⁾. Similarity of sound in two words constituting one and the same syntactic group is sometimes also found in structures which may not be called balanced or symmetrical. Thus we find, in Homer, *Α* 268 and 272 *δδύναι δδνον*; 772 *ἐπιηλάτα Πηλεΐς* ³⁾).

Although it may arise spontaneously and even unconsciously — sometimes as a mere result of normal flectional rules: ViP. 4, 4, 12 *-ānayanāya* dat. of *ānayana*- this kind of sound repetition is always apt to attract attention.

Vedic examples are ⁴⁾: RV. 4, 1, 7 *anante antah*; 13 *ud usrā ājanu uśaso*

¹⁾ Tab. Iguv. VI, 58 f., see C. D. Buck, A grammar of Oscan and Umbrian, Boston 1904, p. 279 f.

²⁾ Very instructive is J. Verheyen, Assonantie in het Manggarais, Tijdschrift Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde 81, p. 455 ff. In this language, spoken on the island of Flores (Indonesia) the names of the children of the same family and, in general, of a great variety of objects associated in daily life, are characterized by assonance.

³⁾ For the Avesta see J. Hertel, Beiträge zur Metrik des Awestas und des R̥gvedas, Abh. sächs. Ges. d. Wiss. ph.-h. Kl. 38, 3, Leipzig 1927, p. 34 ff.

⁴⁾ See also A. Hillebrandt, Über die Göttin Aditi, Breslau 1876, p. 12; Renou, Études védiques et pāṇinéennes, I, Paris 1955, p. 58 ff.; H. Oldenberg, R̥gveda. Textkritische und exegetische Noten, I, Berlin 1909, and II, 1912, already drew attention to assonant combinations such as RV. 1, 86, 9 *vidhyatā vidyutā* ("wohl mit absichtlichem Gleichklang" I, p. 87); 2, 29, 2 *abhikṣattāro abhi ca kṣamadhvam* (I, p. 209); 3, 27, 11 *yanturam apturam* ("gutes Beispiel für Parallelisierung gleich klingender oder gleichen Klang annehmender Elemente verschiedenen Ursprungs..." I, p. 236).

...; 2, 9, 5 *kṛdhi patim svapatyasya rāyaḥ*; 14, 5 *śuṣṇam aśuṣam*; 4, 43, 5 *madhvā mādhvī madhu vam pruṣāyan* (no doubt an intentional arrangement of words); 4, 51, 9 *samanā samānir* ...; 20, 1 *vayaṃ te vaya indra* ... *pra bharāmahe*; 3, 3, 5 *candram agniṃ candraratham harivratam*; 7, 2, 4 *ghṛta-prṣṭham prṣadvat*; 10, 29, 2 *nṛtau syāma nṛtamasya nṛnām*; cf. also 8, 25, 16 the combination *purūru* (*puru* + *uru*), cf. also R.V. 5, 70, 1 *purūrunā*; AV. 5, 8, 6 *yadi preyur devapurā / brahma varmāṇi cakrire*; 6, 93, 2 *namas tebhyo nama ebhyaḥ*; 10, 7, 10 *yatra lokāṃś ca kośāṃś ca*. Cf. also 2, 3, 4, 16, 1; 34, -1; 6, 42, 3; 53, 2; 54, 2; 56, 2; 65, 3. Part of these examples may have been produced unintentionally, cf. also GobhGs. 1, 2, 32 *supṭvā bhuktvā kṣutvā snātvā pītvā* ... At times this phenomenon was made subservient to magical purposes: AV. 6, 16, 4 *alasālāsi pūrvā / silāñjālāsy uttarā / nīlāgalasālā* ⁵⁾; cf. also 6, 32, 2 *virud vo viśvatovīryā*. Cases such as AV. 2, 6, 1 *saṃ divyena dīdhi rocanena* may hardly be supposed to have escaped attention; cf. also 1, 29, 6. A curious example of vertical assonance is R.V. 9, 10, 1 and 2, the first stanza beginning *pra svānaso rathā ivārvanto na śravasyavaḥ*, the second *hinvānaso rathā iva dadhanvire gabhastyoḥ*; cf. also MuṇḍU. 2, 2, 9 *bhidyate hṛdayagranthiś / chidyante sarvasaṃśayāḥ*.

To what extent a Vedic poet might feel tempted to apply various types of assonance in combination with rhyme and alliteration may appear from R.V. 10, 170 ("viel Wortschwall" Geldner ⁶⁾) ... *prajāḥ pupoṣa purudhā vi rājati* ... / *vibhrād bṛhat subhṛtam* ... / *amītrahā vṛtrahā dasyuhantamaṃ / jyotiṣ jājñe asurahā sapatnahā*, etc.

Post-Vedic instances are Mbh. 12, 143, 19 *vidyunmaṇḍalamāṇḍitam*; 13, 40, 4 *māyāś ca mayajā*; 1, 25, 1 *paraṃ pāraṃ* ...; cf. also 3, 297, 107 *jagāma gajagāmīni*; 4, 16, 3 U. *madhamādhavīm*; Manu 3, 192 *nyastasastrāḥ*; they are frequent in the Rāmāyaṇa: 1, 45, 18 *manthānaṃ māndaraṃ kṛtvā mamanthuḥ*; 2, 3, 28 *mattamātaṅga-*; 14, 36 *varavāraṇa-*; 15, 44 *veśma / rāma-sya ramyaṃ* (cf. 32, 3); 28, 22 *kuśāḥ kāsāś ca* (cf. the assonant compound *kuśakāśasareṣika-* 30, 12 and *kuśakāśamaya-* "made of kuśa and kāsā grass" BhāgP. 3, 22, 31); 34, 41 and elsewhere *dhanadhānya-*; 3, 48, 17 *rakṣa rākṣasabhartāram*; 4, 16, 30 *vānarau vanacārīṇau*; 17, 50 *rāvaṇaṃ raṇe*; cf. 2, 40, 13 *āruroha varāroha* and such assonant combinations as 3, 54, 13 *śokamoha-*. An assonant masculine and feminine form is beside *naranāri*, e. g. Rām. 6, 10, 24 *rakṣaśaṃ rākṣasīnāṃ ca*; cf. Daśak. p. 216 *dāśidāsa-*. The kind of assonance represented by the above *dhanadhānya-* "money and grain" (see also BhavP. 1, 5, 53; 59; 1, 22, 12; Rām. 1, 30, 7 it is the name of a magical formula; *dhanadhāni* TĀ. 10, 69 is a "receptacle for valuable articles") seems to have enjoyed special popularity: ⁷⁾ *jalajāla-* "mass of water"; AdbhS. p. 399, 1 *jaladharadhāra-* etc. In classical and post-classical works this assonance became a favourite stylistic device:

⁵⁾ The commentary understands the three words *a.*, *s.*, and *n.* to be names of "grain-creepers".

⁶⁾ Geldner, Rīg-veda übersetzt, III, p. 395.

⁷⁾ Cf. also Krause, K. Z. 50, p. 123.

Mṛcch. 5, 22 . . . *jaladharaiṣ / calair . . . jaladhibhir ivāntaḥpracalitaiḥ /* ; 27 . . . *ivānilair / nilaiḥ* ; Kāl. R. 10, 72 *svargo / gāṃ gataṃ . . .* ; 7, 25 *lajjāvati lāja-* ; 8, 29 *yaśasā dikṣu daśasv api śrutam* ; Dśke. p. 199, 3 *ramañīyaḥ puṇyārāmaḥmibhāgaḥ* ; 202 *viḥaran viḥāraṇyākule . . . -samāje* ; Bhav., Uttarar. 4, 29 *udgārighoraghanaghargharaghoṣam*, etc. etc. As is well known, Jayadeva and some other authors ⁸⁾ succeeded in attaining to an almost perfect mastery over this ingenuous, but essentially artificial sound music⁹⁾. In describing the wind Subandhu in his *Vāsavadatta* composed, for instance, the following sentence: *āndolitaḥkusumakesare keśareṇumuṣi / rañitamadhuramañinām ramañinām vikacakumudākare mudākare* "rocking the filaments of the flowers, stealing the pollen from the hair of fair damsels with sweet chiming jewels, expanding many a lotus, and causing delight" ¹⁰⁾.

In this connection mention may also be made of instances of vertical correspondence such as ṚV. 4, 1, 20 *viśveṣām aditir yajñīyānām / viśveṣām atithir mānuṣānām* "he is the Aditi of all that are worthy of worship, he is the guest of all men".

⁸⁾ Cf. e.g. also Hillebrandt, *Kālidāsa*, p. 106 ff.

⁹⁾ For examples see e.g. A. Berriedale Keith, *A history of Sanskrit literature*, Oxford 1920, p. 195 ff.

¹⁰⁾ See Keith, *o.c.*, p. 313.

XI

PARONOMASIA

Authorities disagree with regard to the definition of the term paronomasia or adnominatio. According to Cicero and other writers of antiquity *παρονομασία* or adnominatio¹⁾ was not different from what we would rather call 'assonance', the use, in the same context, of words which sound alike: Auctor ad Her. 4, 71, 29 a. est, cum ad idem verbum et ad idem nomen acceditur commutatione unius literae aut literarum, aut ad res dissimiles similia verba accomodantur . . . This antique definition was adopted by Marouzeau²⁾: "... un rapprochement de mots offrant une similitude soit étymologique (*apprendre* n'est pas *comprendre*) soit purement formelle et extérieure (ital. *traduttore traditore*)". We would however prefer to apply the term to the first case only, discussing the type mentioned last—cf. e. g. RV. 10, 29, 2 *nṛtau* . . . *nṛtamasya nṛnām*—under the heading assonance³⁾. The subject of this section will therefore be the use in the same syntactic group of two—or sometimes more—words deriving from the same root—and this definition includes: deriving from the same stem—the relationship, in sound and in sense, being as a rule known to the speaker or writer. Although the outward similarity might be obscured by the operation of sound-laws—cf. e. g. in Greek, Pind. O. 2, 58 *ποινὰς τεῖσαι* "to pay penalties"—this double repetition of sound and sense may generally be considered characteristic of the 'figure' at issue. With this reserve: composition with different prefixes and with other stems would lead to the occurrence of paronomastic combinations of opposite or related rather than similar sense⁴⁾.

Being a stylistic device characterized by repetition paronomasia has much in common with other 'repetitional figures'. However, the double effect which it produces upon ear and mind, as well as the, as a rule, large number of sounds involved in the repetition, give it a place of its own: it is, generally speaking, a more ponderous and more conspicuous form of

¹⁾ Quint. 9, 3, 66 π. quae dicitur annominatio.

²⁾ J. Marouzeau, *Lexique de la terminologie linguistique*, Paris 1933, p. 137.

³⁾ It might be suggested to use the term *adnominatio* for etymological paronomasia, *paronomasia* for the non-etymological.

⁴⁾ A large number of examples of various types of paronomasia were collected by H. Reckendorf, *Ueber Paronomasie in den semitischen Sprachen*, Giessen 1909, p. 1 ("Unter P. wird im Folgenden verstanden eine syntaktische Beziehung zwischen zwei oder mehreren stammverwandten Wörtern von gleicher oder verwandter Bedeutung"). See also E. Schwyzer, *Sprachliche Hypercharakterisierung*, in the *Abhandlungen Berl. Akad. d. Wiss.* 1941, 6.

repetition than for instance alliteration. It would however be a serious mistake to make no further distinctions. Paronomasia may fulfil a considerable variety of functions⁵⁾. Like all repetition it may be a means of giving vent to various emotions ('affektentladende Paronomasie'): the other day a Dutchman becoming abusive, exclaimed: *donder op, dondersteen!* "go to hell, thunder-stone!"; a clause such as AV. 2, 27, 2c *prāṣaṃ pratiprāśo jahi* "smite the dispute of (my) opponent" is a more forcible mode of expression than for instance *prāṣaṃ jahi* and any other term for "opponent". Involving an element of 'abundance' it may be a favourite device in forming popular phrases or slogans: in Dutch *ijskoud ijs* "ice-cold ice"; *witter dan wit* "more white than white", i. e. "as white as possible". It also meets the want for 'Klangfreude', the mere repetition of a sequence of sounds satisfying the aesthetical needs of speaker and hearer. It is often an impressive device, to which many poets attached great value on account of the suggestive power inherent in it. It helps to excite the interest, or at least to arrest the attention, of the audience and has a mnemonic value which has made it a favourite feature in formulas, proverbs, aphorisms etc.⁶⁾ Indian instances are to follow further on, in Greece Hesiod wrote, O. 266 ἡ δὲ κακὴ βουλὴ τῷ βουλευσάντῃ κακίστη; a French example: *qui se ressemble s'assemble*. In solemn and ceremonious speech sound repetition and the often somewhat verbose character of these phrases may show to full advantage: thus, e. g. in pompous Latin epitaphs: C. I. L. I², 15 *progeniem genui*; I², 11 *honus honore*; I², 1211 *pulcrum pulcra*, and dedications: *ibid.* I², 632 *ut . . . donis des*⁷⁾. Paronomasia though apt to degenerate into monotony may also be a great help for those who pursue clearness and unequivocalness: B 654 f. ἐκ Ῥόδου ἐννέα νῆας ἄγειν Ῥοδίων. . . / οἱ Ῥόδον ἀμφερέμεντο; BhG. 18, 2 *kāmyānām karmaṇām nyāsaṃ / saṃnyāsaṃ kavayo viduḥ*. It is an excellent means of accentuating logical or psychological connections: B 730 οἱ τ' ἔχον Οἰχαλίην, πόλιν Εὐρύτου Οἰχαλίης; Δ 402 αἰδεσθεὶς βασιλῆος ἐνιπὴν αἰδοίω; ι 270 f.; Manu 3, 62 *striyāṃ tu rocamānāyāṃ / sarvaṃ tad rocate kulam*. Even if synonyms or substitutes were available an idiomatic, paronomastic repetition is sometimes preferred for the sake of distinctness, emphasis or objectiveness. It renders excellent services in formulating an antithesis: BhG. 8, 20 *yah sa sarveṣu bhūteṣu / naśyatsu na vinaśyati*.

Very often paronomasia reflects the recurrence of the same ideas or events in reality: ι 384 f. *τρυνῶ . . . τρυπάνω*; ι 415 *ὠδίνων ὀδύνησι*; Manu 2, 218 *khanan khanitreṇa* "digging with a spade"; 3, 94 *bhikṣāṃ ca bhikṣave dadyāt* "he should give alms to the mendicant"; 172 *parivittāḥ parivettā yayā ca parividyate*. Besides, the procedure under discussion is an

⁵⁾ Cf. also O. Rabel, *De usu adnominationis apud romanorum poetas comicos*, Halle 1882; H. V. Canter, *Rhetorical elements in Livy's speeches*, *AJPh.* 39 (1918), p. 53 ff.; G. Landgraff, *Archiv für Lat. Lexikogr.* 5 (1888), p. 166.

⁶⁾ For Latin see e.g. A. Otto, *Die Sprichwörter . . . der Römer*, 1890, p. XXXI.

⁷⁾ See J. Marouzeau, *Traité de stylistique appliquée au latin*, Paris 1935, p. 60 f.

effective means of cementing or linking together smaller or larger units⁸⁾. "Schon das bloße Wiedererklingen der gleichen Wurzel (bildet) ein Bindemittel für die betreffenden Glieder des Satzes und öfters sogar das Einzige".⁹⁾ Paronomastic combinations not rarely involve a tendency to balanced structures and a certain *εὐφροσύνη*. Incidentally – but seldom in deliberate style – a paronomastic combination may be due to chance or to the speaker's inability to express himself otherwise: *the nurse entered the nursery*; BhG. 6, 3 *karma kāraṇam ucyate* "action is called the means". This may be an excuse for 'Klangfreude': Rām. 1, 52, 8 *kaccit te saṃbhṛtā bhṛtyāḥ* "are your servants maintained well?" Occurring frequently in Sanskrit, Slavonic¹⁰⁾, Lithuanian, Greek, Latin and elsewhere the phenomenon must be of considerable antiquity.

A point of special interest concerns the semantic specialization often found in paronomastic combinations. In the Dutch *zijn slag slaan* the noun *slag* does not mean, in general "blow", "stroke", or whatever other English word may serve as a translation, but "hit", the expression meaning "to make (or: score) a hit": this narrowing of the sense of *slag* is due to the implication involved in the combination *zijn slag*: the successful stroke, the stroke that hits what is aimed at by the person who strikes and who in "striking" makes the most of an opportunity. In a similar way, the Dutch *zijn gang gaan* does not mean "to go any way" but "to take one's own line, to do as one pleases etc." (the Scots say: *gang yer ain gait*); but now the verbs have also undergone a semantic change or specialization: the phrases may be 'metaphorically' used in many circumstances. The *King of Kings* is not only, in a literal sense, a ruler of those who rule, but implicitly the king of all, and, moreover, no ordinary king, for this phrase (compare in French: *le malin des malins, la ville des villes*) "signifie celui qui est vraiment le roi parmi les rois, celui qui représente le mieux le type Roi."¹¹⁾ In a phrase *the rain rains* any transferred meaning is however excluded.

The phenomenon under discussion is, finally, at the root of many cases of play upon words, i. e. the more or less humorous use, in a given context, of words having the same or nearly the same sound with different meanings so as to express an unusual or surprising combination of thoughts or ideas: Plaut. As. 476 *sceleste, non audes mihi scelesto subvenire?* "you wretch won't you help me, poor wretch that I am?"¹²⁾; Rām. 2, 9, 33 *rāmo 'rāmo bhaviṣyati* "R. will become unpleasant".

No paronomasia proper is, according to the above definition, the fre-

⁸⁾ L. Spitzer, Paronomasie im Spanischen, Stilstudien, II, München 1928, p. 105 f.

⁹⁾ Reckendorf, l.c.

¹⁰⁾ See e.g. R. van der Meulen, Die Naturvergleiche in den Liedern und Totenklagen der Litauer, Thesis Leiden 1907, p. 7 f.

¹¹⁾ F. Brunot, La pensée et la langue, Paris 1936, p. 691.

¹²⁾ For an exhaustive collection of instances occurring in the works of this poet see J. M. G. M. Brinkhoff, Woordspeling bij Plautus, Thesis Nijmegen 1935, p. 89 ff.

quent juxtaposition of related or identical word-stems which do not belong to the same syntactic group: Kāl. R. 9, 81 *itthaṃgate gataghṛṇaḥ kim ayaṃ vidhattām?*; 10, 67 *rāma ity abhirāmeṇa vapuṣā tasya coditaḥ / nāmadheyam guruś cakre*, and innumerable other instances of yamaka. It may however be safely assumed that the great predilection for the repetition of sound combinations was largely stimulated by the important part played in Sanskrit, from the earliest times, by real, i. e. syntactic etymological paronomasia, the more so as there existed a great variety of possibilities of what might be called semi-paronomasia. That is to say: the components of a paronomastic group may without belonging, strictly speaking, to the same syntactic unit in a more limited sense of the term be syntactically related: in Kāl. R. 11, 2 *kṛcchralabdham api labdhavarṇa-bhāk*, *k.* belongs to the non-expressed object, *l.* to the non-expressed subject; in 11, 89 *nirjīteṣu tarasā tarasvinām / śatruṣu praṇatir eva kīrtyate* the instr. *t.* belongs to *nirj.* (object), the gen. *tar.* to *pr.* (subject); 1, 55 *tasmai . . . gopre guptatamendriyāḥ / arhaṇām arhate cakruḥ*; and perhaps also 1, 58 *papraccha kuśalam rājye / rājyāśramamuniṃ muniḥ*. Yamaka, however, also comprises the repetition of sequences of sounds without any etymological relation whatever: Kāl. R. 1, 93 *pradoṣe doṣajñāḥ*.

Although it should be readily admitted that in the Vedic poems this phenomenon also not infrequently hypertrophied so as to create the impression of misuse and artificial exaggeration it would be unwarranted to regard its occurrence as mere artificiality. Guérinot¹³⁾ may at least in part of the instances be right in contending that this figure resulted from *industria*, his other qualification — *scienter usurpatur* — is liable to rouse misunderstandings.

A related phenomenon which may be discussed in close connection with paronomasia proper is the juxtaposition of two vocables which though etymologically cognate cannot be said to express similar or closely related meanings. RV. 2, 9, 2 Agni is invoked to be a protector *tokasya nas tane tanūnām* "for continuation of our offspring and of our own persons": *tan-* "continuation" and *tanū-* "body" belong to the same root *tan-* "to spread, to extend", but this relationship is not apparent to the casual observer. This pseudo-paronomasia, attesting likewise to the early interest in sound combinations, has no doubt also contributed to the enormous proportions assumed by the yamaka device in Indian stylistics.

However, a note of warning is not out of place here. Whereas for instance RV. 7, 11, 5 *imaṃ yajñam divi deveṣu dhehi* an etymological connection between *divi* and *deveṣu* does, from the point of view of modern science, exist, many other passages where any genetic connection must be denied or called in question may in the eyes of the ancient poets have

¹³⁾ Guérinot, De rhetorica vedica, p. 88, approvingly cited by N. Fukushima, Journal of the Taisho Univ. 6-7 (1930), 2, p. 137; see also Renou, Etudes védiques et paninéennes, I, p. 62.

been absolutely similar in character. Being no students of etymology in the modern sense of the term these poets and thinkers as a rule relied, in their 'linguistic' and 'philosophical' speculations, on mere similarity in sound. There could, for them, hardly exist any difference between figura etymologica, paronomasia proper, and pseudo-paronomasia, because it was the mere repetition and similarity of sounds which would strike them in the first place and which made the greatest appeal to their imagination¹⁴). Not rarely these juxtapositions may be regarded as a source of knowledge of the connections assumed to exist between various concepts and entities, cf. e. g. RV. 1, 52, 1 *ādityāso aditayaḥ syāma* "may we be free (like) the Ādityas". The very frequency of alliterative groups could easily lead them to put such phrases as RV. 6, 6, 3 *vanā vananti* "they conquer the forests" on a par with real paronomasia. Also in their attempts to gain an insight into the hidden relations between the natural phenomena and into metaphysical and psychological problems such pseudo-etymologies as that *prajaya-* "victory" is identical with *prayāga-* "fore-offering" (ŚB. 1, 5, 3, 3) were no less useful to them than etymologies which are scientifically speaking sound and tenable. The stylistic effect of the numerous pseudo-etymologies occurring in Vedic texts is however another accession to the considerable number of 'repetitional figures' in these texts. Thus, AiB. 2, 4, 5 a completely untenable argumentation *tanūna-pātaṃ yajati. prāṇo vai tanūnapāt, sa hi tanvāḥ pāti* "he worships T., T. is breath, for he protects the bodies" results in a repeated occurrence of a definite sound combination. Examples could easily be multiplied almost infinitely: TS. 6, 1, 3, 5 arrows (*śara-*) are stated to have been scattered (*aśiryanta*), becoming the śara-grass, "and that is why śara-grass is called śara-grass"; ŚB. 13, 8, 3, 13 *kṛtvā yavān vapati, aghaṃ me yavayān iti* "he sows barley grain, thinking "may they ward off sin from me", 1, 1, 3, 4 *vr̥tro ha vā idaṃ sarvaṃ vr̥tvā śiśye*; AiĀr. 2, 1, 5 *prātāyata prātāyīti tat prātar abhavat*, etc., etc.

Most of the above functions and characteristics of paronomasia are proper to Vedic paronomasia; not rarely the same instance shows two or three of them.

The combination subject and verb occurs for instance: RV. 1, 6, 1 *rocante rocanā divi* "es leuchten die Lichter am Himmel"; 3, 6, 7 *divas cid ā te rocayanta rokāḥ*; 2, 24, 5 *sanā tā kā cid bhuvanā bhavitvā* "part of these creatures must be ancient"; 8, 45, 9 *na yaṃ dhūrvanti dhūrtayaḥ* "whom injurers do not injure"; AiB. 6, 18, 7 *vahati ha vai vahnir dhurāḥ* "the bearer bears the yoke".

Of special interest are combinations such as RV. 10, 161, 1 (= AV. 3, 11, 1c; 20, 96, 6c) *grāhīr jagrāha* "seizure has seized" in which the subject creates the impression of being 'a vague concept'; 3, 1, 12 *janitā yo jajāna*;

¹⁴) For a detailed discussion of this point see my article 'The etymologies in the ancient Indian brāhmaṇas', *Lingua* 5 (1955), p. 61 ff. Cf. also A. Minard, *Trois énigmes sur les cent chemins*, II, Paris 1956, p. 62; 94.

1, 129, 11; 1, 132, 6 *darmā darṣiṣṭa*; AV. 1, 12, 2 *yo agrabhīt parvāsyā grabhītā*; 3, 25, 1 *uttudas tvot tudatu* "let the up-thruster thrust you up"; VS. 4, 24 *vicitas tvā vicinvantu* "let separators pick thee out": like many other subjects of these paronomastic expressions the upthruster was a divine power of vague character and incidental occurrence, supposed to manifest every time when a special action takes place, one of the so-called 'Sondergötter' or 'Augenblicksgötter', spirits which preside over any specific activity in the moment it takes place and which were considered to be concerned only with that activity¹⁵). These expressions therefore denote the being active or the manifestation of such a power or 'person'. To the powers whose name occurs in similar constructions belongs the wind: AV. 4, 5, 2 *na bhūmim vāto ati vāti*; RV. 1, 28, 6 (MS. 2, 7, 16) *vāto vi vāty agram it*; RV. 10, 137, 2 (AV. 4, 13, 2) *dvāv imau vātāu vātāḥ*; 3 ā *vāta vāhi bheṣajam*; AV. 4, 15, 16 *vātu vātāḥ*; 7, 69, 1 *śam no vāto vātu*. Other meteorologic phenomena described in the same way are rain: RV. 5, 84, 3 *varṣanti vṛṣṭayaḥ*; AV. 5, 19, 15 *na varṣam maitrāvaruṇam / brahmacaryam abhi varṣati*; dawn: AV. 7, 69, 1 *śam uṣā no vyucchatu* "weal for us let dawn shine forth"; lightning: Comm. on Pāṇ. 1, 4, 90 *vṛkṣam prati vidyotate vidyut*; cf. KenaUp. 4, 4; BhāgPur. 9, 14, 31 etc. The essence of 'rain', 'lightning' being the performance or occurrence of the process and a special agent being unknown, the 'power' or force of nature itself is viewed as substance and subject, as well as process and verb. Cf. also AV. 4, 39, 1 *saṁnamāḥ saṁ namantu* "let the reverencers pay reverence". The name of the god Dhātār "the Founder or Establisher" is frequently combined with the verb *dhā-* "to place, establish" which expresses his activity: RV. 10, 184, 1 = AV. 5, 25, 5 *dhātā garbham dadhātu te* "Dh. must place your embryo"; 7, 17, 2 *dhātā dadhātu dāśuse* "let Dh. bestow on his worshipper . . ." (the correspondent verse in other texts has *dadātu*); 7, 17, 1 *dhātā dadhātu no rayim*; 19, 31, 3. Similarly, AV. 6, 19, 1 f. *pavamānaḥ punātu mā* "let the purifying one purify me" (cf. RV. 9, 97, 31); 6, 119, 3 *vaiśvānaraḥ pavitā mā punātu*.

In this connection mention may be made of RV. 10, 109, 5 = AV. 5, 17, 5 *brahmacārī carati* "the Vedic student goes about"; and especially of juxtapositions of the type represented by Kauś. 135, 9 *brahmacārī carati brahmacaryam* "the Vedic student applies himself to study of the Veda". Cf. also the type AiB. 6, 9, 6 *prajāḥ prajāyante*. AV. 6, 121, 1 *viśāṇā pāsān vi śya* "an untier, do thou untie the fetters". Other instances are: AV. 4, 25, 5 *rayim me poṣam savitō vāyus . . . suvatām*; ŚB. 3, 3, 2, 8 *vicitas tvā vicinvantu* (formula) and *vicetāras tā enam vicinvanti* (text) "let the pickers pick thee . . ." Compare also AV. 6, 85, 1 *varaṇo vārayātā / ayaṁ devo vanaspatiḥ* "the v., this divine forest-tree, shall ward off", the noun *varaṇa-* being the name of a tree which was supposed to possess

¹⁵) See H. Usener, *Griechische Götternamen*, Bonn 1896, p. 75 ff.; 279 ff.; A. B. Keith, *The religion and philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads*, Harvard 1925, p. 667 s.v.

magical virtues, is etymologically connected with the verb *var-* and used in incantations intended to ward off evil¹⁶); 10, 3, 4; 7 *varano vārayiṣyate*. There are also more or less artificial combinations: AV. 6, 98, 1 *adhirājo rājasu rājayātai* "may he king it as over-king among kings" (Whitney-Lanman).

This type recurs in other languages. In German *der Flusz flieszt*; an inscription on a Swiss house: *laszt Neider neiden, laszt Hasser hassen*...;¹⁷) Latin occurrences are not very frequent: 18) Plaut. Rud. 300 *si eventus non evenit*; M. G. 34 *ne dentes dentiant*; in Greek, Hes. O. 486 *κόκκῳς κόκκῳς*; a 325; and with variation in the choice of words: Ter. Andr. 709 *incipit* ... *initium*. As is well known, the Semitic languages form such 'indefinite expressions' of the type Ar. *qatala qatilun* "a killing one killed" i. e. "somebody killed", in German "Einer tötete"; or "ein Tötender war tätig" might also be a possible translation, although in actual usage "Einer" may be opposed to "another". 19) "Die Paronomasie kann aber auch ausdrücken, dasz das Subjekt die ihm eigentümliche Tätigkeit ausübt oder das ihm bestimmte Geschick erleidet".²⁰)

Some special cases are: Kauś. 82, 13 *sunītir no nayatu*; ŚB. 3, 2, 2, 14 *yady u vratadughā na dukhita* "if the vrata-cow does not yield milk"; ChU. 2, 24, 1 *brahmavādino vadanti*. The nominative may be an attribute or apposition: BārU. 4, 3, 23 *yad vai tan no paśyati, paśyan vai tan na paśyati*; RV. 5, 1, 8 *mārjālyo mṛjyate* "fond of cleansing, he is cleansed". The adj. is in the superlative: RV. 10, 2, 5 *yajīṣṭho devām ṛtuṣo yajāti*. The subject is a participle: RV. 3, 8, 5 *jāto jāyate sudinātve ahnām*; AiB. 1, 7, 12 *pavamānaḥ pavate*; BārU. 4, 2, 3 *etābhir vā etad āsravad āsravati*; cf. ŚB. 3, 2, 1, 29 *ato vā hy enām praviśan praviśaty ato vā jāyamāno jāyate* "... and in being born he is born from it". In a more elaborated and artificial way: Kāl. R. 10, 31 *anavāptam avāptavyam na te kimcana vidyate*. Post-Vedic examples are: Mbh. 11, 16, 41 *yān avandanta vandinaḥ*; BhG. 3, 14 *annād bhavanti bhūtāni*; 6, 10 *yogī yuñjita satatam ātmānam* "let the disciplined man ever discipline himself" (Edgerton): i. e. "let the yogi apply himself to what is his essential function"; ViPur. 1, 19, 73 *tvām yajanti ca yajvinaḥ*. Not rarely a construction of this type is equivalent to constructions with prepositional groups etc. in our languages: BhG. 9, 30 *bhajate mām ananyabhāk* "is devoted to me with single devotion". — Passive constructions

¹⁶) See e.g. V. Henry, *La magie dans l'Inde antique*, Paris 1904, p. 53; 92.

¹⁷) In a Dutch proverb: *Gods molens malen langzaam* "the mills of God grind slowly" the paronomasia is 'indirect', because *molen* "mill" comes from the Latin relative of *malen* "to mill, grind".

¹⁸) "Vereinzelt", Hofmann, *Lat. Umgangssprache*, p. 95.

¹⁹) For details see Reckendorf, *Synt. Verhältnisse*, p. 439 f., who elsewhere (*Über Paronomasie in den sem. Spr.*, Giessen 1909, Einl.) observes that these constructions may be regarded as "der klassischste Ausdruck dessen, was Kant analytische Urteile nannte"; cf. also C. Brockelmann, *Hebräische Syntax*, Neukirchen 1956, p. 49.

²⁰) Brockelmann, *o.c.*, p. 50.

are: VS. 7, 17 *apamṛṣṭo markah* (pseudo-paronomasia); Rām. 1, 57, 8 *tapas ca sumahat taptam*.

Compare also the types AiĀr. 3, 2, 6 *prajāpatiḥ prajāḥ sṛṣṭvā vyasramsata* and Mbh. 1, 41, 22 *putradharmo hi hato hanti*. A nom. and an absolutive e. g. BhG. 15, 20 *etad buddhvā buddhimān syāt* (pregnant construction) "... would have true enlightenment". Compare also RV. 9, 67, 22 *yaḥ potā sa punātu naḥ*; (TB. 1, 4, 8, 1 *yaḥ pūtaḥ sa p. mā*).

Often the verb and an instrumental belonging to the same syntactic group are etymologically related: RV. 7, 10, 1 *ā bhāti bhāsā* "he is bright with brightness"; 7, 5, 4 and 13, 2 *śociṣā śosucānaḥ*; 7, 16, 10 *pipṛhi partṛbhiḥ*; 7, 17, 1 *suṣamidhā samiddhaḥ*; cf. also 10, 15, 8 "eat the oblations with pleasure, he the eager with them the eager": *uśann uśadbhiḥ* (concordance, similarity). RV. 2, 33, 5 the paronomastic combination is enlarged by an alliterative term deriving from a different root: *havimabhir havate yo havirbhiḥ* "who invokes him with invocations, with oblations" (see further on). Compare also the type represented by RV. 10, 174, 1 *abhivartena haviṣā | yenendro abhivārte | tenāsmān brahmaṇas pate | 'bhi rāṣṭrāya vartaya* ²¹).

On closer inspection some subdivisions may be distinguished: AV. 5, 12, 7 *jyotiḥ pradīśā diśantā* "pointing out light through the fore-region" is an example of an instr. spatii ²²). An instr. instrumenti occurs AV. 3, 25, 5 *ājāmi tvājanyā (ā-aj-)*; 5, 14, 8 *pratiharaṇena harāmasi*; 4, 34, 2 *pūtāḥ pavanena*; cf. also 7, 48, 1 *rākām ahaṃ suhavā suṣṭuti huve*. At times the main function of the instr. is to specify the idea contained in the root: RV. 2, 35, 8 *pra jāyante vīrudhaś ca prajābhiḥ* "... propagated themselves with offspring"; cf. AiB. 3, 10, 4 etc. *prajāyate prajāyā paśubhir ya evaṃ veda*; RV. 7, 4, 8 *manasā mantavā u*, cf. in Avestan, Yt. 5, 7 *manarha mainimna*. — These modes of expression remind us of Latin counterparts of the type (Cic.) ad fam. 8, 6, 4 *si Parthi vos nihil calfcium nos frigore frigesimus*: "durch das Hinzutreten von frigore wird frigesimus gesteigert, der Gegensatz zu calfcium stärker und das Ganze aus dem Gebiet des Metaphorischen abgedrängt zu den eigentlichen Bedeutungen dieser Verben" ²³).

The instrumental is already in the R̥gveda a not infrequent accompaniment of a passive verb form deriving from the same root: RV. 3, 17, 1 *sam aktubhir ajyate viśvavārah* "... he is anointed with ointments"; 4, 7, 1 *dhāyi dhātṛbhiḥ*. Renou ²⁴) seems to go too far in contending that the instrumental *aktubhir* in RV. 10, 14, 9 *ahobhir adbhir aktubhir vyaktam* "n'est là que pour faire jeu avec le verbe, à la faveur des allitérations précédentes"; it is rather the word for "water"—i. e. "the rain" (?)—

²¹) Cf. AV. 1, 29, 1 and see Whitney-Lanman, o.c., p. 29.

²²) We cannot enter here into a critical discussion of these traditional terms.

²³) H. Haffter, Untersuchungen zur altlat. Dichtersprache, Thesis Freiburg i. Br. 1934, p. 11.

²⁴) Renou, Études védiques et pāṇinéennes, I, Paris 1955, p. 58.

which might impress us as superfluous; cf. also VS. 35, 1 *dyubhir ahobhir aktubhir vyaktam* "distinguished by light, by days, by nights". For the rest this is an example of pseudo-paronomasia ²⁵).

Not rarely however such an instrumental primarily serves to emphasize the idea expressed by the verb; it is, to use a German term, "ausmahlend" ²⁶). AV. 4, 36, 3 *sarvāms tānt sahasā sahe* (cf. 4) may, it is true, even in historical times have conveyed the 'literal sense' "all those I overpower with power", that does not alter the fact that *sahe* alone could in a less emphatic way express the same idea (cf. e. g. 2, 4, 4). Cf. also 1, 28, 3a (= 4, 17, 3a) *yā śasāpa śapanena* and 3, 10, 12 and elsewhere *tapasā tapyamānā* "paining herself with penance", that is: "giving herself to severe austerities". As a rule an adverb may in translating do duty as a counterpart of the original Sanskrit. Cf. e. g. RV. 6, 48, 2 *ajasreṇa śociṣā śośucac chuce*; 10, 141, 4 (VS. 33, 86) *suhaveha havāmahe* "we call here with good call", i. e. "we call well, effectively, in a manner suitable to the occasion etc." (cf. AV. 7, 47, 1b); AV. 2, 13, 5 *svr̥dhā vardhamānam* "growing well, in a satisfactory manner"; it must be remembered that the adverb *su* "well" — which always qualifies a verb and tends to be more and more prefixed to nouns etc. — is by itself not strong enough to be of much use in vigorous style ²⁷); 6, 62, 3 *iheḍayā sadhamādaṃ madantaḥ* "here revelling in joint revelling with Iḍā", i. e. "revelling together with I."; similarly 7, 109, 3. Similar instances are found in the cognate languages: in Greek, e. g. Plato Symp. 195 B *φεύγων φυγῇ τὸ γῆρας* "entflieht flüchtigen Laufes" ²⁸) "fleeing very hastily"; Epin. 974 B *ἡ δὲ φυγῇ φεύγει*.

In Greek and Latin most instrumentals used in this way are accompanied by an adjective: γ 87 *ἀπώλετο λυγρῷ ὀλέθρῳ* "died a woeful death", i. e. "perished mournfully"; λ 412 *θάνον οἰκτίστῳ θανάτῳ* "I died most pitifully"; Hdt. 6, 12 etc.; in Latin, Plautus, Capt. 595 *maculari . . . maculis luridis*; Epid. 626 *pingere pigmentis ulmeis*; *iratus iracundia*; ²⁹) in Lithuanian we find (Schleicher, Les. 268) *didžū džauksmū džauktis* "to take great pleasure"; in Slavonian, (*ἐθαύμασα θαῦμα μέγα*), *čudichŭ se čudomŭ velikomŭ* and without an adjective: *sŭnomŭ sŭpati* "to sleep a sleep" ³⁰); in Gothic (*καὶ ἐφοβήθησαν φόβον μέγα* ³¹)) *jah ðhtēdun*

²⁵) For the etymology of *aktu-* see M. Mayrhofer, Kurzgef. etymol. Wörterbuch des Altindischen, Heidelberg 1953, p. 15.

²⁶) Delbrück, Vergl. Syntax I, p. 256; Von Geisau, I.F. 36, p. 257, n. 2.

²⁷) For *su* see e.g. Wackernagel, Altind. Grammatik, II, 1, Göttingen 1905, p. 81. It is interesting to notice that according to Patañjali, on Pāṇ. 2, 1, 36 *sū-* in analyzing a compound should be replaced by a synonym: *sumukhī: śobhanam mukham asyāḥ*.

²⁸) C. Schmelzer-C. Harder, Platons ausgewählte Dialoge, V, Berlin 1915, p. 128.

²⁹) In Latin "in erster Linie volkstümlich, daneben sondersprachlich" (Leumann-Hofmann, o.c., p. 436 f.).

³⁰) See Delbrück, l.c.; Brugmann, Grundriss² II, 2, p. 536 f.; 543 f.; J. Zubaty, I.F. 3, p. 126 ff.

³¹) For the Semitic influence on these constructions — "die analogen klassischen

agisa ³²⁾ *mikilamma*, etc. In Avestan, Yt. 5, 90; 91. In these constructions it is the adjective which gives a "Bereicherung der Verbalvorstellung" ³³⁾. Vedic instances with an adj. are RV. 10, 191, 3 (AV. 6, 64, 2) *samānena vo haviṣā juhomī* "I offer for you with the same oblation"; 1, 15, 3 *tebhir me sarvaiḥ saṃsrāvair / dhanam saṃ srāvayāmasi*; 16, 7, 2. Cf. also BhG. 11, 21 *stuvanti tvām stutibhiḥ puṣkalābhiḥ*.

An adverb is added AV. 5, 28, 6 *tredhā jātaṃ janmanā* "triply born by birth", i. e. "triply born".

In Vedic prose instrumental and verb are found connected in various phrases of a 'technical' meaning, e. g. JB. 1, 233; 2, 113 etc. *yajñena ya-jeta* "one should worship the gods with a sacrifice"; cf. e. g. also Mbh. 7, 69, 28 *yajñaiḥ . . . iṣṭvā*; 2, 45 *tam etena saṃtānena saṃtanoti*, no doubt also a technical expression ³⁴⁾; AiB. 1, 29, 12 *etena śāntiā śamayati* "he appeases with this (pāda), being a means of appeasing" ³⁵⁾; 2, 4, 1 *āpri-bhir āpriṇāti*; VaikhSmS. 4, 1 *indhānair indhayet* "kindle with fuel-sticks"; 7, 3 *prokṣanaiḥ prokṣya* "after having sprinkled with the formulas destined for sprinkling". Other phrases are: AiB. 2, 33, 8; 35, 4 *prajāyate prajāyā paśubhiḥ* "he is propagated with offspring . . ."; ŚB. 3, 5, 1, 26 *manasā manyeta* (cf. RV. 10, 130, 6); GobhGS. 4, 4, 33 *tapasā tapyamānā* (formula). Post-Vedic examples: Manu 2, 75 *pavitraiś caiva pāvitah*; Mbh. 1, 27, 14 *duḥkkena duḥkhitah*; 3, 75, 27 and 'ausmahlend' BhG. 9, 29 *ye bhajanti tu mām bhaktyā*; 18, 34 *dhr̥tyā dhārayati* ("firmly"). Compare also AiB. 3, 9, 1 *tam praiṣaiḥ praiṣam aichan* "they sought to start it (the sacrifice) with the directions" (see also further on) and participial constructions such as AV. 12, 3, 14; 25 *pūtaḥ pavitraiḥ*.

These constructions are also found in 'etymological explications': AiB. 2, 1, 1 *tam vai yūpenaivāyopayaṃs, tam yad yūpenaivāyopayaṃs tad yū-pasya yūpatvam* "they obstructed them by means of the yūpa (sacrificial post); in that they did so, that is why the yūpa has its name", an instance which however may represent a case of pseudo-'etymological figure'; ³⁶⁾ 3, 9, 2 *tam praiṣaiḥ praiṣam aichan. yat p. p. ai., tat praiṣānām praiṣatvam. tam purorugbhiḥ prārocayan* (the root *ruc-*) *yat p. p., t. purorucām puro-ruktvam*; similarly, 4 *tam vittam grahair vyagr̥hṇata . . .*

It is also used in arguments: AiB. 2, 40, 4 *śrotraṃ vai brahma, śrotreṇa hi b. śṛṇoti*; 8 *yājyayā yajāti. prattir vai yājyā*. Again a form of repetition apt to appear in discussions of a technical character carried on in the archaic way; ChU. 5, 1, 8. The instr. may be the second member of a

Redensarten . . . haben nur den Anknüpfungspunkt geboten" — see F. Blaszc. A. Debrunner, Gramm. des neutest. Griechisch, Göttingen 1913, p. 119.

³²⁾ The verb and the noun though exhibiting different ablaut grades, belong etymologically together.

³³⁾ Brugmann, o.c., p. 536.

³⁴⁾ See W. Caland, Das Jaiminiya-brāhmaṇa in Auswahl, Amsterdam 1919, p. 137.

³⁵⁾ See D. J. Hoens, Śānti, Thesis Utrecht 1951, p. 86.

³⁶⁾ The word is etymologically connected with *yu-* "to attack, join" e. g. by T. Burrow, The Sanskrit language, London 1955, p. 197.

compound: AiB. 5, 9, 3 *nartupraiṣaiḥ preṣitavyam*; 8, 9, 4; 14, 4; 19, 2; Mbh. 6, 106, 77 *vavarṣa śaravarṣeṇa meghaḥ*.

Compare the types AV. 11, 7, 23 *yac ca prāṇati prāṇena*, and RV. 6, 48, 3 *sudītibhiḥ su didīhi* "leuchte fein mit schönem Lichte" (Geldner): cf. RV. 2, 23, 4 *sunītibhir nayasi trāyase janam* (cf. Kauś. 82, 13 *sunītir no nayatu*).

The etymologically cognate dative is a phenomenon of comparatively infrequent occurrence: RV. 6, 9, 7 *amartyo 'vatūtaye naḥ* "der Unsterbliche soll uns gnädig sein zur Gnade" (Geldner); 5, 72, 3 *juṣetām yajñam iṣṭaye*: although *iṣṭi-* has, in contradistinction to *iṣṭi-*, etymologically speaking nothing to do with *yaj-* their being juxtaposed may be due to a predilection for paronomastic combinations³⁷).

Ablative combinations are e. g. AV. 14, 2, 7; AiB. 5, 30, 11 (stanza); ChU. 6, 4, 2 *apāgād ādityād ādityatvam*, cf. 1; 3 etc.

The verb combines with a locative: RV. 8, 92, 16 *tena nūnam made madeḥ*; AV. 5, 29, 9 *śayane śayānam*; 7, 96, 1. AiB. 1, 30, 11 *pratiṣṭhāyām evainau tat pratiṣṭhāpayati*; 2, 6, 16; 10, 10, etc.; Mbh. 4, 21, 41 U. *śayānam śayane*; cf. BhG. 7, 9 *tapas cāsmi tapasviṣu*. A passive verbal form RV. 10, 85, 28 *patir bandheṣu badhyate*. Cf. also an instance of pseudo-paronomasia: AiB. 3, 9, 3 *vedyām anvavindan*.

A large collection of those phrases which run parallel to a *figura etymologica* proper would for instance be of interest. Thus Mṛcch. 10, 12 *ghuṣyate ghoṣaṇāyām* "it is proclaimed in the proclamation": 10, 11 + *ghoṣedha ghoṣaṇam* (*ghoṣayata ghoṣaṇām*).

Special mention must be made of the groups constituted by vocative and verb: RV. 10, 125, 4d *śrudhi śruta* "hear, thou famous (or heard-of) one" (also AV. 4, 30, 4), cf. also RV. 1, 44, 13a etc. *śrudhi śrutkarṇa* "höre hörenden Ohres" (Geldner); 9, 97, 31. RV. 8, 17, 9 *vṛtāni vṛtrahañ jahi* no doubt means "O thou that art the one who kills the Vṛtra, kill the vṛtras (inimical powers)"³⁸, i. e. "give evidence, now also, of this specific quality".³⁹ AV. 5, 14, 8 *agne pṛtanāṣāt pṛtanāḥ sahasva* i. e. "O A. perform your characteristic task"; cf. also AV. 5, 14, 9 *kṛtavayadhani vidhya*⁴⁰; in Vedic prose e. g. SMB. 1, 8, 4; Gobh. 3, 6, 4 *saṃgrahāṇa saṃgrhāṇa* (formula). The vocative is also involved in instances of the type AV. 2, 29, 5 *ūrjam asmā ūrjasvati dhattam* "give him refreshment, ye two that are rich in r."; representatives of refreshment, powers who are rich in it are invoked in order to give of it; the vocative is no senseless tautology, but a confirmation explicitly stating that the powers which are invoked actually possess *ūrj-*: whoever possesses is able to give⁴⁰). Cf. also 4, 7, 4 *vi te madam madāvati | śaram iva pātayāmasi* (against the intoxication of the one who possesses it). The vocative brings the person addressed into immediate personal contact with the speaker: AV. 6, 114,

³⁷) See also Renou, o.c., I, p. 58.

³⁸) Cf. Renou, Études védiques et pāṇinéennes, I, p. 62.

³⁹) See Whitney-Lanman, o.c., p. 245.

⁴⁰) Cf. also AV. 6, 14, 2a.

1 it is repeated and recurs, moreover, in a compound: *yad devā devahe-
danam* / *devāsaś cakṛmā vayam*; this compound which is of some frequency
in these texts (e. g. RV. 7, 60, 8) is not replaced by *hedanam* and a pro-
nominal genitive. "Le vocatif fonctionne en somme comme une sorte de
renvoi, de répercussion emphatique à la chose énoncée".⁴¹⁾

A verb and an adjective qualifying the subject may belong to the same
root: RV. 2, 24, 9 *sūryas tapati tapyatuḥ*.

The verb and an adj. qualifying an instrumental belong to the same
root: RV. 3, 14, 5c = VS. 18, 75c *yajīṣṭhena manasā yakṣi devān*.

Combinations of nominal stems are not rare: AV. 2, 7, 5 *śaptāram etu
śapathah* "let the curse go to the curser" (cf. 5, 14, 3c; 5 etc.); 3, 22, 3
yena devā devatām agra āyan; 4, 14, 1; 4, 8, 1 *sa rājā rājyam anu manyatām
idam*; 4 *vyāghro adhi vaiyāghre* "a tiger, upon the tiger's (skin)" (cf. KS.
37, 9a etc. vy. viy. a.); 4, 18, 4; 35, 2 *yaṁ papāca brahmaṇe brahma*; 5, 24,
1 *savitā prasavānām adhipatiḥ* "the Impeller is lord of the impulses"; (cf.
6, 23, 3); 5, 26, 1 *yajūṁsi yajñe*; 6, 92, 2; 108, 4; cf. also 8, 100, 4 *ādardirah
... dardarimi*. Paronomasia may help to accentuate agreement or simil-
arity: AV. 4, 18, 4 *priyām priyāvate* "like a sweetheart to a lover"; display
of characteristic qualities: 4, 31, 3 *vaśi vaśam nayāsa*; cf. also 5, 25, 8c;
29, 1c; 15, 1d; magical effectiveness 6, 65, 2 *nirhastebhyo nairhastam*: the
handless shaft which is cast at the handless ones is obviously called so
because it is expected to make handless; cf. also 6, 108, 4 "make me pos-
sessed of medhā ("wisdom") with the m. of those possessing m.". An adj.
qualifying a subst. and another subst. are paronomastically juxtaposed:
AV. 6, 71, 3 *vaiśvānarasya mahato mahimnā*.

There are many combinations of a noun and a derivative or of different
derivatives: AV. 1, 35, 3 *indra ivendriyāni* . . . ; 2, 1, 4 *vācam iva vaktari*;
2, 2, 1 *divya deva*; AiB. 2, 7, 4 *yo vai bhāginam bhāgān nudate*; 12 *ho-
tomucyate sarvāyuh sarvāyutvāya*.

A nominative and genitive of the same stem are found combining in a
polypototic way, e. g. BārU. 1, 4, 14 *tad etat kṣatrasya kṣatram yad dharmah*
"dh. is the authority of the kṣatriya class": *kṣatra-* denotes "authority"
as a 'concept' as well as its manifestation in the social group which wields
it. In the speculations of the upaniṣads the question is discussed what it
is by which the organs function, what is the life-breath of life-breath, the
eye of the eye: BārU. 4, 4, 18 (st.) *prāṇasya prāṇam uta cakṣuśaś cakṣuḥ*
etc.⁴²⁾

Often however the genitive depends on a derivative containing the
same stem: RV. 2, 23, 18 *gavām gotram* "herd of cows"; AiB. 5, 2, 2 *in-
drasyendriyam* "the specific power of Indra"; AV. 16, 1, 9. Or both words
derive from the same root: with an adjective: AiB. 7, 27, 1 *pāpasya vā
ime karmanah kartāra āsate*, no doubt a natural mode of expression, oc-
curring in a quotation: "there sit those doers of an evil deed". JB. 2, 130

⁴¹⁾ Renou, ibidem.

⁴²⁾ See also further on.

yantur yantreṇa "mit (der) Stütze des Stützens" (Caland, rather: "of the supporting one"), in a series of liturgical formulas beginning with the oft-occurring *devasya tvā savituh prasave*: obviously with the specific power of the power-substance 'Support'. Often in the construction used in 'etymological explications' of words, e. g. JB. 2, 141 *tad vighanasya vighanatvam* "that is the being v. of the V.", i. e. "that is why V. is called V.", "that is the origin of the name V.". Cf. also Mbh. 14, 19, 40 *katham etāni sarvāṇi / śarīrāṇi śarīrīṇām / | vardhante*; BhG. 7, 10 *buddhir buddhimatām asmi / tejas tejasvinām aham*; Kāl. R. 10, 64 *gurutvena jagadguroḥ*. In Greek: Δ 323 τὸ γὰρ γέρας ἔστι γερóτων.

Gen. and verb e. g. AiB. 7, 34 1 *bhakṣitasya bhakṣayāmi* (formula).

A substantive and an attributive adjective are not rarely etymologically related: AV. 4, 15, 4 *varṣasya varṣato (varṣantu)* "of raining rain": here the repetition may be supposed to emphasize intensity and steadiness: "let gushes of r. r. rain along the earth". Compare in Latin *suavis suaviatio* ⁴³), Dutch *een hoge hoogte*; German *das leuchtende Licht* (R. Wagner); AV. 5, 27, 1 *śukrā śociṃsy agneḥ*. In an invocation: "great is your greatness" AV. 7, 29, 1 *mahi tad vāṃ mahitvaṃ*, no doubt an instance of intensive and emotional repetition; in a refrain: RV. 8, 47, 1 ff. *suūṭayo va ūṭayaḥ*. RV. 4, 50, 3 *paramā parāvat* "the most distant distance"; 10, 95, 14 *parāvatam paramāṃ gantavā u*; AV. 3, 18, 3; 6, 75, 2; cf. also RV. 10, 187, 2 = AV. 6, 34, 3 *yaḥ parasyāḥ parāvataḥ*; AV. 7, 26, 2; ĀpŚS. 22, 4, 27. Cf. JB. 1, 137; 2, 152 *parāṃ parāvataṃ agacchat*; AiB. 3, 15, 1, no doubt an expression of frequent occurrence in daily usage, cf. in Dutch *in de verste verte niet* "not by far" or "not in the least" (Ausdrucksverstärkung); RV. 2, 3, 6 *tantuṃ tatam*; RV. 9, 23, 4 *madyam madam*; AV. 2, 13, 5 *vāsaḥ prathamavāsyam*; 7, 77, 2 *tapiṣṭhena tapasā*; JB. 2, 134 *saṃdhāṃ saṃhitām atītya* "mit Übertretung der abgeschlossenen Übereinkunft" (Caland), apparently a standing or more or less 'technical' phrase. JB. 1, 135 *nava navatayaḥ* "nine groups of nine"; cf. also BārU. 4, 4, 17 (stanza) *pañca pañcajanāḥ* "the five groups of five"; Mbh. 14, 27, 18; ViPur. 3, 1, 15 etc. *sapta saptarṣayaḥ*, the compound substantive "the seven ṛṣis, the seven stars of Ursa Major," having obviously lost its etymological sense: cf. Fr. *une quarantaine de quarante jours*, Germ. *erste Primadonna* ⁴⁴); Manu 3, 181 *bhasmanīva hutam haviyam*; VāPur. 88, 66 *patnī pativratā*, and in the Rām. etc. the type 2, 12, 24 *abhirāmasya rāmasya*.

The adj. forms part of a sub-group: ChU. 4, 9, 3 *ācāryād dhaiva vidyā viditā*.

Avestan examples are Yt. 5, 76 *ərəzvydāt paiti vačarhaṭ*; 10, 88 *barəzište paiti barəzahi*; in Latin we find: Plaut. Poen. 1197 *o patruē mi patruissimē*, like some of the above instances a case of 'Überschwang'. ⁴⁵) Cf. BhG. 11, 43 *gurur garīyān* "most venerable guru".

⁴³) For Latin, see O. Raebel, *De usu adnominatiois apud romanorum poetas comicos*, Thesis Halle 1882, p. 30.

⁴⁴) See e.g. K. Nyrop, *Das Leben der Wörter*, Leipzig 1923, p. 148 ff.

⁴⁵) Hofmann, *Lat. Umgangssprache*, p. 91: "Gesteigerte Identifizierung wie bei

An interesting combination occurs R̥V. 4, 22, 3 *yo devo devatamo jāya-mānaḥ*.

A remarkable case of paronomastic Ausdrucksverstärkung is also R̥V. 7, 56, 6 *śubhā śobhiṣṭhāḥ* "an Pracht die Prächtigtsten" (Geldner)⁴⁶: the instr. is added to emphasize the idea expressed by the superlative.⁴⁷ The whole stanza is worth quoting because it contains no less than three paronomastic 'figures' in succession: *yāmaṃ yeṣṭhāḥ śubhā śobhiṣṭhāḥ śriyā sammiślā ojobhir ugrāḥ*.

There are some instances of case-forms of nominal compounds with the prefix *su-* which are equivalent to adverbial phrases in our languages: R̥V. 3, 8, 3 *sumiti miyamānaḥ* lit. "erected with good erecting" i. e. "erected well"; 7, 1, 21 *suditi sūno sahaso didiḥi*. With these instances we may compare the 'etymologic predications' of the type R̥V. 4, 50, 7 *brhaspatim yaḥ subhṛtaṃ bibharti* "who keeps B. well-nourished"; BaudhpmS. 17, 1 C. *athainaṃ susaṃcitaṃ saṃcītya*.

The share of the adverb in the total number of occurrences seems to be small: AV. 2, 6, 4 *mitreṇāgne mitradhā yatasva* "with (thy) friend, O Agni, strive in friendly wise", where four parallel texts have *-dheye* instead of *-dhā*; 7, 53, 7 *devaṃ devatrā sūryam aganma*; cf. also 4, 14, 7; compare also Mbh. 1, 38, 19 *bhaikṣavad bhikṣamānāya*; BhG. 4, 15 *pūrvaiḥ pūrvataraṃ kṛtaṃ* (intensive duplication); 5, 27; 9, 9 *udāsīnavad āsīnam* (14, 23). In Greek we find Arist. Eccl. 730 *χώραι σὺ δεῦρο . . . καλὴ καλῶς*; in Latin much favoured by Plautus, e.g. Bacch. 207 *unice unum*, surviving, in Romance idioms, as Lomb. *noḡ novent* "very new, quite new"⁴⁸.

Often the two words involved in the paronomasia are separated by other elements. A favourite type is represented by two examples in R̥V. 1, 6, 3: *ketuṃ kṛṇvann aketave / peṣo maryā apeṣaṣe* "giving a beacon to the one who has no beacon, colour, O men, to the one who has no colour"; cf. also R̥V. 1, 9, 2 *em enaṃ sṛjatā sute / mandim indrāya mandine / cakriṃ viśvāni cakraye* "(lasset) den berausenden für den rauschliebenden I. (strömen), den Wirksamen für den alles Wirkenden!" (Geldner); 2, 10, 4 *jigharmy agniṃ haviṣā ghrtena*; cf. AV. 1, 15, 3; 4. Compare, in Greek B 437 f. *κήρυκες . . . κηρύσσοντες*. Both terms are not rarely separated by a vocative: R̥V. 1, 11, 7 *māyābhir indra māyinaṃ*.

Sequences such as R̥V. 1, 10, 1 *gāyanti tvā gāyatriṇo / arcantiy arkam arkiṇaḥ* "the singers praise thee in song . . ."; 2, 11, 11 *mandantu tvā mandinaḥ sutāsaḥ*; AV. 4, 36, 10b (= 5, 14, 6d) *āsvam ivāśvābhīdhānyā*

den komparativischen Wendungen findet sich im Überschwang der entzückten Anrede". Cf. also O. Raebel, *De usu adnominatiois apud romanorum poetarum comicos*, Thesis Halle 1882, p. 30.

⁴⁶ See also Brugmann, *Grundriss* II², 2, p. 543 ("ausmalend").

⁴⁷ For 'Steigerung' of a superlative see e.g. L. Spitzer, *Italianische Umgangssprache*, Bonn 1922, p. 183 f.; Hofmann, *Lat. Umgangssprache*, p. 90 f.

⁴⁸ See Hofmann, *Lat. Umgangssprache*, p. 95; 196; W. Meyer-Lübke, *Grammatik der roman. Spr.*, Leipzig 1890-99, II, p. 554; III, p. 166; J. van Leeuwen, on Arist. *Nubes*, 554 (Leiden 1898).

are not rare. Other examples are: RV. 10, 35, 4 *revat sanibhyo revatī vy uchatu* (words which are found connected in other passages also); 2, 23, 4 *mahi tat te mahitvanam*; 2, 27, 8 *mahi vo mahitvam*; 3, 8, 10 *śrūgāñīvec chīrṅgiṇām*; 2, 9, 4 *agne yajasva haviṣā yajīyān*; 2, 11, 10 *nī māyino dānavasya māyāḥ*. AiB. 5, 24, 14 *prajāpatiṃ vai prajā anuprajāyante*. Sentences such as ŚB. 3, 5, 3, 10 *śavitā vai devānām prasavitā* could likewise hardly be expressed otherwise.

A negative adjective is sometimes followed by its positive counterpart: RV. 10, 79, 6 "nicht spielend und doch spielend" (Geldner⁴⁹). In view of the tendency to antithetical expression this type of phrase may have enjoyed some popularity in the spoken language. Compare the Greek *θέλεις οὐ θέλεις*.

Other combinations worth mentioning are: active and middle participle of the same verb: RV. 3, 5, 7 *uśantam uśānaḥ* (reciprocity) — cf. in Homer, Δ 451 *ἀλλύοντων τε καὶ ὀλλομένων*; Δ 410 *ἢ τ' ἔβλητ' ἢ τ' ἔβαλ' ἄλλον*; — two other verbal forms: AV. 5, 28, 4 *vardhaya vāvrdhānaḥ* "thyself increasing, do thou increase him" (parallelism and interdependence); part. and finite verb: AV. 5, 114, 3 *śikṣanto nopa śekima* (opposition); the construction AiB. 2, 35, 5 *yo 'sya śrītyas tasmai startavai* "to lay low whom he has to lay low": again the tendency to repeat the idea conveyed by the root instead of using synonyms or vague substitutes; the type AiB. 3, 2, 4 *retāḥ puruṣasya prathamam sambhavataḥ sambhavati* "seed comes into existence first when man c. i. e.": another example of a syntactic peculiarity determined by habits of thought: parallels and coincidences supposed to exist in the phenomenal world are described in a style which is characterized by parallelisms and repetitions. An active participle sometimes combines with a verbal adjective in *-ta-*: RV. 9, 89, 7 *vanvann avātāḥ* "vincens invictus"; 96, 8; 11; cf. also 8, 99, 8.

Two forms of the same stem, but different in gender, are combined e. g. RV. 1, 160, 1 ... *antar iyate / devo devī* ... *sūryaḥ* emphasizing identity in rank and nature; cf. also 2, 33, 8 *maho mahim*; 2, 35, 4 *tam asmerā yuvatayo yuvānam / ... pari yanti* "him, the youth, the young maidens ..."; 5 *devāya devīr didhīṣanti annam* "divine (women) desire to bestow food on the divine one"; 9, 95, 3 *uśatīr uśantam*; cf. also 5, 19, 4 *ajāmijāmyoh* "chose qui entre frères et sœurs n'est pas compatible avec l'état de frère et sœur"⁵⁰); 2, 15, 6 *aṇvaso javinibhir vivṛṣan* (opposition); 3, 4, 8 *sarasvatī sārāsvatebhiḥ* (relationship, association); AV. 3, 12, 5 *devī devēbhiḥ*⁵¹); 14, 1, 49 *patye patnīm*; ChU. 4, 4, 1 *satyakāmo ha jābālo jābālām mātaram āmantrayām cakre* (relationship); BārU. 2, 4, 4 *priyā bata are naḥ satī priyam bhāṣase*; ĪśaU. 1, 1 *yat kiṃ ca jagatyām jagat*; Mbh. 14, 20, 2 *brāhmaṇī brāhmaṇam ... drṣtvā*; Manu 2, 216 *yuvatinām yuvā bhuvi / ... vandanaṃ kuryāt* (similarity). Also in kāvya: Mṛch. 8, 16 *haṃsī haṃsaṃ*

⁴⁹) Geldner, Der Rig-veda übersetzt, III, p. 261, comparing the Latin *nolens volens*.

⁵⁰) Renou, Études védiques. et pāninéennes, I, p. 64.

⁵¹) *devī deva-* also in other mantras.

parityajya; Kāl. R. 10, 56 *patnyau patyuh* (unity). In an enlarged form: ViPur. 1, 19, 13 *jagaddhātri jagaddhātari*; in a compound ĪsvG. 2, 37 *nadinadāh*. Differently Rām. 3, 4, 12 *jagatim jagato gatim*. Compare, in Greek the polyptotic ε 154 f. *ἀνέσκειν* *παρ' οὐκ ἐθέλων ἐδελοῦσθαι* (notice the hyperbaton) ⁵²).

It may therefore be true that from the standpoint of efficiency and 'modern' or matter-of-fact style most of the constructions hitherto discussed in this chapter involve an element of redundancy. Renou ⁵³) is of course right in stating that instead of Rv. 4, 17, 13 *kṣiyantam tvam akṣiyantam kṛṇoti* "he makes somebody who dwells quietly an unsettled one" the later language could have used **akṣayikaroti*, but this is neither to concede that in later usage that compound verb was a necessity nor to deny the existence of any stylistic difference. The former expression is typical of archaic and religious style, the latter lacks the emotional value, the special flavour of antiquity, poetry, or popularity which make these 'redundancies' so suited to the needs of the religious masses.

Special mention must be made of those cases in which words deriving from the same root are co-ordinated within the same syntactic group: cf. AV. 3, 24, 5 *kṛtasya kāryasya ca*; 4, 23, 7 *yaj jātam janitavyam ca kevalam*; 5, 27, 6 *vasavaś cātiṣṭhan vasudhātaraś ca*; BārU. 2, 1, 6 *jīṣṇur hāparājīṣṇur bhavati* "he becomes victorious, unconquerable"; 2, 1, 3 *ahar ahar ha sutah prasutaḥ bhavati*; Manu 3, 271 *gavyena / payasā pāyasena ca*; BhG. 2, 52 *śrotavyasya śrutasya ca*; VāPur. 10, 52 *buddhān buddhatamāṃś caiva*; MtPur. 2, 26 *avijñeyam avijñātam*. Etymologically related words may occur in succeeding clauses so as to accentuate an opposition: Manu 3, 171 *parivettā sa vijñeyah / parivittas tu pūrvajah* (cf. 172).

It may be remembered that in enumerations not rarely words deriving from the same root are placed side by side: AV. 3, 5, 7 *ye rājāno rājakṛtaḥ*; 3, 10, 9 *ṛtūn yaja ṛtupatīn / ārtavān uta hāyanān*; 4, 4, 8; 4, 39, 9 *namas-kāreṇa namasā*, cf. in Latin *fidei et fiducia* (Plautus) ⁵⁴); 6, 82, 1 *āgacchata āgatasya / nāma grhṇāmy āyataḥ*; 3, 12, 9b = 9, 3, 23b *ayakṣmā yakṣ-manāśanīḥ* "free from y., y.-effacing": transferring the negative property by which it (the water) is characterized to others. Here also the 'paronomastic combination' is, in view of the scarceness of anaphorical words and of the tendency to repeat the main concepts or clue words as often as the ideas for which they stand are referred to, no ornament.

Having given some account of those types of assonance which depend upon the repetition of the same stem or root, one more complicated type in which a paronomastic combination is expanded by a term deriving from the same root may be illustrated by a few further examples: Rv. 10, 90, 16 *yajñena yajñam ayajanta devāḥ* "with the sacrifice the gods sacrificed to the sacrifice"; 1, 10, 1 *arcanty arkam arkinah*, in which the same

⁵²) Cf. Wackernagel, Vorlesungen, II, p. 194.

⁵³) Renou, Études védiques et pāṇinéennes, I, p. 64.

⁵⁴) More examples are given by Raebel, o.c., p. 23.

root recurs three times; AV. 6, 39, 2; 43, 1; AiB. 1, 1, 10 *prajayā paśubhiḥ prajanayati prajātyai*; an epic example is Mbh. 12, 139, 8 *vāryamāṇo 'pi pāpebhyah | pāpātmā pāpam icchati*; cf. 1, 49, 8. Cf., in Greek, B 474 ὦς τ' αἰπόλια πλατέ' αἰγῶν αἰπόλοι ἄνδρες . . .; Hes. Op. 382 ἐργον ἐπ' ἐργῷ ἐργάζεσθαι; Soph. Aj. 866 πόνος πόνῳ πόνον φέρει. With a compound GobhGS. 3, 8, 10 *havirāhutim hutvā*. Even fourfold repetition, though rare, is not absent: RV. 4, 25, 4 *nare naryāya nṛtamāya nṛṇām* "für den mannhaften, männlichsten Mann der Männer". Though creating the impression of 'Klangfreude' BhG. 2, 20 *nāyaṃ bhūtā bhavitā vā na bhūyah* could hardly be formulated otherwise; cf. 10, 5 *bhavanti bhāvā bhūtānām*. Paronomastic repetition of a word group occurs e. g. Mbh. 1, 47, 36 *dharme sthitāṃ sthito dharme*.

Paronomastic compounds are e. g. AV. 2, 27, 6 *karmakṛt*- "deed-doer" (Whitney-Lanman), i. e. "efficacious One"; 4, 24, 6 *karmakṛtyāya* (Indra was born) for doing deeds; 1, 25, 1 *dharmadhṛt*- "maintaining dharma"; 1, 30, 4 *sattrasad*-; 19, 9, 2 *kṛtākṛta*- "the done and undone", a 'polar' expression for "everything"; 10, 2, 9 *priyāpriyāṇi* "things dear and not dear"; 5, 20, 12 *acyutacyut*- "stirring the unstirred"; 6, 63, 2 *tigmatejas*- "of keen keenness"; 5, 18, 13 *garagīrṇa*- "one who has swallowed poison"; 11, 5, 20 *bhūtabhavya*- "past and future"; 8, 10, 13 *yajñāyajñīya*- (the name of various sāmans); 5, 30, 10 *bodhapratibhodau*. Manu 3, 65 *ayājyayājana*- "sacrificing for men unworthy to offer sacrifices"; BhG. 8, 8 *abhyāsaya-gayukta*-; 13, 20 *kāryakaraṇakartṛtve* (often in more or less technical terms); Rām. 4, 9, 3 etc. *pitṛpaitāmaha*-; 27, 20 *nānānādavināditā*; very often in kāvya: Mṛch. 7, 5 *karikarasamabāhuḥ* . . . One of the terms involved in paronomasia may form part of a compound: Homer, *Γ* 46 f. ἐν πορτοπόροισι νέεσσι | πόντον ἐπιπλώσας; RV. 1, 118, 11d; 3, 15, 2a; 4, 1, 5b etc. *uśaso vyuṣṭau* "at the first gleam of dawn"; 2, 34, 12 *uśaso vyuṣṭisu*; 1, 5, 5 *sutapāvne sutā ime . . . yanti* "these pressed (juices) come to the one who drinks the soma juice"; 2, 4, 1 *deva ādeve jāne* "the god among those who are devoted to the gods"; 2, 6, 3 *gīrbhir gīrvaṇasam* "with invocations (thou who art) fond of invocations"; 7, 14, 1 *devāya devahūtibhiḥ | . . . dāśema*; VS. 7, 13 *suviro vīrān*; AV. 12, 3, 42 *nidhiṃ nidhipā*; 2, 27, 1; 4, 27, 1; 6, 52, 2; JB. 1, 11 *hastī hastyasanam*; ŚB. 3, 2, 2, 2 *yathā madhu madhukṛto nirdhayeyuḥ*; the above BārU. 4, 4, 17 *pañca pañcajanāḥ*; BhG. 7, 23 *devān devayaḥ yānti*; Kāl. R. 9, 17 *patiṃ patidevatāḥ*. Compare RV. 3, 6, 10 *ṛtāvari ṛtājātasya*. A mystery may be solved by the explication of a name: AV. 5, 11, 2 *kena jātenāsi jātavedāḥ*. Here belong also such well-known epic phrases as Mbh. 3, 52, 5 *bhīmo bhīmaparākramah* accentuating the etymological meaning of the proper name Bhīma; 3, 67, 23 *rājā rājya-paribhṛaṣṭaḥ*; 1, 44, 6 *janamejayam janāḥ*; 45, 5; 2, 24, 30; cf. Br. P. 143, 2 *rāvaṇo lokarāvaṇaḥ*; Rām. 3, 11, 75 *puṣpītān puṣpītāgrābhīḥ*; 1, 58, 10 *nīlavastradharo nīlaḥ*; Rām. 2, 26, 13 *mūrdhni mūrdhābhiṣiktasya*; 34, 44 (cf. 4, 13, 12) *vane vanacaraiḥ*; 2, 7, 18; 9, 38; cf. also the type Rām. 4, 11 *yuddham yuddhaviśārada*. Often in post-epic phraseology: SkPur. Kkh.

37, 67 *doṣau sunirdoṣau*; 81 *vr̥tto vr̥ttanakhah*; VāP. 9, 71 *pūrveṣām api pūrvajam*; BrP. 150, 7 *dāruṇo dāruṇākṛtiḥ*. A kind of 'climax': Mbh. 1, 50, 1 *rājā rājendraḥ*.

An interesting type is represented by AV. 1, 29, 5 *asapatnaḥ sapatnahā* "without rivals, rival-slaying"; 5, 23, 6 etc. *viśvadr̥ṣto adr̥ṣtahā*. Cf. also Mbh. 14, 19, 3 *amāni nirabhimānaḥ*; BhG. 13, 2. A related combination is RV. 7, 66, 2 *sudakṣā dakṣapitarā*; cf. AV. 4, 23, 4 *suajātam jātavedasam*; anticipating a sort of yamaka favoured by the poet of the Rāmāyaṇa this repetition seems to have been rather uncommon in the mantras of the Atharvanic style. The phrase Rām. 1, 57, 18 *yaṣṭukāmo mahāyajñam* is based on a simple figura etymologica *yaj- yajñam*⁵⁵). Also in technical literature: AthVPar. 70b, 16, 3 *śasatyāḥ satyavarjitaḥ*; in purāṇas etc. VāPur. 6, 43 *ajñāne jñānamāninaḥ*. Cf. also the not uncommon type Rām. 2, 14, 59 *sumantram mantrajā . . . pratyuvāca*.

Other types are RV. 4, 45, 4 *mandino mandinispr̥ṣaḥ*; Mbh. 1, 43, 15 *niraṃśur iva gharmāṃśuḥ*; 45, 19 *niyatātmā mahātmā ca*.

The words of a clause or sentence are sometimes arranged in such a way as to juxtapose forms of the same root or stem: in Latin, Plautus Merc. 345 *ita animi decem in pectore incerti certant*; in Sanskrit: AV. 6, 112, 2 *trayas tribhir utsitā yebhir āsan*; 1, 9, 1 *asmin vasu vasavo dhārayantu*; 3, 14, 6; 4, 24, 2; 5, 30, 8; AiB. 8, 20, 2 *so 'bhiṣikto 'bhiṣektre brāhmaṇāya hiraṇyam dadyāt*; 8, 23, 6 (stanza) . . . *atyagād rājño māyām māyāvattaraḥ*; 6, 5, 1 *stotriyam stotriyasyānurūpaṃ kurvanti*; ChU. 6, 9, 1 *yathā . . . madhu madhukṛto nistiṣṭhanti*; Mbh. 14, 19, 18 *manīṣi manasā viprah | paśyan ātmānam ātmani*; BhG. 5, 27 *sparśān kṛtvā bahir bāhyān . . .*; 7, 24; 8, 23; 24; 13, 33; 18, 75; Rām. 2, 39, 17 *sā sujātā sujātāni vaidēhī prasthitā vanam | bhūṣayāmāsa gātrāṇi tair vicitrair vibhūṣitaiḥ*; MtPur. 11, 34 *kāmāyāmāsa kāmārtaḥ*; BrPur. 7, 83 *apibat . . . | yogi yogena*; RV. 1, 160, 3 may be quoted in illustration of the tendency to place paronomastic terms on either side of the caesura: *sa vahnīḥ putraḥ pitroḥ pavitravān | punāti dhīro bhuvanāni māyayā*. Similarly, AV. 33, 6 *tvaṃ hi viśvatomukha | viśvataḥ paribhūr asi*; 6, 1, 3 *sa ghā no devaḥ savitā | sāviṣad . . .*; 6, 6, 2 *yo naḥ soma suśaṃsino | duḥśaṃsa ādideśati*; 6, 39, 2 . . . *yaśasaṃ yaśobhir | yaśasvinam*; cf. 6, 43, 1. Sometimes both members of the paronomastic group are divided by the pause at the end of a stanza: AV. 3, 20, 7 f. . . . *vājinam | | vājasya . . .*; 10, 3, 4 f. *varaṇo vārayiṣyate | | varaṇo vārayātai*. It is clear that here paronomasia has a binding force, facilitating the transition between the stanzas and connecting the ideas expressed in them: " . . . this varaṇa amulet shall shield you (against fear) . . . | | the varaṇa shall ward off. . . ". AV. 6, 19, 2 with its repetition of the last pāda of st. 1 amplifies it into a longer sentence indicating also the purpose of the process: *pavamānaḥ punātu mā | | p. p. mā | kratve dakṣāya jīvase*. A similar transition may serve to pass on, from a statement about the 'history' of a

⁵⁵) See Speyer, Sanskrit Syntax, § 45 Rem.

magical instrument, to the person on whose behalf the rite is performed: AV. 6, 4, 5 f. *kuṣṭhaṃ nīrāvahan* / *imaṃ me kuṣṭha pūruṣaṃ tam ā vaha tam niṣkuru*. In many cases homoioteleuton and non-paronomastic alliteration fulfil a similar function⁵⁶). Cf. in Homer *Α 802 ὅς τ' ἄκμῳ τε* *κεκμηότας ἄνδρας ἄντῃ*; Hes. O. 664 f. Cf. also Mbh. 14, 17, 28 *tamasā saṃvṛtajñānaḥ* / *saṃvṛteṣv eva marmasu*; 20, 6 *etad eva vyavasyanti karma karmeti karmināḥ*; 22, 18 *bhogān bhuñkte bhāvān yadi*; 23, 7 *yasmin pralīne pralayaṃ vrajanti* / *sarve prāṇāḥ prāṇabhṛtām śarīre* . . . ; 28, 26 *bhagavan bhagavadbuddhyā* . . . *bravīmy aham*; 34, 44 *vatsye* / *vane vanacaraiḥ saha*; 35, 6 *ity uktaḥ sa* . . . / *guruṇā guruvatsalaḥ*; Rām. 2, 40, 43 *savatsā vatsa-kāraṇāt*; 42, 18 *rāmam* . . . *gacchantam* / *lokanātham anāthavat*; 43, 18 *sāham gaur iva śimhena* / *vivatsā vatsalā kṛtā*; 19; 45, 29 *yācamāneṣu teṣu tvam bhaktiṃ bhakteṣu darśaya*; 46, 27; 29; 47, 19; 48, 32; 49, 5; 3, 2, 23; 25; 6, 16; 10, 4; 12; 1, 56, 16; 4, 4, 20 etc. Other procedures worth mentioning are: AV. 1, 15, 3cd *tebhīr me sarvaiḥ saṃsṛāvair* / *dhanam saṃ sṛāvayāmasi*; 4cd. Mbh. 14, 18, 11 *yathā ca dīpaḥ śaraṇe* / *dīpyamānaḥ prakāśate*; Mbh. 5, 128, 50; 129, 7 etc. Rām. 2, 49, 5 *tikṣṇā sambhinna maryādā* / *tikṣṇakarmani vartate*; 14, 10 *agratas te parityaktā* / *parityakṣyāmi jīvitam*; 20; Mbh. 14, 25, 1; 29, 10; Kāl. R. 8, 90. Here paronomasia has been made a means of forging verses. Paronomasia may even occur at joints of two stanzas: Mbh. 14, 17, 22 f. Frequently in kāvya, e. g. Mṛch. 8, 23 *veśyām aveśasadṛśa-*.

Of special syntactic or stylistic interest are, inter alia, the following passages: RV. 2, 8, 2 *ajuryo jarayann arim* "without being subject to decay causing the enemy to decay", cf. 2, 16, 1 *indram ajuryam jarayantam*; 2, 28, 11 *svapne bhayam bhīrave mahyam āha*, where *bhīrave* qualifies *mahyam*; 3, 1, 5 *kratum punānaḥ kavibhiḥ pavitraiḥ*; 19 *mahān mahibhir ūtibhiḥ*; the tendency to place forms deriving from the same stem in close proximity is especially clear in instances such as 3, 8, 9 *devā devānām api yanti pāthaḥ* "the gods betake themselves to the gods", where *devānām* belongs to *pāthaḥ*; cf. also 3, 7, 7; 7, 10, 4 *rudram rudrebhir ā vahā brhantam* / *ādityebhir aditiṃ viśvajanyām*; 2, 9, 1 *ni hotā hotṛsadane* . . . *asadat*. A complicated and hardly natural combination is 7, 18, 16 *indro manyum manyumyo mimāya* "I frustrated the zeal of him who frustrated the zeal". If the juxtaposition of etymologically related terms entails, as is the case in part of the above passages, hyperbaton or transposition of words (departure from the normal word order) its effect on the ear and the mind of the hearer is so much the greater⁵⁷).

We cannot discuss in this chapter the juxtaposition exemplified by RV. 5, 11, 4 *agnim vṛṇānā vṛṇate kavikratum*; *a. vṛṇānāḥ* constitutes a

⁵⁶) See further on, and 'Alliteration und Reim im Satzbau des Atharvaveda', Acta Or. 18, p. 50 ff.

⁵⁷) For hyperbaton see e.g. L. Lindhamer, Zur Wortstellung im Griechischen, Thesis München 1908; Havers, I.F. 31, p. 230 ff.; Schwyzer-Debrunner, o.c., II, p. 697 f.

syntactic group, *a.* is anaphorically repeated at the beginning of all pādas of this stanza: "in choosing *A.* they choose one who . . .".

Probably due to the same inclination to place words deriving from the same root side by side is also a word order like that found *ṚV.* 2, 15, 2 *sa dhārayad prthivīm paprathac ca.*

Some post-Vedic passages may be added in which two words belonging to the same root are placed side by side although they form part of different word groups: *Manu* 2, 94 *na jātu kāmāḥ kāmānām / upabhogena śāmyati* (the gen. depends on *u.*); 126; a hyperbaton such as *Manu* 8, 44 *yathā nayati . . . / mṛgasya mṛgayuḥ padam* is not uncommon in a great variety of texts; *Rām.* 4, 16, 11 *dakṣiṇā sā pradakṣiṇam.* *Rām.* 1, 47, 3 *marutām sapta saptānām / sthānapālā bhavantu te*; 48, 13 *tac chrutvā rāghaveṇoktam / vākyaṃ vākyaaviśāradaḥ / pratyuvāca . . . viśvāmitraḥ*; 2, 39, 17. Cf., with polyptoton, *Aśoka K.* 14, 13 *gaddhā sā hoti piti piti dhamma-vijayaṣṣi* "that love has been attained which pertains to the conquest of religion"; *ViPur.* 1, 17, 36 *bhayaṃ bhayānām apahāriṇi sthite / manasyanante mama kutra tiṣṭhati* (*bh. m. k. t.* belong together).

From the frequency of the passages in which two or more paronomastic constructions are linked together it may be concluded that they did not fail to make a vivid impression on the minds and the ears of both poets and audience: *ṚV.* 2, 6, 3 *taṃ tvā gīrbhir girvaṇasaṃ / draviṇasyuṃ draviṇodaḥ / saparyema saparyavaḥ* "dich, den Lobbegehrenden, wollen wir unter Lobesworten, dich den Schätzebegehrer, du Schätzegeber, pfleglich pflegen"; 2, 15, 1 *pra ghā nv asya mahato mahāni / satyā satyasya karaṇāni vocam*; 2, 22, 1 *sainam saścad devo devam satyam indram satya indruḥ*; 2, 23, 1 *gaṇānām tvā gaṇapatiṃ havāmahe kaviṃ kavīnām upamaśravastamam / jyeṣṭharājam brahmaṇām brahmaṇas pata ā naḥ śṛṇvann ūtibhiḥ sīda sādānam*; 2, 24, 11 *sa devo devān prati paprathe prthu* "the god has become larger largely (so as to be) equivalent to the (other) gods"; 2, 26, 1ab; 6, 18, 4; 32, 3.

Complicated instances are *ṚV.* 2, 25, 2 *virēbhir virān vanavad vanuṣyataḥ*, and 6, 48, 3 *ajasreṇa śociṣā śośucac / chuce suditibhiḥ su didihi*; instructive is also 3, 7, 4 *mahi tvāṣṭram ūrjayantīr ajuryam / . . . vahato vahan-ti*: subject and verb are placed at the end, *ūrj.* is separated from *mahi* which syntactically belongs to it. Other instances are: *ṚV.* 10, 109, 5 = *AV.* 5, 17, 5 *brahmācārī carati vevīṣad viṣaḥ*; and with 'paronomastic triplication' of the same root: 5, 27, 2 *devo deveṣu devaḥ patho anakti* "god, god κατ' ἐξοχῆ among the gods, . . ." ⁵⁸); 6, 98, 1 *adhirājo rājasu rājayātai*; 4, 15, 4 *sargā varṣasya varṣato / varṣantu prthivīm anu*, no doubt with an intended magical effect; 4, 32, 1; 5, 2, 3; 6, 33, 2; 39, 2; 43, 1; 7, 5, 1 (= *ṚV.* 1, 164, 50) *yajñena yajñam ajayanta devāḥ*.

One example may be commented upon at greater length. *AV.* 1, 34, being a text used, inter alia, in a ceremony for superiority in disputation

⁵⁸) See also H. Oertel, *Zum altind. Ausdrucksverstärkungstypus satyasya satyam*, Sitz. Ber. München 1937, p. 38, n. 3.

(see Kauś. 38, 17)—the ambitious disputant is to enter the assembly whilst chewing the sweet herb mentioned in the text—and to secure the devotion of a beloved person. The five stanzas of which the text consist exhibit no less than fifteen occurrences of the word *madhu*- “sweet”, the main property of the plant with which the rites are to be performed in order to put the disputant in possession of a ‘sweet tongue’, and to make him ‘sweet’ in a more general sense of the term, i. e. pleasant, agreeable, attractive. In st. 1 which runs as follows: *iyam vīrun madhujātā / madhunā*⁵⁹ *tvā khanāmasi / madhor adhi prajātāsi / sā no madhumatas kṛdhi* the pādas a and c express, with variation, the same thought: “the plant is honey (sweetness)-born”, i. e. “identical with, or a representative of, sweetness”⁶⁰. This plant, of such nature, is, the poet states, dug in order to come into possession of sweetness. This statement, written down in a matter-of-fact style, would however be incompatible with the context and the magical purpose of this collection of formulas. The very repetition of the central idea which is both inherent in the plant and intended to be transferred to the person on whose behalf the rite is performed, the double statement of the origin, i. e. of the nature and identity of the plant, are magically suggestive and effective. The idea of sweetness is by means of the plant and the text, conjured up and materialized. The honey-plant must make this man possessed of honey, his character must be that of the plant, his deeds and behaviour must be ‘honeyed’ (st. 3; 4) in order to be superior among his fellow-men (st. 2). Here also the repetition of the same word stem is no play on words in any modern sense of the term. — Compare also such suggestive lines as Rām. 4, 10, 2 *anāthasya hi me nāthas tvam eko nātha nandana*. In other texts: VS. 6, 11, *varṣo varṣīyasi yajñe yajñā-patiṁ dhāh*; MŚS. 3, 1, 25 *dhātā dhātuh pituh pitānaṣṭo gharmah*.

The discussions and motivations of the brāhmaṇas and upaniṣads not infrequently lead to accumulations of paronomastic constructions: AiB. 5, 22, 12 f. *devānām vā etan mithunam yad brhadrathantare, d. eva tan mithunena mithunam avarundhate, d. m-ena m-m prajāyante prajātyai. prajāyate prajāyā paśubhir ya evam veda*: here two ritual concepts are stated to be “a pairing of the gods”, as this means propagation, and as knowledge of, and insight into, the mythical processes means participation in them, the man who knowing this performs definite rites will have offspring. Cf. also 3, 7, 12 *saṁtatam ṛcā vaśatkṛtyam saṁtatyai* “the v. is said continuously with the ṛc, for continuity”; 3, 10, 3; 1, 16, 13; 5, 23, 5. Ibid. 5, 23, 7 f. *devānām eva tad yajñīyam guhyam nāma prakāśam gamayati, tad enam p. gatam p. gamayati. gachati p. ya evam veda*; 5, 29, 6 *agninā vai tejasū rātris tejasvaty, ādityena tejasāhas tejasvat*: the author did again not want any stylistic variation; 5, 33, 4 *evam eva sa yajño na riṣyati, yajñasyāriṣṭim*

⁵⁹) Should we read *madhune*, cf. 6, 136, 1?; if so d and b are variations of the same thoughts.

⁶⁰) The first pāda = 7, 56, 2a where *madhu*(-) is to follow three times. See also Yāska, Nir. 10, 16.

anu yajamāno na riṣyati; 30, 12; ŚB. 3, 2, 2, 2 *yajñena vai devā imām jitiṃ jiggyur yaiṣām iyaṃ jitiḥ* where we would say: "the gods . . . gained that triumphant position which they now possess"; 3, 3, 1, 10; BārU. 2, 1, 17 *tad eṣām prāṇānām vijñānena vijñānam ādāya*. Of special interest is the oft-recurring etymological explication exemplified by JB. 1, 105 *tad yad imāml lokān ājayams, tad ājyānām ājyatvam* "because they conquered these worlds, that is why they are (called) ājyas (lit. that is the being ājyas of the ājyas)" (see above); AiB. 2, 36, 3; 3, 9, 3 etc. These paronomastic constructions may be embedded in a balanced binary structure: AiB. 8, 25, 3 *kṣatreṇa kṣatram jayati, balena balam aśnute* . . . They may be complicated: ChU. 4, 16, 3 *yajñam riṣyantam yajamāno 'nuriṣyati*. Post-Vedic examples are: Mbh. 14, 19, 40 f. *katham . . . | śarīrāṇi śarīrinām | | vardhante vardhamānasya vardhate ca katham balam*; 20, 2 *brāhmaṇī brāhmaṇam kaṃciḥ | jñānavijñānapāragam*; 20, 23 *havīṃsy agniṣu hotārah | saptadhā sapta saptasu | samyak prakṣipyā*; BrPur. 6, 47 *dharmaṇa rañjayāmāsa | dharmarāja imāḥ prajāḥ*.

In evincing a similar interest in paronomastic combinations of words the epic poets and their successors followed ancient examples. As long as the paronomasia remained in harmony with the above principles it may be regarded as essentially natural, as long as the marked appreciation of the aesthetic element, the 'Klangfreude', did not dominate over its traditional syntactic functions, as an outgrowth of a natural procedure. Though obviously inspired by the desire to produce beautiful verses and pleasant combinations of sounds such lines as e. g. Rām. 2, 2, 27 are, in principle, not incompatible with the natural character of paronomasia: *guṇān guṇavato deva | devakalpasya dhimataḥ | . . . pravakṣyāmi*: "I will describe the virtues of him who possesses virtues, of the god-like one, O god (king)"; 1, 57, 14 *vāsiṣṭhā dīrghatapasas | tapo yatra hi tepire*; 58, 17 *abravīt prāñjalir vākyam vākyajño vākyakovidam*; 59, 5 *yas tvam . . . śaraṇyam śaraṇagataḥ*. Even Rām. 2, 12, 8 *kim kṛtam tava rāmeṇa | pāpe pāpam mayāpi vā* is in harmony with the emotional function of this procedure, and Mbh. 3, 155, 4 *nirghātaś cābhavad bhīmo | bhīme vikramam āsthite* may have been composed not exclusively for the sake of 'Klangfreude', but also in order to accentuate the parallelism between nature and human activity or the sympathy of the former with the latter. A similar rôle emphasizing syntactic connections is, even in works of a late period, not uncommon: MtPur. 4, 5 *yathā bhujamgāḥ sarpāṇām ākāśam . . . | vidanti mārgam, divyānām | divyā eva na mānavāḥ*; accentuating genetic affinity: ViPur. 3, 1, 40 *haryāyām haribhiḥ sardham harir eva babhūva ha*; emphasizing agreement or correspondence: Rām. 2, 12, 38 *pratyuvācātha kaikeyī raudrā raudrataram vacaḥ*; Mr̥cch. 10, 28 *tena . . . | dūṣitenāpi dūṣitāḥ*. Cf. e. g. also Rām. 2, 13, 8; concession or opposition: Kāl. R. 8, 25 *anagnim agnicit*; 10, 18 *ameyo mitalokas tvam*.

This is not to deny that paronomastic repetition is often made subservient to the effort to produce assonant and alliterative lines and pleas-

ant or suggestive sound combinations. Mbh. 3, 62, 21 *jagrāhājagaro grāho* ... / ; 7, 93, 54 *prāhiṇon mṛtyulokāya / kṣatriyān kṣatriyaśabhaḥ*. Rām. 2, 3, 24 *rāmam* ... / *rathena rathinām varam*; 20, 32 *papāta sahasā devī / devateva divas cyutā*; 23, 37 *adya me 'straprabhāvasya / prabhāvaḥ prabhaviṣyati*; Mṛcch. 4, 28+⁶¹); 10, 60. As is well known the poets are in the choice of their words often guided by the principle of sound repetition: Rām. 2, 13, 10 *abhirāmam ahaṁ rāmaṁ* ... ; Kāl. R. 13, 41 / *asau tapasyaty aparas tapasvī* is preceded by *lalātaṁtapasaptasaptiḥ* which is an uncommon phrase meaning "the sun which scorches the forehead"; VāPur. 85, 25 *provāca vacanam devī priyahetoḥ priyaṁ priyā*; KūPur. 6, 23 *tataḥ svasthānam āniya pṛthivīm pṛthivīdharāḥ / mumoca pūrvavad asau dhārayitvā dharādharāḥ* and innumerable other examples in the greatest variety of texts.

Some special types of paronomasia or (and) polyptoton may find a place here.

A certain predilection for the combination of a noun and a compound formed from the same stem or root with the privative prefix *a-* is unmistakable: ṚV. 2, 15, 6 *ajavaso javinibhir vivṛścan* "felling the slow ones by means of the swift ones"; 2, 26, 1 *devayann id adevayantam abhy asat* "the one who is devoted to the gods will be more than the one who is indifferent to them"; 7, 4, 4 *ayaṁ kavir akaviṣu pracetā*. Thus these combinations are often used to express contrasts: ṚV. 8, 48, 12 *amartyo martyām āviveśa*; 8, 96, 4 *cyavanam acyutānām*; AV. 3, 29, 3; 5, 20, 8; cf. 28, 8; cf. also the type AV. 11, 5, 21 *apakṣāḥ pakṣiṇas ca ye*. Other examples are: ChU. 6, 1, 3 *yenāśrutam śrutam bhavati, amatam matam* ... ; BārU. 4, 3, 22 *pitāpitā bhavati* etc. "a father is not a father"; 4, 4, 7 *martyo 'mṛto bhavati*; cf. also ChU. 8, 10, 1; BārU. 4, 3, 11 (stanza) *asuptaḥ suptān abhicākaṣīti*; BhG. 4, 18 *karmaṇy akarma yaḥ paśyed / akarmaṇi ca karma yaḥ*; 8, 18; cf. 13, 27 and 18, 20 (polyptoton). This combination is very suitable to put into words striking contrasts, paradoxical statements, e. g. about the performance of achievements which at first sight seem impossible—we might compare the *ὀξύμωρον* of antique stylistics, e. g. in Greek, Plato, Leg. 766D *πόλις ἀπολις*; Symp. 198A *δέος ἀδεός*—: ṚV. 10, 34, 9 *ahastāso hastavantam saḥante* "though without hands, they overcome him that has hands".

Some words may be added here on a type of paronomastic co-ordination which Vedic has in common with other ancient Indo-European languages. In Latin incantations word groups such as *tene te detinete*; *oblige peroblige*⁶²) are not rare: constituting a sort of climax by anisosyllabism they are another clear indication of the popularity of word arrangements in accordance with the principle of 'increasing magnitude'. These word

⁶¹) In *ko eso* etc. the *chāyā* has an case of paronomasia more (*paṭṭapṛāvāraka-pṛāvṛto* ...) than the Prākṛt text.

⁶²) Cf. G. Appel, *De romanorum precationibus*, Giessen 1909, p. 141 ff.; Hofmann, *Lat. Umgangssprache*, p. 92 and 196; (Leumann-)Hofmann, o.c., p. 548; 826.

combinations are on the one hand 'sonderssprachlich': juridical, e. g. *Lex Com. de XX quaest.* ⁶³⁾ I, 42 *lectei sublectei essent*; *Lex Urson.* II, 1, 14 *sumere consumere*; but, though "jedenfalls kaum allgemein umgangssprachlich" ⁶⁴⁾, also used by Plautus, e. g. *Poen.* 221 *poliri expoliri*, and Terence, *Eun.* 962 *dico edico vobis*. The example mentioned last was justly qualified by Donatus as *αὔξησις* i. e. "increase, amplification". There are similar instances in the Balto-Slavonian languages ⁶⁵⁾.

The same device is, likewise for the sake of *αὔξησις* and 'Ausdrucksverstärkung', applied by the Vedic poets, especially if the verbs involved convey ideas which make a strong appeal to the feelings or phantasy of the hearers. *RV.* 10, 84, 3b (= *AV.* 4, 31, 3b) *rujan mṛṇan pramṛṇan prehi śatrūn* (notice the alliteration) "go forward breaking, killing, slaughtering the enemies"; 9, 86, 43; cf. *AV.* — where this procedure is more frequent — 16, 1, 2 *rujan parirujan mṛṇan pramṛṇan*; *AV.* 11, 7, 26 *ānandā modāḥ pramudāḥ*; *TB.* 3, 10, 1, 1; 3 *ānando modāḥ pramodaḥ*; *TB.* 2, 4, 6, 5 *m. p. ā. GārU.* 2 *hatam viṣam naṣtam viṣam pranaṣtam viṣam hatam* . . . ; cf. also *AV.* 9, 2, 4 *nudasva kāma pra nudasva kāma* "thrust, O Kāma, thrust forth, O Kāma"; 5, 29, 5 *yad asya hṛtam vihṛtam yat parābhṛtam*, 12 *yad dhṛtam yat parābhṛtam*; 6, 134, 1 *śṛṇātu grīvāḥ pra śṛṇātūṣṇihāḥ*; 7, 49, 1ab *avantu* in the former, *prāvantu* in the latter half of the line; and compare 7, 5, 2 *yajño babhūva sa ā babhūva*; 1, 2d. Mention may also be made of places such as *RV.* 1, 143, 8 *śivebhir naḥ pāyubhiḥ pāhi* . . . | . . . | *animiṣadbhiḥ pari pāhi no jāḥ*; 10, 15, 13 *yāṁś ca vidma yāṁ u ca na pravidma*; in the passage mentioned last there is no *αὔξησις*. Similar juxtapositions of verbs occur also when they do not belong to the same subject: *RV.* 9, 109, 22 *indrur indrāya toṣate / ni toṣate* . . . *ugrah*; 10, 97, 14.

Examples of the inverse order are, in Latin and Vedic, much rarer: *Plaut. Merc.* 681, *disperii, perii*; *AV.* 2, 13, 2 *pari dhatta dhatta no varcasemam* (= 19, 24, 4) ⁶⁶⁾ "wrap, set ye him for us with splendour"; 3, 29, 2 *ābhavan prabhavan bhavan* ⁶⁷⁾. — Cf. also 2, 9, 2 *āgād udāgād ayam* | . . . *agāt*: *RV.* 8, 36, 2 *prāva* . . . *ava*.

Combinations of two verbal compounds are not frequent: *RV.* 7, 104, 25 *prati cakṣva vi cakṣva*; cf. 1, 135, 8.

Such combinations of nouns as *AV.* 1, 12, 2 *aṅkān samāṅkān* "the hooks, the grapples" ⁶⁸⁾ may likewise be considered a kind of 'climax' or *αὔξησις*; *MS.* 2, 10, 3 *dhartā vidhartā paramota saṁdhrk*; cf. also *AV.* 1, 25, 3 *yadi soko yadi vābhiśokaḥ* ⁶⁹⁾; 2, 3, 1 *tat te kṛṇomi bheṣajam / subheṣajam ya-*

⁶³⁾ CIL I² 587.

⁶⁴⁾ Hofmann, D.L.Z. 1934, 1166.

⁶⁵⁾ See also E. Fraenkel, D.L.Z. 1930, 1696 f.

⁶⁶⁾ See the commentary. Whitney-Lanman, o.c., p. 56 who unnecessarily suppose the text to exhibit a mixture of constructions.

⁶⁷⁾ For the translations proposed see Whitney-Lanman, o.c., p. 136. Cf. also *TB.* 3, 10, 1, 2.

⁶⁸⁾ See Bloomfield, S.B.E. 42, p. 251.

⁶⁹⁾ Cf. Renou, *Gramm. sanscrita*, p. 95.

thāsasi, in two succeeding pādas and sentences; another example of 'distribution' over two units is 2, 32, 5 *hatāso asya veśaso / hatāsaḥ pariveśasaḥ* "slain are its vassals (?), slain (its) neighbouring vassals (?)" ⁷⁰). It should be noticed that AV. 8, 1, 13 the same order of words — which is also common in other passages exhibiting similar combinations of ideas — is chosen: *bodhaś ca tvā pratibodhaś ca rakṣatām* ⁷¹); similarly, in a paronomastically co-ordinated word group KS. 37, 10 *bodha pratibodha*. — ĀpŚS. 14, 33, 2 the synonymous *dhartri dharitri* combine, cf. TS. 4, 4, 11, 2 *dhartri ca dharitri ca* "the support, the upholder"; TS. 4, 3, 7, 2 *dhartry asi dharitri*.

An expressive turn of speech is no doubt also RV. 10, 165, 5a = AV. 6, 28, 1a etc. *ṛcā kapotaṃ nudata praṇodam* "with the ṛc drive ye the dove forth" ⁷²).

Another interesting structure is effected by combining the positive and comparative form of an adjective: AV. 4, 32, 4... *sahuriḥ sahiyān* "powerful, very p.", cf. TB. 3, 7, 6, 7c etc. *dhartā dharuṇo dhariyān*; KS. 31, 14 even: *dhartā vidhartā dharuṇo dhariyān*; TB. 3, 10, 1, 3 *sahasvān sahiyān ojasvān sahamānaḥ*; compare TĀ. 4, 25, 1 *sahasvāmś ca sahiyāmś ca*.

A positive and a superlative form of the same adjective combine e. g. RV. 8, 97, 10 *ugram ojiṣṭhaṃ tavaśaṃ tarasvinam* (notice the alliteration in the second half of the pāda). Cf. the type AV. 13, 3, 5 *yaḥ parasya prāṇaṃ paramasya teja ādade*, where the adjectives belong to different word groups. In this connection mention may be made of the type AV. 7, 16, 1 *saṃśītaṃ cit saṃtaraṃ saṃ śīśādhi* "however sharpened, sharpen him still more".

An adjective and a derivative occur side by side: AV. 5, 22, 3 *yaḥ paruṣaḥ pārūṣeyaḥ* "the spotted, speckled" ⁷³); 4, 35, 5 *yaḥ prāṇadaḥ prāṇadāvān babhūva*. Cf. also RV. 6, 26, 2 *tvām vāji havate vājineyaḥ*.

A kind of gradation or αὔξησις is to all appearance also represented by AV. 5, 7, 9 *yā mahatī mahomānā* "the great one, of great height"; 6, 16, 3c *babhrus ca babhrukarṇas ca* "both the brown and the brown-eared one".

Although the following passages cannot be said to exhibit examples of paronomasia proper, they may find a place here. The schema of a *ya-sa*-period is sometimes used to express, by means of two etymologically related verb forms, an opposition. AV. 2, 9, 5 *yaś cakāra sa niṣkarat* "who has made (i. e. is the cause of the illness), he shall unmake (cure)"; similarly, 3, 9, 1 *yathābhicakra devās tathāpa kṛṇutā punaḥ* "as, O gods, ye have inflicted, so do ye remove again"; 4, 3, 7 *yat saṃyamo na vi yamo /*

⁷⁰) As we know already arrangements of words "with increasing magnitude" and a certain 'climax' are very popular; cf. also the type exemplified by ĀpMB. 2, 16, 13 *hataś śaṅkho hataś śaṅkhapitā*.

⁷¹) See above.

⁷²) See Pāṇini 3, 4, 44 f. *ūrdhvaśoṣaṃ śuṣyati* "(the tree) becomes dry (so as to dry) upright"; *mṛganāśaṃ naśtaḥ* "he has perished as an antelope", and C. Gaedicke, *Der Accusativ im Veda*, Breslau 1880, p. 167, 168, 171.

⁷³) See Whitney-Lanman, o.c., p. 259.

*vi yamo yan na samyamah*⁷⁴) the preverbs *sam* "together" and *vi* "apart, asunder" are often used antithetically; cf. e. g. also AV. 6, 34, 4 *yo viś-vābhi vipaśyati / bhuvanā sam ca paśyati*; 7, 90, 3 ef *yad ātatam ava tat tanu / yad uttatam ni tat tanu*; 2, 7, 3 *divo mūlam avatatam / prthivyā adhy uttatam*; 4, 33, 1 *apa nah śośucad agham / agne śuśugdhy ā rayim*; 7, 38, 1 *parāyato nivartanam / āyataḥ pratinandanam*. Cf. also 7, 45, 3 ab.

This 'figure' is apt to arise and develop in a natural manner in any idiom possessing similar forms, e. g. identical roots accompanied by pairs of opposite preverbs. The force of the opposition is, as a rule, much in evidence. Cf. e. g. the Engl. *Man proposes, God disposes*; Fr. *qui s'excuse s'accuse*; in Latin, Plaut. Curc. 219 *valetudo decrescit, adcrecit labor* "... decreasing, ... increasing". A tendency to vary the utterance is probably not absent from passages such as AV. 2, 29, 2 *āyur asmai dhehi ... / prajāṃ ... adhi ni dhehi asmai*; cf. RV. 1, 43, 7.

AV. 6, 139, 1 cd will serve to exemplify another application of paronomasia: *śataṃ tava pratānās trayastriṃśan nitānāḥ*: the word *nitāna-* which in this sense ("a shoot of a plant which grows downwards") seems to be a *ἀναξ* may have been used, or perhaps even formed, under the influence of the tendency to construct binary units characterized by word correspondence. As is well known, more or less incidental neologisms which have arisen on the model of words to which they rhyme are, though not foreign to other speech communities and literary genres, especially favourite in the language of magic⁷⁵). They are comparatively frequent in phrases and formulas: thus, we find in German e. g. in *Ängsten und Bängsten*⁷⁶).

It would therefore be incorrect to regard the above instances as specimens of deliberated and artificial literary language. Even a stanza such as AV. 4, 20, 1 *ā paśyati prati paśyati parā paśyati paśyati*, describing the person who is able to see the hidden evil powers: "he looks on, he sees (them as they come), he sees (what is far), he sees" is not 'art', but an analytic reflection or reproduction of this person's behaviour, i. e. of reality. A similar example is AV. 2, 9, 2 *āgād udagād ayaṃ / jivānāṃ vrātam apy agāt* "this man has come, has arisen, has gone unto the troop of the living"; 3 *adhītīr adhyagād ayaṃ / adhi jivapurā agan*.

There may therefore be room for the conclusion that paronomastic 'figures' occur, in the Vedic texts, in great variety, fulfilling different functions. A word of warning must however be added against the frequent application of the term 'pun' to many of the types discussed or instances quoted. If we understand by 'pun' "the use of a word in such a way as to

⁷⁴) Cf. Bloomfield, S.B.E. 42, p. 148 and 369.

⁷⁵) See H. Güntert, *Reimwortbildungen*, Heidelberg 1914; Petersen, *Am. Journ. of Phil.* 56, p. 54 ff.; L. Bloomfield, *Paul und Braune's Beiträge z. Gesch. d. deutschen Spr. u. Lit.* 37, p. 245 ff.

⁷⁶) See also W. Henzen, *Deutsche Wortbildung*, Halle S. 1947, p. 15; L. H. Gray, *Foundations of language*, New York 1939, p. 113 f.

suggest two or more meanings or different associations, or the use of two or more words of the same or nearly the same sound with different meanings so as to produce a humorous effect" ⁷⁷) instances of this phenomenon are, in the Veda, extremely rare. Scholars have indeed often been too prone to ascribe to the authors of the Veda a certain eagerness for humoristic effects ⁷⁸). As has already been stated the idea of paronomasia is far from being identical with 'pun' and Bloomfield and other scholars are no doubt often mistaken in using the latter term ⁷⁹). In commenting upon AV. 2, 33, 5 *yakṣmaṇ bhasadyaṇ śronibhyāṇ bhāsadaṇ / bhaṁsaso vi vṛhāmi te* the American scholar argues ⁸⁰) "the tautological use of *bhas.* and *bhās.* — the former of which does not occur in the parallel text RV. 10, 163, 4 — is justified in the mind of the Atharvan poet, because it heightens the effect of the cumulative pun upon *bhaṁsasaḥ*." As far as I am able to see there is no question of pun here, *bhas.* and *bhās.* constituting an example of tautological paronomasia, which in view of the parallel text and the metre may be considered to represent a recast: there is alliteration, we may even say intentional alliteration, and assonance, no play on words. In connection with AV. 19, 34, 6 *taṁ u tvāṅgirā iti brāhmaṇāḥ pūrvyā viduḥ* "brahmans of old know you (viz. the jaṅgiḍa-amulet) thus as Āṅgiras by name", the same scholar ⁸¹) remarks: "a very pretty conceit, . . . nothing more than a stolid pun": in my opinion this case of assonance: *jaṅgiḍa-*: *āṅgira-* is no example of word-play either: it is on the other hand a well-known practice to give two or more names to the same being or class of beings ⁸²). The statement made by the author of TĀ. 1, 8, 8 *kāśyapaḥ paśyako bhavati yat sarvaṁ paripaśyati* is certainly no "pun . . . of the most atrocious sort" ⁸³), but a (pseudo-)etymology, no 'Spielerei', but an argument in a serious scientific discussion in the ancient Indian style. ⁸⁴)

As to the peculiarities of these paronomastic combinations it may further be observed that sometimes the 'linguistic feeling' of the ancients has, incidentally or consistently, connected words which, from the standpoint of modern etymological science ⁸⁵), have nothing to do with each other: cf. e. g. the frequent predication *aśāraḥ saṁsāraḥ* (see e. g. ViPur.

⁷⁷) Murray's New Engl. Dict. VII, II, 1594.

⁷⁸) See also the author's article 'The so-called secular, humorous and satirical hymns of the R̥gveda', *Orientalia Neerlandica*, Leiden 1948, p. 312 ff.

⁷⁹) See e.g. M. Bloomfield, *Hymns of the Atharva-veda* S.B.E. 42 (1897), p. 703.

⁸⁰) Bloomfield, o.c., p. 322.

⁸¹) Bloomfield, o.c., p. 280.

⁸²) See H. Güntert, *Von der Sprache der Götter und Geister*, Halle (S.) 1921; B. Liebich, *Zur Einf. in die ind. einh. Sprachw.*, II, Heidelberg 1919, p. 7. See e.g. AiB. 1, 3, 14; 7, 30, 4; ŚB. 9, 1, 2, 22.

⁸³) Bloomfield, o.c., p. 403.

⁸⁴) See also 'The etymologies in the ancient Indian brāhmaṇas', *Lingua* 5 (1955), p. 61 ff.

⁸⁵) Compare e.g. in Greek, the phrase *πῆματα πάσχειν* which though being on a par with real 'etymologic figures' consists of two words which from the historical point of view do not belong together.

1, 17, 90) "mundane existence is without value". It may be conceded ⁸⁶⁾ that the author of AV. 3, 1, 2 *yūyam . . . marutaḥ . . . / preta mṛṇata* "ye, O Maruts . . . go forward upon (them), kill" may have considered *marutaḥ* and *mṛṇata* to be etymologically cognate, but this is not to say that he 'played' on these words. ⁸⁷⁾ The forms involved in the paronomasia are sometimes strikingly similar: AV. 1, 23, 1 *idaṃ rajanī rajaya* "O colourer, do thou colour", where *rajaya* is much rarer than the usual form *rañjaya*. ⁸⁸⁾ Although this verse may be said to express a play on words because the name of the curcuma longa has to all probability not always been interpreted as "the colourer"—it was also connected with "night", the other meaning of the word *rajanī*, cf. st. 1—it was no mere play, no ornament. The paronomasia may in this case have had an emphatical character, the poet may have combined these words intentionally; the 'figure' was only a means to a magico-religious end, no end in itself. In AV. 4, 24, 4 *yasmai miyante svaravaḥ svarvide* ⁸⁹⁾ "for whom, the heaven-finder, sacrificial posts are set up" the immediate succession ('contact position') of the words *svavaḥ* and *svarvide* focusses the attention on the connection assumed to exist between the sacrificial post and the person who attempts to gain heaven ⁹⁰⁾. This alliteration is more than a rhetorical trick. A simile such as occurs for instance 4, 30, 8 . . . *vāta iva pra vāmi* "I blow forth like the wind" originally was neither a play on words or sounds nor a poetical effusion: it stated correspondence, relationship, similarity in nature between the person speaking and the power wind, and it was at the same time an attempt to utilize this relationship profitably ⁹¹⁾. By reciting these alliterative and paronomastic sequences the correspondences of which they are the expression are not only brought to the notice of the hearers—whether men or unseen powers—, the might and effectiveness inherent in them are at the same time enhanced and stimulated. By pronouncing the suggestive formula 1, 34, 4 *madhor asmi madhutarah* "I am sweeter than sweet (honey)", i. e. "I have a greater share in sweetness than 'the sweet' (honey) itself" one creates a feeling of enhanced ability, one establishes a subjective conviction of powerfulness and one believes oneself to be able to exert influence on the powers in nature and human society ⁹²⁾.

The above observations are however not to contend that any passage exhibiting assonance is perfectly clear to us. AV. 6, 113, 1 "if . . . seizure has reached (*ānaśe*) you, let the gods make it disappear (*nāśayantu*)":

⁸⁶⁾ Cf. Bloomfield, o.c., p. 326.

⁸⁷⁾ Cf. e.g. AV. 5, 4, 1. Otherwise AV. 7, 58, 2b.

⁸⁸⁾ Cf. Bloomfield, o.c., p. 266, n. 1 and 267.

⁸⁹⁾ *svaru*: *yūpāvataḥṣaṇaśakala-* (commentary).

⁹⁰⁾ Cf. also AiB. 2, 1 ff., where the *yūpa* or sacrificial post is explicitly stated to be a means of going to the world of heaven.

⁹¹⁾ See also Oldenberg, *Religion des Veda*, p. 515.

⁹²⁾ "... der naive Ausdruck ihres Kraftbewusstseins und Selbstgefühls", B. Gutmann, *Dichten und Denken der Dschagganeger*, 1909, p. 159.

was it the poet's intention to allude, by means of the former verb, to the meaning of the latter or to establish a connection between both ideas? ⁹³) AV. 1, 17, 1 seems to be an example of a real 'ambiguum': *yōṣito* / *hirā lohita-vāsasaḥ* (the veins) are called "women with red garment", *lohita*-meaning also "blood" ⁹⁴).

A most interesting type of paronomasia is also the 'pleonastic' *āsānām āśāpāla*- "the region-guardians of the regions": here a genitive depends on a compound the first member of which is identical with the stem of the genitive: AV. 1, 31, 1 ff. Not infrequently the second member of the compound is a word for "lord, protector" etc.: RV. 1, 9, 9 *vasor indram vasu-patim* "I., the lord of wealth"; 10, 47, 1; 3, 30, 19; 2, 1, 1 (Agni) *tvam nr̥nām nr̥pate jāyase śuciḥ*; 2, 1, 8 *tvam agne . . . viśpatim viśaḥ*; 2, 9, 4 (Agni) *rayipati rayiṇām*; 2, 23, 1 (*Brahmaṇaspati*) *gaṇānām tvā gaṇa-patim havāmahe*; 3, 2, 10 (Agni) *viśām kaviṇ viśpatim*; 6, 69, 3 *indrāviśnū madapati madānām* "ihr Herren der Rauschtränke" (Geldner); AV. 4, 22, 3 *ayam astu dhanapati dhanānām* / *ayaṃ viśām viśpatir astu rājā* (cf. TB. 2, 4, 7, 7); VS. 10, 17 *kṣatrānām kṣatrapatir edhi*; 16, 60 (MGS. 1, 13, 13 etc.) *ye pathām pathirakṣayaḥ*; cf. also RV. 1, 170, 5 (two examples); ĀśvŚS. 8, 14, 6; MS. 4, 9, 24 *vrātānām vrātapate vrataṃ carisyāmi*; VS. 23, 19 *priyānām tvā priyapatiṃ havāmahe*: there can be little doubt that this group was analogically enlarged. It is not foreign to later literature: Mbh. 6, 121, 9 *devānām deveṣam*; AgniPur. 2, 168, 1 *nr̥po nr̥nām*; ViPur. 3, 5, 20 *jagato 'sya jagatpatiḥ*. Similarly, in the Avesta Yt. 10, 17 *nmānanqm nmānō.paitiṣ* etc. "lord of the house".—Inversely: Kāl. R. 10, 86 *patir avanipatinām*; otherwise 10, 83. It must primarily be regarded as a type of tautologic 'Ausdrucksverstärkung' and Havers' view ⁹⁵) that it is 'naturalistische und echt volkstümliche Klangfreude' appears to be somewhat onesided. It would also be incorrect to put all instances on a par. Incidentally the original sense of the compound may have been obscure or at least fallen into the background: an example of this is the catachrestic use of Gr. *βουκόλος* "tending kine" in Ael. N.A. 12, 44 β. *ἰππων*. An unconscious effort to be clear may therefore have been a factor in the creation of γ 422 *βοῶν ἐπιβουκόλος ἀνὴρ* or the above *āsānām āśāpāla*-. In RV. 1, 101, 4 *yo aśvānām yo gavām gopatiḥ vaśi* this explication seems to be almost certain; cf. also 9, 35, 5 *janasya gopatiṃ*, hence 10, 47, 1 *gopatiṃ . . . gonām*. The very context in which another Homeric example appears seems on the other hand to show that emotional motives may have played a part: τ 336 ff. Odysseus wishing that the scar on his foot shall be recognized and his identity established by old Eurycleia refuses the help of other women: no woman shall wash his feet; the word *ποῦς* recurs four times in six lines and the 'pleonasm' *ποδάνιπτρα ποδῶν* in 343 may have been

⁹³) "Pun": Bloomfield, o.c., p. 527.

⁹⁴) Cf. also AV. 2, 27, 1 *arasān*.

⁹⁵) Havers, o.c., p. 179.

conditioned by a psychical factor: what the heart thinks, the mouth speaks; τ 504 ποδάριπποα occurs alone. It is not altogether beyond possibility that a similar explication applies also to *dhanapatir dhanānām* in AV. 4, 22, 3. Another factor may have been the desire to qualify the idea expressed in the former member of the compound; as a rule it cannot take an adjective: AV. 6, 41, 3 *ye nas tanvas tanūjāh* "who are self-born of our self".—Other examples are AV. 2, 8, 3 *tilasya tilapiñjyā*; KāthU. 1, 24 *kāmānām tvā kāmabhājam karomi* (emphasis); AV. 5, 7, 4 *devānām devahūtiṣu*⁹⁶). Latin and German instances seem to be rare, e. g. Hor. Sat. 1, 3, 132 *operis omnis opifex*⁹⁷). It is a peculiarity of some passages that a compound and the words constituting it are used side by side: in AV. 5, 4, 1 *kuṣṭhehi takmanāsana / takmānam nāsayann iha* "come, O k. destroyer of t., destroying the t. here" the compound states the property inherent in the plant called kuṣṭha in general, the syntactic group *t. n. i.* expresses the wish that it will give evidence of this property just now, or also in the given circumstances. Similarly 5, 14, 8 *agne prtanāṣāt prtanāh sahasva* "O A., overpowerer of fighters, overpower the fighters"; here the god Agni is invoked in a definite capacity in order to take action in this capacity. A definite power is stimulated into a display of its specific abilities, hence the nominal and the verbal form of the same root. Cf. also AV. 5, 14, 9; 25, 10; 6, 81, 1 *yantāsi yacchase hastau*; and with suppletion⁹⁸): 5, 8, 4 *ati dhāvātātisarāh*. Cf. also 6, 19. AV. 6, 21, 3b *siṣāsavaḥ siṣāsatha* "desirous to bestow ye desire to b." is Ausdrucksverstärkung based on the same schema.

A popular device for expressing a high degree of a quality is the type Engl. *dearer than dear*, Dutch *erger dan erg*, Lat. Plaut. Asin. 614 *oh melle dulci dulcior tu es*; Germ. *süsser als süß*; *dümmer als dumm*, cf. also, in Latin, Plaut. Amph. 907 *stultior stultissimo*⁹⁹), in Avestan, Y. 51, 6 *vahyō vaṇhēuš*; 43, 3 *vaṇhēuš vahyō* etc.; 59, 31 *akāz ašō* "so schlecht wie möglich". As a rule this mode of expression belongs to colloquial usage,¹⁰⁰) although a similar idiom has given rise to current constructions such as e. g. in Hindi *yah rājā sab rājāom se barā hai* "this king is greater than all

⁹⁶) A curious instance is AV. 2, 34, 1 *ya īse paśupatiḥ paśūnām / catuṣpadām . . .*, in my opinion *p. p.*, *īse* governing *cat*. (Whitney-Lanman, o.c., p. 77 otherwise); cf. TS. 3, 1, 4, 1 etc. *yeṣām īse p. p.*; and 4, 2, 1; 6, 28, 3 *yo 'syese dvipado yaś catuṣpadaḥ*.

⁹⁷) See also (Leumann-)Hofmann, o.c. p. 827; for Irish J. Vendryes, M.S.L. 20, p. 179, who characterizes the relevant phenomena as "effet poétique" resulting from a "souci d'art". A. Meillet, M.S.L. 18, p. 245 is no doubt mistaken in stating that these phrases are, generally speaking, artificial, technical, learned and literary.

⁹⁸) Cf. e.g. Wackernagel, Altind. Gramm. II, 1, p. 16.

⁹⁹) For Hungarian examples see Fokos, Ungar. Jahrbücher 12, p. 86 f.

¹⁰⁰) See e.g. (Leumann-)Hofmann, Lat. Grammatik, p. 425; Hofmann, Lat. Umgangssprache, § 89 (see also p. 196): "ein in der niederen Umgangssprache gewiss viel weiter, als unsere Texte erraten lassen, verbreiteter Typus"; E. Wölfflin, Archiv f. lat. Lexic. 6, p. 449 ff.

kings" ¹⁰¹). In the Veda we find, inter alia, ¹⁰²) AV. 4, 32, 3 *abhiki manyo tavasas tavīyān* "attack, O Fury, being mightier than a mighty one"; RV. 6, 47, 29 = AV. 6, 126, 1 *dūrād daviyo apa sedha śatrūn* "drive away our enemies further than far"; RV. 10, 120, 3 = AV. 5, 2, 3 *svādoḥ svādīyaḥ svādunā sṛjā sam* "unite with sweet what is s. th. s."; cf. RV. 1, 114, 6; RV. 10, 176, 4 etc. *sahasā cid sahīyān* "more overwhelming than overwhelming power itself"; AV. 7, 76, 1 *ā susrasaḥ susraso / asatibhyo asatarāḥ* ¹⁰³); 7, 118, 1 *uror variyas*; RV. 10, 145, 3 (~ AV. 3, 18, 4 *uttarāham uttara uttared uttarābhyah / athā sapatnī yā mamādhara sādharābhyah*; 1, 140, 11 *priyād u cin manmanaḥ preyo astu te*; AV. 6, 18, 2 *yathā bhūmir mṛtamanā / mṛtān mṛtamanastarā*; 19, 2, 3 *bhiṣagbhyo bhiṣaktarāḥ*. A modern reader might suppose both nouns in AV. 1, 34, 4 *madhor api madhutarāḥ* to be of different sense: "sweeter than honey". Cf. also TĀ. 10, 1, 1 etc. *parāt param*; Mbh. 1, 159, 9 *duḥkhād duḥkhataram prāpya*; 3, 68, 19; BhG. 8, 9 *aṇor aṇīyāṃsam*; 18, 63 *guhyaḍ guhyataram*; Mahāv. 1, 21 *priyāt priyataram naḥ* "we are exceedingly rejoiced at it"; VāPur. 84, 74 *kāntāt kāntataram*; MārKpur. 21 (23), 47 *sūkṣmāc ca sūkṣmāḥ*; Kathās. 60, 172 *dūrād daviyaḥ*; Pañc. 326 *vegād vegataram gacchati*; in the OJav. Bhuwanas. 64 *śunyāt śunyatara*. It is worth while to consider the meanings of the adjectives involved in these phrases: generally speaking they denote ideas which create vivid impressions on the senses or imagination.

A special, and interesting, type of paronomasia consists in the combination of a singular genitive and another case of the singular of the same stem ¹⁰⁴). Part of the phrases have a 'logical' sense: PB. 13, 7, 2 *putrasya putro* "the son of the son" i. e. "grandson". Yet there seems to be a difference in emotional value (Gefühlswert) with *pautra-* which occurs e. g. AV. 9, 5, 30; AiB. 7, 10, 3; TB. 2, 1, 8, 3; the longer, double, expression suggests the idea of a long time to come ("even the second generation in the future"): *api ha putrasya putro jyotiṣmān bhavati*. See also ibid. 15, 10, 6; 12, 2. ŚB. *palāśasya palāśena* means "with the leaf of a palāśa blossom", the word *p.* having both meanings. AiĀ. 2, 1, 3 *retaso retaḥ prajāḥ* "the offspring of seed are creatures" ¹⁰⁵); Kāl. Vikr. 2, 3 *ārambhaṇasyārambhaṇam . . . vapuḥ tasyāḥ* "her body is the ornament of (the) ornaments (worn by her)" (cf. Aśv. S. 4, 12); cf. Meleager, Anth. Gr. 1, p. 30 αὐτῇ δ' ἐκλάμπει τοῦ στεφάνου στέφανος; RV. 1, 164, 16 *sa pituḥ pitāsāt* "the father (in metaphorical sense) of the father" ¹⁰⁶). Compare: Schiller, Br. u. M. 1468 *ins Herz des Herzens hab ich ihr geschaut*. Another Vedic example

¹⁰¹) See e.g. E. Greaves, Hindi Grammar, Allahabad 1933, p. 165 f.

¹⁰²) See also F. Specht, K.Z. 62, p. 245; cf. Speyer, Sanskrit Syntax, § 251, 3; Ved. u. Skt. Syntax, § 122, Anm. 2.

¹⁰³) See M. Bloomfield, JAOS. 13, p. CCXVII; Whitney-Lanman, o.c., p. 441.

¹⁰⁴) See H. Oertel, Zum altindischen Ausdrucksverstärkungstypus *satyasya satyam* 'das Wahre des Wahren' = 'die Quintessenz des Wahren', SitzBer. Bayer. Akad. d. Wiss. 1937, 3. For the type *woman among women* see Vendryes, M.S.L. 20, p. 182.

¹⁰⁵) See Oertel, o.c., p. 10 f.

¹⁰⁶) I refer to Oertel, o.c., p. 6 ff.

is ¹⁰⁷) RV. 10, 55, 4 *ajanayo yena puṣṭasya puṣṭam* "by which (the light of dawn) thou engenderedst thriving of thriving", i. e. "that which causes the force of thriving to thrive", "die Grundursache alles Gedeihens (Wachstums)", cf. RV. 3, 61, 4 etc., and also 9, 110, 3.

In most cases however this combination is 'emphatical', and similar in force to such Dutch phrases as *puikje van het puikje* lit. "the choice of choice"; *het fijnste van het fijnste*; *het beste van het beste*, which are especially current in low colloquial. English examples are: Scott, *Old Mort. Intr. this was . . . the abomination of abominations*; Bulwer-Lytton, *Last d. of P. the freshness of blood and soul—the life of life—* ¹⁰⁸); and *God of God, Light of Light, Very God of very God* in the Communion service; German instances seem to be extremely rare: H. Vierordt, *Buch m. Lebens p. 178 so blieb mir . . . nicht der Schatten eines Schattens in Erinnerung*; in Greek and Latin—setting aside Semitisms—they are practically unknown ¹⁰⁹). The more interesting is the comparatively large number of Vedic instances; a syntagma proper to the language of the masses was probably, because of its paronomastic character, cultivated in certain circles and readily adopted by the authors. Examples are VS. 12, 8 *adhā poṣasyā poṣeṇa punar no naṣṭam ākr̥dhi* "with increase of increase bring thou back to us what we have lost", i. e. "with special, unprecedented . . ."; AV. 6, 114, 1; 2 = TB. 2, 4, 4, 8; 9 *ṛtasya rtena* "do ye, O Ādityas, release us by right of right" (Whitney-Lanman), rather "by the quintessence (or: the prototype) of order"; AV. 10, 9, 38 *sūtram sūtrasya* "the string of the string", i. e. "den Urfaden" ¹¹⁰) or "the prototype of all strings", "the string par excellence"; VS. 9, 3 etc. *apām rāsasya yo rāsaḥ tam vo gr̥hṇāmy uttamam* "essence of waters' essence, that, most excellent, I take for you" ¹¹¹); TS. 1, 6, 1, 1 *ājyasyājyāsi, satyasya satyam asi* "thou art the butter of butter, thou art the truth of truth" (the pericope commences with: "thou art b., thou art t. . ."); SMB. 2, 5, 9 *yaśo 'ham bhavāmi brāhmaṇānām, y. rājñāṃ y. viśāṃ y. satyasya bhavāmi. bh. yaśaso yaśaḥ*, cf. ChU. 8, 14, 1 in a similar passage: *yaśasām yaśaḥ*; TS. 3, 2, 7, 1 *stutasya stutam asi*; PB. 1, 6, 3 *stutasya stutam asy ūrjasvat payasvad, ā mā stotrasya stotram gamyāt*; cf. JB. 3, 370 *akṣarasyākṣaram* etc. The phrase *satyasya satya-* occurs TS. 1, 6, 1, 1; 7, 1, 20, 1 etc. ¹¹²). A post-Vedic instance is Pañc. 1, 13 *paṇyānām gāndhikam paṇyam*. Finally, AiĀr. 2, 1, 5 is worth citing: *satyasya satyatvam*.

¹⁰⁷) Oertel, o.c., p. 15.

¹⁰⁸) See O. Jespersen, *Growth and structure of the Engl. Language* 1923, p. 236; Oertel, o.c., p. 41f. For French see F. Brunot, *La pensée et la langue*, Paris 1936, p. 691.

¹⁰⁹) See Oertel, o.c., p. 39 f.

¹¹⁰) Geldner, *Religionsg. Lesebuch* hrg. v. A. Bertholet IX, p. 109.

¹¹¹) R. T. H. Griffith, *The texts of the White Yajurveda*, Benares 1927, p. 84. Cf. also PB. 13, 3, 24 *mantrakṛtām mantrakṛd āsti*.

¹¹²) Oertel, o.c., p. 19 f. is inclined to include among the examples also AV. 2, 11, 1 *dūṣyā dūṣir asi*; on the strength of the application of the sūtra in Kauś. 39, 7; 13 I would prefer: "You are my counter-spoiler against the spoiler (of my enemy)".

The plural genitive is, likewise mainly for emphatical reasons, often connected with a singular case form of the same stem. This type of polypoton, which may be exemplified by the Vedic *jyotiṣām jyotiḥ* "light of lights" occurs in many languages¹¹³). Although in Late, and especially Christian, Greek and Latin Semitic influence¹¹⁴) (*dominus dominorum*) increased the number of phrases, Plaut. Curc. 388 *reliquiorum reliquias* "what is left of the leavings", Petr. 37, 8 *nummorum nummos* etc.—cf. also Plaut. Amph. 204 *primorum principes*¹¹⁵)—and similar instances show their being an ancient and popular means of expressing "affektische Steigerung"¹¹⁶), occurrences in the Baltic languages¹¹⁷) and elsewhere (e. g. Old Norse *karl karla*) their being—at least incidentally—a prehistoric IE. stylistic device¹¹⁸). Cf. also the English idiom *bravest of the brave*, Hebr. *šir hašširim* "song of songs", i. e. "the most excellent song"; Arab. 'ahrabu hāribin "der ärgste Flüchtling"; hindu 'thunādi "die herrlichste Hind", kitāb-al-kitāb "book of books, i. e. the Koran" and Modern Indo-Aryan expressions such as Hind. *wah sab buddhimānom meṃ buddhimān thā* "he was the wisest of the wise", and the Lithuanian intensive or emphatical superlative: *geriū geriūsysis* "der Allerbeste, the very best, the best of all" (gen. + superl.). There are also Greek examples of the types Soph. O. C. 1238 *κακά κακῶν* ("Steigerung des adjektivischen Begriffs"); Aesch. Sept. 851 *πόνοι πόνων*; Soph. O. R. 334 *ὄ κακῶν κάκιστε*¹¹⁹).

The Vedic instances which are not very numerous were collected by Oertel¹²⁰): ṚV. 10, 128, 7 etc. *dhātā dhātṛṇām* "the creator of creators", i. e. the c. *par excellence*, a god, variously identified with Indra or Savitar, who is also said to be a lord and a protector; in any case an epithet of a high deity; VS. 20, 41; TB. 2, 6, 8, 3 etc. *devānām devam*, an epithet of Indra (also elsewhere); ṚV. 8, 96, 4a *manyē tvā yajñīyaṃ yajñīyānām* "I believe thee to be adorable among the adorable", an example showing that these phrases might form part of larger paronomastic expressions: b m. *tvā cyavanam acyutānām*; accumulation: VS. 17, 13; TS. 4, 6, 1, 4 etc.; ṚV. 1, 94, 13; cf. KathU. 5, 13. The gen. may be accompanied by

¹¹³) See E. Hofmann, *Ausdrucksverstärkung*, Göttingen 1930, p. 49; P. Lejay, *Bulletin d'anc. litt. et d'archéol. chrét.*, 1912, p. 233; (Brugmann, *Grundriss* II, 2, 2², p. 599).

¹¹⁴) For Semitic instances: Reckendorf, *Paronomasie*, p. 128; Arab. *Syntax*, p. 146 f.; W. Gesenius, *Hebräische Grammatik*, § 133, 3i.

¹¹⁵) Cf. H. L. W. Nelson, *Petronius en zijn 'vulgar' Latijn* I, Thesis Utrecht 1947, p. 83.

¹¹⁶) (Leumann-)Hofmann, o.c., p. 391.

¹¹⁷) Hofmann, *Ausdrucksverstärkung*, p. 55; 61.

¹¹⁸) The ancient Iranian "king of kings" (cf. A. Meillet-E. Benveniste, *Grammaire du vieux-perse*², Paris 1931, p. 209) was borrowed from the Assyrians etc.

¹¹⁹) See K. Brugmann-A. Thumb, *Griechische Grammatik*⁴, München 1913, p. 449; R. Kühner-B. Gerth, *Ausführliche Grammatik der Griechischen Sprache*, Satzlehre I⁴, p. 21; 339; Schwyzler-Debrunner, o.c. II, p. 700.

¹²⁰) Oertel, o.c., p. 33 ff., to whom the reader may be referred.

an adj.: TB. 3, 10, 3, 1 *sarveṣāṃ jyotiṣāṃ jyotiḥ* (also BhG. 13, 17); likewise the other case-form: VS. 34, 1 *dūraṅgamaṃ jyotiṣāṃ jyotir ekam*. In Vedic prose: AiB. 4, 22, 2; PB. 13, 3, 24 *mantrakṛtāṃ mantrakṛd āsit* "he was a pre-eminent maker of mantras"; ChU. 3, 5, 4 *amṛtānām amṛtāni*; 7, 1, 2 *vedānām veda-* i. e. "grammar"; 8, 14, 1 (hyperbolic gradation); Vās. DhŚ. 6, 26 *pātrānām api tat pātram*.

Variations of this fundamental type are 1) those phrases in which the governing norm is in the superlative¹²¹): ṚV. 2, 33, 3 *tavastamas tavasām* "the mightiest of the mighty" in a eulogy addressed to Rudra, after another paronomastic sentence: *śreṣṭho jātasya rudra śriyāsi*; 4 *bhiṣaktamaṃ tvā bhiṣajāṃ śṛṇomi*, although in this context likewise hyperbolic, the phrase may also convey an objective meaning, because not all physicians are equally able; 1, 11, 1 etc. *rathītamaṃ rathinām* (Indra); 4, 17, 17 *sakhā pitā pītṛtamaḥ pītṛnām* (Indra, climax); 6, 45, 29 *purūtamaṃ purūnām* (Indra): lit. "he who among the *puru-* is pre-eminently characterized as *puru-*"; 1, 77, 4 *nṛṇām nṛtamaḥ* (Agni); 6, 68, 2 *śūrānām śaviṣṭhā . . . / maghonām mañhiṣṭhā*; 10, 29, 1 *nṛṇām naryo nṛtamaḥ*, the paronomastic adj. splitting up the phrase which seems to have enjoyed popularity: cf. 3, 51, 4; 5, 30, 12; 7, 19, 10 (Indra), even 4, 25, 4 *nare naryāya nṛtamāya nṛnām*; MŚS. 2, 8, 4 *apasām apastamā*; TB. 3, 7, 9, 4 *devānām devatamaḥ*; ChU. 1, 1, 3 *rasānām rasatamaḥ*. — ṚV. 9, 97, 3 *yaśastaro yaśasām*;

2) The governing noun is qualified by an adjective in the superlative: ṚV. 2, 23, 1 *kaviṃ kavīnām upamaśravastamaṃ*; 1, 113, 1; 10, 170, 3; TB. 3, 7, 4, 3, etc. typical of eulogistic style;

3) In post-Vedic texts the same schema occurs in a more enlarged form: ViPur. 1, 18, 13 *samastānām gurūnām paramo guruḥ*; 16 *gurūnām api sarveṣāṃ pitā paramako guruḥ*;

4) The type TĀ. 4, 10, 4 *suḥjyotir jyotiṣāṃ svāhā*: the governing noun is enlarged by a prefix expressing the enhancement of the idea expressed; AiB. 8, 7, 3 (formula); ŚB. 5, 4, 2, 2 *rājñām . . . adhirājah*;

5) The phrase contains a plural locative instead of the genitive: ṚV. 8, 25, 1 *devā deveṣu yajñūyāḥ*; ṚV. 6, 61, 10 *priyā priyāsu*; AV. 5, 27, 2 "a god among gods"; 6, 98, 1 *adhirājo rājasu*;

6) it consists of an instrumental and another case: ṚV. 1, 100, 4 *aṅgirobhir aṅgīrastamaḥ*¹²²;

7) we might also mention here AV. 11, 7, 23 *divi devā diviśritāḥ* "the gods in heaven, heaven-resorters".

In post-Vedic Sanskrit we find e. g. Manu 3, 131 *sahasraṃ hi sahasrānām* which is not completely equivalent to our "a million"; Aśv. S. 4, 12 *vibhūṣaṇānām api bhūṣaṇaṃ sa*; Kāl. R. 17, 77 *vr̥ṣeva devo devānām rājñām rājā babhūva saḥ* "he became the king of kings as Indra became the first of

¹²¹) Very rare in modern languages; Oertel (o.c., p. 36, n. 1) quotes A. Trollope, The Bertrams (Tauchnitz 468), p. 4 . . . *the bosomest of his friends*.

¹²²) See A. Ludwig, Der Rigveda, V, Prag-Leipzig 1883, p. 28; Geldner, o.c., I², p. 128; Oertel, o.c., p. 38.

the gods"; Adbh. s̥āg. p. 378, 4 *devānām deva*. With a genitive: Mbh. 6, 66, 28 *lokānām īśvareśvaram*. A special case: BhāgPur. 2, 9, 8 *tapīyāms tapatām*.

As already observed by Oertel¹²³) there are no Vedic examples of the type of compound exemplified by Mbh. 1, 38, 7; Rām. 2, 2, 54 *devadeva* "god of gods"; TĀ. 1, 31, 6; Rām. 2, 11, 29 etc. *rājarāja*-; Rām. 2, 5, 16 *vr̥ndav̥r̥nda* "swarms of swarms" (comm.); *saṃkarasaṃkara*- "the mixed offspring of m. o."; *virādhivira*-¹²⁴); Mbh. 3, 196, 11 *rājādhirāja*-; *devātideva*-; LiPur. 2, 1, 1 *sarvadeveśvareśvaraḥ*; 6, 67, 2 *sarvadaivatadaivatam*; BhavPur. 1, 25 *devadeveśa*-; in Pāli: *rājābhirājā*, *devātideva* "god above all gods, supergod, divine beyond all divinities (epithet of the Buddha)". With an enlargement, indicating a high or considerable degree: Rām. 6, 27, 11 *mahāyūthapayūthapa*-, cf. 19. Cf. also BhG. 14, 1 *paraṃ ... jñānānām jñānam uttamam*; Rām. 6, 26, 41 *naḍinām uttamām naḍim*; Bhavabh. Uttarak. 4, 10 *patīs te pūrveṣām api khalu gurūnām gurutamah*: the same schema enlarged by an adjective.

A whole book could be filled by enumerating those passages in which, in Sanskrit literature, two compounds the former or the latter member of which are identical, occur in immediate succession. We must however limit ourselves here to a small collection of examples and some explanatory remarks.

There is no denying that a rhythmic and syntactic unit consisting of two compounds of this description does not essentially differ from the above parallel groups when consisting of four elements. Compare also AV. 6, 102, 1 *saṃ aiti saṃ ca vartate*. Vedic instances of the first type are numerous. That the 'figure' was not foreign to colloquial usage may be concluded from ChU. 7, 11, 1 *tad āhuḥ: niśocati, nītapati, varṣiṣyati vā iti* "then people say: it is hot, it is burning hot, it will rain". That it was often felt as very impressive appears from its application in ritual stanzas, e. g. AV. 4, 17, 5 *daṣṣvapnyam daurjīvityam ... | durjāmniḥ sarvā durvācaḥ*; 5, 23, 11, and especially 1, 29, 4 *abhivarto abhibhavaḥ* placed after three stanzas with nine other occurrences of *abhi* "on to (so as to overwhelm)": the text was to secure success for a chief.

Yāska 3, 16; 10, 16 already quoted RV. 2, 35, 10a as an instance of a *jāmi*: *hiranyarūpaḥ sa hiranyasaṃdr̥k*; the two (or also more) compounds concerned are, however, often still more closely connected, following one another immediately and being semantically allied: RV. 1, 10, 7 *suviṛṭam sunirajam* "ihn, der gern aufschlieszt, gern herauslässt" (Geldner); 9, 39, 3 *vicakṣaṇo virocayan*; 10, 170, 4 *viśvakarmaṇā viśvadevyāvatā*; AV. 13, 1, 28 *ghṛtavṛddho ghṛtāhutaḥ* where we would prefer "increased and offered to with ghee"; 18, 4, 38 *ihacitta ihakratuḥ* "with thought and ability here"; RV. 1, 32, 10 *atiṣṭhantīnām aniveṣanānām* (a- priv.); AV. 2, 3, 2; TB. 3, 4,

¹²³) Oertel, o.c., p. 39.

¹²⁴) See also F. Edgerton, *Vikrama's Adventures*, Harvard 1926, p. 70; 111; 114; 144 f.; 177 etc.; and in general E. W. Hopkins, *Am. J. Phil.* 14, p. 11; Wackernagel, *Altind. Gramm.* II, 1, p. 148; Renou, *Grammaire sanscrite*, p. 111.

1, 19 *atimirmiram atimemiṣam*; AV. 1, 29, 4 *abhīvarto abhibhavaḥ*; VS. 28 14 *suprite sudhite*; Kauś. 73, 14 *yathāśakti yathābalaḥ*; AV. 5, 23, 11 *hatabhrātā hataśvasā*; cf. also VS. 30, 22 *atisthūlaṃ cātikṛṣaṃ ca* (with . . . *ca* . . . *ca*); AV. 3, 28, 5 . . . *suhārdaḥ sukrto* . . . ; 6; MahānU. 19, 1c *duḥ-svapnaṃ durjanasparsam* etc. It may be noticed that not all instances fill a pāda completely up: RV. 2, 23, 17 *sa ṛṇacid ṛṇayā brahmanas patih*; AV. 7, 48, 1 *rākām ahaṃ suhavā suṣṭutī huve*; 3, 10, 5; Rām. 2, 4, 34 *so 'bhigamyābhivādya ca*; BḍPur. 2, 63, 216 *vipāpmā virajās caiva*; Kathās. 10, 53. In Vedic prose: AiB. 6, 18, 9 *sarvarūpān sarvasamṛddhān*; 5, 15, 5; ŚB. 3, 2, 2, 13 *manoḣātā manoyujō* . . . ; 15 *sarvasaḍadham sarvasurabhi*; JBr. 1, 248 *acchidram acchambatkāriṇam*; BārU. 2, 1, 19 . . . *vā mahārājō vā mahābrāhmaṇo vā*; 2, 2, 1 *sādhānaṃ sapratyādhānaṃ | sasthūnaṃ sadāmam*; 5, 15 *rathanābhau ca rathanemaṇu ca*; 3, 9, 19; 4, 3, 15; 4, 5 *yathā-kārī yathācārī*; 11 (metr.); 23; 5, 13, 1; 14, 8 *ajaro 'mrtaḥ*; 6, 3, 1 *parisamukhya parilīpya*; 4, 23 (metr.); 24 (metr.); ChU. 1, 6, 6; 3, 14, 2; 4, 1, 1 etc.; GobhGS. 2, 8, 24 *yathājyeṣṭhaṃ yathopalambhaṃ vā*; 3, 2, 13 f.; 3, 8; 4, 2, 33.

This way of grouping compounds is to all appearance ancient. We find it in the Avestan texts: Yt. 5, 62 *θri.ayarēm θri.χšapanēm*; 14, 13 *hu.χšnao-θre hu.paitištāne* etc. and often in ancient Greek: A 99 *ἀπριάτην ἀνάποιον*; K 315 *πολύχρσος πολυχάλκος*; A 415 *ἀδάκρυτος καὶ ἀπῆμων*; B 201 *σὺ δ' ἀπτόλεμος καὶ ἀναλκις*; K 258 *ἄφαλόν τε καὶ ἄλλοφον*; B 447 *ἀγήραον ἀθανάτην τε*; α 242 *οἷχετ' αἰστος ἀπυστος*¹²⁵), often filling up the half of an hexameter and always expressing allied concepts. Poets of the classical period availed themselves of this group in emphatic or emotional passages: Aesch. Suppl. 149 *ἄγαμον ἀδάματον*; 689. In Latin¹²⁶) this combination is often found in prayers, incantations etc., e. g. *interimatis interficiatis*; *evoco educo excanto*; *demandō devoveo desacrifico*¹²⁷), in pathetic passages, e. g. Plaut. Pseud. 95 *abalienatur atque abducitur*. In those languages in which the idea conveyed by the former member is as a rule, or in many circumstances, not repeated, incidental repetition may be more or less emphatic: *Sprachgebrauch und Sprachrichtigkeit* (title of a book). In modern languages repetitions of prepositions and similar words may be compared also: A. Gide, *Les faux-monnayeurs* (1925), p. 283 *ils sont sans lois, sans maîtres, sans scrupules*; Duhamel, *Entretiens* (1919), p. 262 *trop triste, trop recru, trop découragé*. A stronger resemblance is apparent in English expressions such as Angela Thirkell's, *The Brandons* (Guild), p. 167 *It is like Dr. Johnson's mutton, ill-conceived, ill-written, ill-presented*. For a repetition of the other type: ibidem, p. 273 *a sense more intimate, more nostalgic than sight*.

In India this procedure soon tended to be more or less mechanically reproduced, being very frequently adopted by the epic authors¹²⁸). Al-

¹²⁵) Cf. also B 325.

¹²⁶) See Hofmann, D.L.Z. 1934, 1166.

¹²⁷) For this 'cumulatio' see G. Appel, *De romanorum precatationibus*, Giessen 1909, p. 141 ff.

¹²⁸) See also *Acta Orientalia* 21 (1953), p. 275 ff.

though such instances as BhG. 2, 71 *nirmamo nirahamkārah* "without self-interest and egotism"; 3, 30 *nirāśir nirmamo bhūtvā*; 37 *mahāsano mahāpāpmā*; 9, 2 (cf. also 9, 5 *bhūtabhryn na ca bhūtabhah*) no doubt add to the author's emphasis and insistence in expressing his ideas, and 5, 17 *tadbuddhayaṣ tadātmānaḥ* / *tanniṣṭhāḥ tatpārāyanāḥ* helps to concentrate the attention on the main theme of the passage, i. e. the Highest Being, here referred to by the repeated *tad-* (likewise 10, 9; 11, 55), although in texts of this description, which deal with elevated subject-matter couched in a lofty style and intended to be inculcated upon a public of devoted listeners, well-balanced repetitions of sound and thought are always to be expected (cf. 10, 9 and 15, and in 10, 12 *param brahma param dhāma*) and although many passages are clearly conceived under the influence of strong emotions (e. g. 11, 16; 19; 23 *bāhu-*, cf. the Gr. πολυ-), — these groups not rarely tend to become fixed once for all: *nirmamo nirahamkārah* is repeated BhG. 12, 13 (cf. 2, 71) in a long series of epithets and predicates and often reproduced in other texts: Mbh. 14, 35, 20; 13, 108, 5 n. n. *nirvandvā niṣparigrahāḥ* (cf. also 13, 31, 18), Īśvarag. 11, 75; BhagPur. 1, 15, 40, cf. 3, 32, 6 etc., many combinations with *mahā-* VāPur. 62, 153; BrPur. 5, 32 *mahātmāno mahaujaṣaḥ*. In the Atharvaveda and other collections of mantras combinations with *su-* "well" are strikingly frequent: 1, 31, 4; 3, 28, 5; 6; 4, 12, 6; 7, 20, 5; RV. 7, 10, 3; VS. 20, 4.

Such epic instances as Mbh. 1, 18, 8 (the mighty Ananta uprooted the king of mountains) *savanam savanaukasam* "with all the woods and the inhabitants of the woods that were on it"; 16 winds which came forth from the mouth of the nāga *sadhūmāḥ sārcisaḥ* must be considered a valuable element in the narrative: they help to emphasize the variety of attendant circumstances or the idea expressed by the repeated first member: 24, 17 *mahākāyo mahātejāḥ*; 25, 1; 3, 76, 22 *bhartāram* / *anuraktam anuvratam*; 3, 297, 96; 50, 7 *śubhācāram śubhakatham*; 3, 61, 27 *hṛtarājyam hṛtadravyam*; Manu 2, 118; 140. A line such as RV. 2, 6, 4 *sa bodhi sūrir maghavā vasupate vasudāvan* was no doubt suggestive. This procedure may even in scientific expositions help to achieve special effects; for instance, the author of AthVPar. 71, 10, 1—dealing with portents—*caityavṛkṣāḥ prabhaḥyante* / *visvaram vinadanti ca* / / *prahasanti prasarpanṭi* / *gāyanti ca rudanti ca* created, probably unconsciously, the impression of repeated processes distributed over a wide area; VāPur. 7, 62 the primal Being is in an analytical and pictorial way described as *sahasrākṣaḥ sahasrapāt* / *sahasraśiṛṣā*.

Combinations such as Dśke. 6, ed. NNS¹⁰, p. 231 *salajjam saśādhvasam*, Kathās. 10, 186, with repetition of *sa-* are in constant use. Cf. also Mr̥cch. 2, 14 + *piadaṃśaṇe piavādī*. Such repetitions as the numerous more or less synonymous *yathā-*combinations (e. g. Mbh. 7, 69, 8 *yathāsukham yathākāmam*) may on the other hand often be considered thoughtless and traditional phrases, or they chiefly serve to bring about assonance or alliteration: BrahmaPur. 150, 8 *nirjale nirjane*. Although the authors no

doubt often preferred this device for metrical or rhythmical reasons—1, 23, 6 it reads *mahāsattvabalopetaḥ* where *mahāsattvo mahābalaḥ* which elsewhere (e. g. 7, 9, 33) actually occurs would clash with the metre—, they frequently had a choice between two or more possible constructions. Thus Rām. 3, 5, 16 it reads *visīrṇavipuloraskāḥ* instead of two complete compounds ending in *-uraska-*. However, prose texts may also provide examples of non-repetition: GobhGS. 1, 1, 15 *vaiśyakulād vāmbariṣād vāgnim āhrtya* “having fetched fire from the house or the frying-pan of a vaiśya”. The repetition of the former part of the compounds may be obscured by sandhi: AiB. 3, 41, 5 *sāyujyaṃ sarūpatūṃ salokatām*; 2, 17, 1; Mbh. 3, 297, 63 *upasṛtyopagṛhya ca*.

For variation conditioned by versification we may also refer to AV. 6, 56, 1 *satokān sahapuruṣān*; Rām. 2, 43, 6 *sabhāryaḥ sahalakṣmaṇaḥ*; 46, 27 *sasitaḥ sahalakṣmaṇaḥ*. Here and elsewhere the second word is longer: 2, 37, 11 *dharmajñā dharmadarsinī*; ChU. 5, 11, 1. Cf. also Dśkc. 6, ed. NNS¹⁰, p. 223 *prahrṣtaḥ praklinnasakalagātraḥ*. This stylistic feature was, of course, also liable to exaggeration: in an additional stanza consisting of longer verses Rām. 2, 12, 109 it reads *pratūmya vā prajvala vā prapaśya vā*; Dśkc. 6, p. 219 *nātiṣṭhulā nātikṛṣā nātihrasvā nātīdirghā*¹²⁹). However, exaggeration is not always synonymous with artificiality: ChU. 7, 9, 1 *adraṣṭāśrotāmantāboddhākartā vijñatā bhavati* “he becomes a nonseer etc.”; AV. 11, 3, 32; 19, 8, 3. With variation 8, 1, 5 *vijaro vimṛtyur viśoko vijighatso 'pipāsaḥ*. In religious hymns and other emotional passages it helps the authors to vent their feelings and spirits, especially if these centre in the idea conveyed by the repeated element: AV. 4, 11, 5 *viśvajid viśvabhṛd viśvakarmā*; Mbh. 6, 65, 47 *viśvāvasur viśvamūrtir viśveśaḥ* / . . . ; in descriptions it is a means of insisting on a particular point: Mbh. 1, 23, 6 *kāmarūpaḥ kāmagamaḥ kāmavīryo vihaṃgamaḥ*; 1, 155, 33; Mṛoch. 4, 28; VāP. 62, 181.

As already observed these combinations of compounds are also used paronomastically: AV. 7, 79, 1 *subhage suvīram*; 3, 1, 5; Rām. 2, 31, 18 *vākyajño vākyakovidam*; 32, 12; 37, 1; 2, 3, 5 *janaghṛṣe janādhipaḥ*; Kathās. 12, 125; a pseudo-instance is RV. 2, 6, 3 *draviṇasyuṃ draviṇodaḥ*, the former word being no compound. That is to say: the compounds are not always syntactically equivalent. BārU. 6, 4, 21 *enām anulomām anumārṣti* “he strokes her as the hair lies”; BrPur. 6, 3 *sutapasā / sudīptena*. Occurrences of this type may be regarded as one of the sources from which classical authors drew yamakas of a similar structure: Kāl. R. 8, 35 . . . *parikīrṇā parivādini*; 26; cf. also 11, 81 *dhūmaśeṣa iva dhūmaketanaḥ*. Daṇḍin, Dśkc. 6, p. 201 *tvaṃ upagamyā dharmāsanagataṃ dharmavardhanam vakṣyati*; Jātakam. 22, 51 . . . *haṃsādhipaṃ haṃsagaṇāḥ*. An early example of deliberate application of this device is AV. 7, 20, 4 *yat te nāma suhavaṃ supraṇīte / anumate anumataṃ sudānu* (and in d . . .

¹²⁹) For *nāti-* see Renou, Gramm. sanscrita, p. 175; A. Scharpé, Bāṇa's Kādambari, Thesis Utrecht 1937, p. 467 f.

subhage suvīram), the words involved alternately belonging to the goddess invoked and her name.

There are also examples of pseudo-compounds or words of uncertain structure: VS. 16, 52 *vikirida vilohita* "O wound-avertter (?), O deep-red One"; RV. 7, 18, 10 *pr̥snigāvaḥ pr̥sninipreṣitāsaḥ*.

Combinations such as RV. 1, 190, 6 *supraituḥ sūyavaśo na panthā* will be described in another section.

Sometimes these pairs of compounds serve to connect pādas: AV. 5, 7, 7 *veda tvāhaṃ nimīvantīm / nitudantīm arāte*; 6, 21, 3; 108, 2; cf. also 7, 48, 2; Mbh. 14, 43, 42 *nirdvandvo nirnamaskāro / niḥsvāhākāra eva ca*; 3, 63, 79; Rām. 3, 47, 33 *mahāgirim ivākampyaṃ / mahendrasadṛśaṃ patim / mahodadhim ivākṣobhyaṃ . . .*; 2, 28, 20; 6, 107, 30 *parasparam abhikruddhau parasparam abhidrutau*; 2, 12, 69; AthVP. 64, 7, 4 . . . *pradṛśyante / prakampanti ca . . .*, cf. also Mbh. 14, 16, 38 *tataḥ kadācin nirvedān / nirākārāśritena ca*; 19, 13 *sarvasaṃskāranirmukto / nirdvandvo niṣparigrahaḥ*; cf. also 28, 23 . . . *sattvaṃ / sadbhāvo . . .*; and cases such as 14, 35, 26 . . . *parikramya / pariśrāntāḥ*; Rām. 2, 14, 31; 2, 28, 1; VāP. 85, 8 *tatra divyāmbaradharā / divyābharanabhūṣitā*; also Kāl. R. 8, 29.

The tendency to add a partly identical compound to a similar word may also account for lines or stanzas such as AV. 1, 24, 2 *āsuri cakre prathamā / idaṃ kilāśabheṣajam* (these words would have formed a normal half-stanza) / *idaṃ kilāsanāśanam*: b and c come to the same thing.

A compound of this type may also combine with an adjective in fulfilling this function: Mbh. 6, 67, 15 *tam ugram ugrakarmānam / ugrāṃ buddhiṃ samāsthitam*.

These combinations may also split up so as to constitute a balanced binary structure: ChU. 3, 17, 6 *akṣitam asi, acyutam asi*.

It would be interesting to possess a large collection of exceptions and variations. Whereas for instance *baddhagodhāṅgulitrāṇa-* occurs several times in the Rāmāyaṇa (1, 24, 9; 2, 23, 16) Mbh. 5, 179, 8 has *dhanurdharo baddhatūno baddhagodhāṅgulitravān* where *aṅg.* is synonymous with *baddhāṅguliḥ*.

The counterpart of these groups, viz. the combination of two syntactically connected and coordinated compounds the second members of which are identical is likewise frequent in the Vedic texts: RV. 10, 170, 2 *amītrahā vṛtrahā . . . asurahā sapatnahā* at the beginning and the end of a half-stanza, no doubt with special effect; 7, 71, 1 *āśvāmaghā gomaghā vām huvema*; in the AV.: 2, 36, 2 *somaḥjuṣṭaṃ brahmaḥjuṣṭaṃ*; 3, 21, 6; 4, 5, 3; 17, 6 *kṣudhāmāraṃ tṛṣṇāmāraṃ*; 6, 14, 1; 50, 3; 70, 3; 104, 1; 1, 12, 3 *yo abhrajā vātajā . . .*; 25, 4c; 30, 1c (contrast); 4a; 2, 34, 1b (cf. 19, 31, 5b); 3, 24, 7 *upohaś ca samūhaś ca*; *sa prāṇāya vyānāya*; 6, 27, 1d; 97, 3; 117, 3; an interesting instance is 5, 8, 6 *tanūpānaṃ paripānaṃ* because the former members are not on a par. 6, 30, 2 *avakeśo vikeśaḥ* "with loosened hair, with dishevelled hair" may be adduced as an instance of a 'tautological' group: we should never forget that repetition is essential

in these texts; RVKh. 10, 142, 10 *na ca vyāghrabhayaṃ na ca mṛtyubhayaṃ*. Nine compounds in succession: RV. 2, 21, 1 *viśvajīte dhanajīte . . . indrāya*. In Vedic prose: AiB. 3, 7, 5 *tasmāt sa prajākāmēna paśuk. vaśatkrtyah*. JB. 1, 160 *bahurūpān nānār. paśūn avarunddhe*; 1, 163 *tā etā bhrātrvy-aghnyo rakṣoghnya ṛcaḥ*; 1, 171 *tad etad gātuvīn nāthavī sāma* after the asyndetic couple *tato vai sa gātum nātham avindata*; BārU. 3, 9, 26 *sa yas tām puruṣān nirukhya pratyukhyātyakrāmīt*, mostly however in a series of 3 or more compounds; ChU. 1, 2, 2; 9 *tasmāt tenobhayaṃ jighrati surabhi ca durgandhi ca* may be regarded as a variant, but 1, 2, 2; 9; 4, 4; 5; 2, 9, 3; 15, 2; 24, 5; 9; 4, 15, 6 are regular instances. GobhGS. 4, 1, 6 is a perfectly rational case: on that fire one cooks *odanācaruṃ ca māṃsacarū ca pṛthak* "both the oblation of rice and the o. of meat, each separately"; 3, 5, 22 *vidyāsātako vratas*. is immediately followed by *vidyāvratas*., a technical term to denote the person in whom the qualities of the two other sātakas have combined.

There are parallels in cognate languages: Avestan Yt. 5, 8 *hača.manāi ča ana.manāi ča*; 10, 4 *rāmašayanam huš.*; 34; OHG. in a magical text: *des manewurmes, des hārwurmes* ¹³⁰).

In India these word groups did not fall into disuse. We find them in the concise and technical matter-of-fact style of sūtras and similar scientific works: MānGS. 1, 18, 1 (prose) *dvyakṣaram catura. vā* "(a name) which has two or four syllables"; 2 *devatāśrayaṃ nakṣatraś.* "derived from the name of the deity or from that of the n.", but 1, 10, 4 *śākhodakadhārayoḥ* "for the 'branch-bearer' and (separately!) for the 'water-carrier' "; cf. also ChU. 5, 12, 1; in enumerations: ChU. 6, 3, 1; 6, 8, 3; in the detailed popular narrative style of many parts of the Mbh.: 3, 64, 63 *abbhaksair vāyubhaksaiś ca* (among many other attributes, most of them are often used in similar passages), in the lofty style of the Bhagavadgītā: 1, 1 in the very opening *dharmakṣetre kurukṣetre* "in the Field of Right, the Kuru-field"; in imparting knowledge in the same work 18, 30 *pravṛtīm ca nivṛtīm ca* (technical terms); in the prolix expositions of the purāṇas: in the prose dialogues of dramas: Mṛch. 3, 18 + *rājabhayāc caurabhayād vā* "through fear of the king or f. of thieves": *rājacaurabhayāt* would express too great a similarity between the king and the thieves, and constitute a complex compound; yet, ibidem, *gobamhanakāmāe* is put into the mouth of the vidūṣaka, but repeated by the interlocutor as *gokāmyā brahmak. ca*; cf. also 3, 23 + where the 'popular' thought of a thief is quoted: *ido raanabhaṇḍaam suvaṇṇabh. vā* "a treasure of gems or a treasure of gold" and 9, 7 + in the official address of a judge: *vākyānusāreṇa arthān. ca* "in accordance with the depositions and in a. w. facts"; in ritual formulas: ChU. 2, 24, 5 *namo 'gnaye pṛthivīkṣite lokakṣite*. In Pāli: Suttanip. 2, 14, 22 *sabhaggato vā parisaggato vā*.

In various styles an antithesis is expressed in this way: BrPur. 155, 6

¹³⁰) See Müller, o.c., p. 69.

svadattām paradattām ca; 170, 73 *saguṇo nirguṇo 'pi vā*; Aśv. Bc. 6, 47; cf. Hes. Op. 715 *μηδὲ πολόξεινον μηδ' ἄξεινον καλέεσθαι*; in an early text: BārU. 5, 8, 1 *hantakāraṃ manuṣyāḥ, svadhākāraṃ pitarāḥ*.

Compare also the structure RV. 2, 24, 9 *sa saṃnayaḥ sa vinayaḥ purohitāḥ*.

As already appears from some of the above instances these compounds also often concern words which occur in pairs or even in a compound: beside AV. 4, 17, 6 we find 11, 8, 21 *kṣudhaś ca sarvās tṛṣṇāś ca*; Manu 8, 67 *kṣutṛṣṇa-* etc.; cf. also AV. 9, 6, 34 *prajāṃś ca vā eṣa paśūṃś ca*; 11, 1, 17 *aduḥ prajāṃ bahulāṃ paśūn naḥ*; MŚ. 1, 5, 2, 4 *prajāyā paśubhiḥ* etc. etc.; the very frequent compound *prāṇāpānu*: AG. 3, 10, 4 *p-ayoḥ*; AV. 11, 7, 25 *p-au cakṣuḥ śrotram* etc. Now the last-mentioned words are, etymologically speaking, compounds; although they may now and then occur as separate words (e. g. AV. 8, 2, 46 *prūno apāno vyānaḥ*) they are very often compounded in the above way. In the same way: AV. 5, 30, 2c and 4c *unmocanapramocane*. Thus we find KauṣUp. 1, 4; BhG. 2, 50 etc. (*ubhe*) *sukṛtaduṣkṛte*, but Mbh. 5, 113, 11 *sukṛtaṃ duṣkṛtaṃ*.

This procedure may combine with other forms of repetition: ChU. 2, 9, 3 *prastutikāmāḥ praśaṃsākāmāḥ*, the words used being moreover semantically nearly related; BhG. 17, 26.

Combinations and variations are also numerous in Pāli texts where this 'figure' is often employed to excess. On one single page of the Milindapañho, chosen at random, p. 117 T. we find for instance: . . . *na bhavasam-pattihetu deti, na dhanahetu deti, na paṭidānahetu deti* (11 times in succession); . . . *saṇṇikaṃ saṇṇikaṃ sakiṃ sakiṃ ākulākulā vāyanti, oṇamanti unnamanti vinamanti* and various other types of repetition, much favoured in these long-winded analytical descriptions and effusions.

The compounds involved are placed on either side of the caesura: BhG. 4, 27 *sarvāṇīndriyakarmāṇi / prāṇakarmāṇi cāpare*; at the beginning of successive pādas: BhG. 14, 6; Mbh. 14, 33, 5 *gṛheṣu vanavāseṣu / guru-vāseṣu bhikṣuṣu*; cf. 45, 18; 16, 3.

In enumerations and more or less technical passages three or more compounds may be found combining in this way: BhG. 4, 28. Incidentally two forms of this type are compounded: Mbh. 14, 42, 37 *dvipādabahupādāni*. An example of variation is Rām. 1, 56, 8 *brahmapāśaṃ kālāpāśaṃ vāruṇaṃ pāśaṃ eva ca*; cf. also LiPur. 70, 306 *mahārūpān virūpāṃś ca / viśvarūpāṃś ca rūpiṇaḥ*.

By way of addendum attention may be drawn to the following combinations: VS. 17, 56 *devaśrīḥ śrīmanāḥ*; TĀ. 10, 1, 13 *nirmukto mukta-kilbiṣaḥ*; Mbh. 14, 35, 21 *mahābhūtaviśeṣaś ca / viśeṣapraṭiśākhavān*; Prākṛt inser. of Khāravela (157 B. C. ?) . . . *cakadharo gutacako pasantacako* "sovereign, whose realm is protected, whose r. is peaceful" ¹³¹.

¹³¹) See also Diwekar, o.c., p. 74, who on p. 73 draws attention to Aśoka, R. IV G. *bherigoso aho dhammaghosa* "the sound of the drum has become the word of Law (Doctrine)", in which *ghosa* is used in a literal and 'metaphorical' sense.

XII

FIGURA ETYMOLOGICA

The so-called *figura etymologica* is one of those stylistic phenomena which have often given occasion to serious misunderstanding on the part of authors and teachers. According to Marouzeau ¹⁾ "la figure étymologique est un procédé syntaxique par lequel on réunit dans une construction d'un type exceptionnel des mots apparentés soit par l'étymologie (*vivre sa vie*), soit au moins par le sens (*dormez votre sommeil*)". Understanding this term in this way we however consider it to be another name for paronomasia. It will be useful to apply it only to those syntactic groups in which special uses of the accusative occur together with a verb deriving from the same root. Besides, the above definition, based upon the outward appearance and formal criteria alone, leaves us in the dark with regard to the stylistic value of the device. Denniston ²⁾ was no doubt right in distinguishing between those cases in which, like for instance the Greek *πολλὰς ἀρχὰς ἄρχειν* "to hold many offices", it is hardly possible to express the desired meaning otherwise and those many other cases in which the *figura etymologica* is a genuine 'figure', a conscious device of style. We may, with other authors ³⁾, use the term under consideration in a limited sense applying it to those constructions in which a so-called accusative of implied object (cognate accusative, Akkusativ des Inhalts) is, either as an optional intensification of the verbal idea or as a 'support' ("formale Stütze") of an attribute, connected with a verb belonging to the same root. Some authors still more limiting this definition include only accusatives of abstracta. In practice however other accusative constructions of the same outward appearance are as a rule discussed under the same heading, — rightly, as it is often very difficult to decide how far a word referred to a 'concrete' or 'abstract' idea in our sense of these terms. ⁴⁾

Descriptions of the 'etymologic accusatives' were given by Delbrück ⁵⁾

¹⁾ J. Marouzeau, *Lexique de la terminologie linguistique*, Paris 1933, p. 78.

²⁾ J. D. Denniston, *Greek prose style*, Oxford 1952, p. 134.

³⁾ See e.g. Schwyzler-Debrunner, o.c., II, p. 74.

⁴⁾ For the character of the accusative see an article by the present author in *Miscelánea homenaje a A. Martinet*, La Laguna 1957 and 'A note on the functions of the accusative as described in the handbooks', S. K. Belvalkar Felicitation Volume, Poona 1957.

⁵⁾ Delbrück, *Altindische Syntax*, p. 168 ff. See also the observations made by Renou, *Études védiques et pāṇinéennes*, I, Paris 1955, p. 57 f.

and, before him, by Gaedicke⁶). Both scholars, especially the latter, provided us with an ample collection of examples; whereas Gaedicke attempted to classify these according to syntactic and semantic principles, Delbrück made some unsuccessful efforts to connect this use of the accusative chronologically with other functions. Neither scholar took up the stylistic aspect in the dispute⁷). Generally speaking, the procedure under discussion is in various languages a favourite type of 'Ausdrucksverstärkung', which at the same time satisfies the physico-psychical needs of repetition and fullness of sound⁸). It is however apt to lose its original force and to survive in special styles or more or less fixed phrases.

These 'etymological figures' — which are very frequent in the Veda — are often used where modern languages would prefer a verb of a more general character and a special noun: R.V. 5, 83, 10 *avarṣīr varṣam* is to be translated by "thou hast shed rain"; 10, 34, 13 *kṛṣim it kṛsasva* "ply your tillage"; 8, 29, 1 *añjy añkte*; German "legt sich Farbe auf". We may also include those cases in which the acc. depends on an etymologically related nominal form: R.V. 2, 22, 1 *sa im mamāda mahi karma kartave* "he has inspired him to perform the great deed"; 2, 24, 14 *m. k. kariṣyataḥ*.

The constructions at issue are in many respects a feature of popular language, that is to say: in more or less emotional speech the element of repetition inherent in it is easily made a means of 'Ausdrucksverstärkung'. Thus Plautus, Amph. 815 *quid ego feci, qua istaec propter dicta dicantur mihi* "what have I done to be spoken to like that?"

There are some indications that the Vedic poets liked these constructions also for their inherent force and emphatic nature: R.V. 1, 162, 14 *yac ca papau yac ca ghāsim jaghāsa* (at the end of a pāda) "what it has drunk and what fodder it has eaten"; 174, 8 *bhinat . . . bhidaḥ* "brich die . . . Einbrüche" (Geldner); 2, 33, 3 *parṣi naḥ pāram aṃhasaḥ svasti*: cf. 6, 4, 8 *parṣi (naḥ) aṃhaḥ*; 3, 15, 3; 1, 164, 28 *mimāti māyum payate payobhiḥ* " . . . blökt sie ihr Blöken. Sie stotzt von Mileh" (Geldner), cf. e. g. 1, 38, 8 *vāśreva vidyun mimāti* without *māyum*; 8, 7, 4 *vāpanti maruto miham | pra vepayanti parvatān | yad yāmaṃ yānti vāyubhiḥ* (alliteration), cf. 28 *yānti śubhrāḥ* (without *yāmaṃ*); 6, 71, 5 *divo rohāṃsy aruhat* "he has ascended the heights of heaven", and AV. 4, 14, 1 *rohān rurukuh* "they ascended the ascents" (Whitney-Lanman), but R.V. 8, 41, 8 *dyām iva rohati*; 9, 36, 6 *ā divas prṣṭham . . . rohasi*; R.V. 1, 140, 13 *iṣaṃ varam . . . varanta*, the verb being as a rule constructed without *vara-*; 7, 97, 1 *indrāya yatra savanāni sunve*, cf. 4, 25, 4 and 5, 37, 1 *indrāya sunavāma*; 10, 106, 10 *kināreva svedam āsiṣvidānāḥ* "wie zwei Pflüger Schweisz vergieszend" (Geldner), but 4, 2, 6 *yas ta idhmaṃ jabharat siṣvidānaḥ*; 5, 42, 10; cf. also AV. 5, 17, 6d. We might compare the emphatic use in the Bal-

⁶) C. Gaedicke, *Der Akkusativ im Veda*, Breslau 1880, p. 237 ff.

⁷) Cf. also Speyer, *Ved. Skt. Syntax*, § 24; *Skt. Syntax*, § 44 f.

⁸) See also E. Richter, *Germ. Roman. Monatsschr.* 2 (1910), p. 238: "zu prägnanter Heraushebung"; E. Gamillscheg, *Neuphilol. Monatsschr.* 1 (1930), p. 21.

tic idioms pointed out by E. Hofmann⁹): *ne spit, ne ležit, i dumu dumaet* "he does not sleep, he does not lie, he thinks", and Indonesian parallels recorded by Bijleveld¹⁰).

Sometimes an author uses this construction to express reciprocity: AV. 4, 36, 2 *yo no dipsād adipsato | dipsato yaś ca dipsati* "who shall try to harm us when we don't try to harm . . ."; 5, 14, 1c *dipsauṣadhe tvam dipsantam*. In connection with a gerundive it is unmistakably emphatic: AV. 5, 20, 4 *grhyā grhṇāna* "seizing those that are to be seized" (in an incantation); 6, 125, 1 *jayatu jetvāni*. AV. 6, 45, 1 (in atonement of offenses) *kim aśastāni śamsasi* "why do you utter words not to be uttered? (or: hitherto unuttered?)".

One can hardly escape the conviction that in Vedic literature the *figura etymologica* not rarely occurs in more or less fixed phrases of a technical character. Curiously enough the earliest Latin examples concern juridical, political and military formulas, e. g. XII Tab. 12, 2 *si servos furtum faxit noxiamve noxī*; Naev. Carm. 40 *auspiciat auspiciū prosperum*; Plaut. Pers. 232 *illa militia militatur*. In Sanskrit a frequent phrase is: *karma kṛ-* "to perform the religious rites": AV. 6, 23, 3; TS. 1, 8, 3, 3 *akran karma karmakṛtaḥ*. The sense of the terms constituting this phrase has obviously narrowed or, rather, specialized. Other combinations with *kṛ-* occur AV. 4, 38, 1 *kṛtāni kṛvānām* "that wins the winnings" (in gambling)¹¹, and 4, 18, 2 *yo devāḥ kṛtyām kṛtvā harāt . . .* "whoso, O gods, having made a charm, takes it . . ." ¹²; 5, 14, 6; 31, 1. "Technical" specialization of meaning probably also AV. 7, 26, 5. Compare also: RV. 3, 31, 2 *riktham āraik* "he left the inheritance"; 1, 109, 4, and frequently elsewhere, *somaṃ sunoti* "to press soma"; TS. 1, 1, 2, 2 *puṣā te granthīm grathnātu* "let P. tie a knot for thee"; AV. 7, 61, 2 *agne tapas tapyāmahe | upa tapyāmahe tapāḥ | śrutāni śṛnvanto vayam . . .* "O Agni, we perform tapas (penance)¹³, we perform additional p., we hearing things heard . . .¹⁴"; cf. JB. 1, 122 etc.; for *tapas tap-* see e. g. also TaittU. 2, 6.

Many ritual terms occurring in the brāhmaṇas and sūtras are formed in this way¹⁵: TS. 1, 5, 4, 4 *sa etān homān juhuyāt* "he offers oblations"; ŚB. 1, 5, 2, 12 *sa vai graham grhītvā* "after having taken a ladleful"; AiB. 6, 14, 7 *japam japitvā*; 5, 3, 8 *nyūṅkham nyūṅkhayati* "he inserts the n." (i. e. the sound *o* (in different places) in the recitation of hymns, this in-

⁹) E. Hofmann, *Ausdrucksverstärkung*, Göttingen 1930, p. 96: "betonter Gegensatz".

¹⁰) Bijleveld, *Herhalingsfiguren*, p. 80.

¹¹) See Whitney-Lanman, o.c., p. 214.

¹²) Charm in the sense of "material object possessing occult powers", see Henry, *Magie*, p. 159 f.

¹³) "Im RV. kommt diese Cardinalwendung des Sanskrit nicht vor" (Gaedicke, o.c., p. 239).

¹⁴) Cf. in Latin, *dicta dicere* etc.

¹⁵) See Gaedicke, o.c., p. 242 f. Most phrases are of considerable frequency in these works.

sertion being called n.); TS. 1, 7, 5, 4 etc. *viṣṇukramān kramate* "he takes the steps of Viṣṇu", also passive: 1, 7, 6, 2 *suvarṅāya hi lokāya viṣṇukramāḥ kramyante*; TS. 1, 5, 2, 4 *sambhṛtya eva sambhārān* "after having collected the apparatus"; ŚB. 13, 3, 4, 2 *vayam uddhāram uddharāmahai* "let us take out for ourselves a special share"; 1, 2, 5, 12 *parigrahaṃ parigrhṇāti* "he performs the 'fencing round' of the vedi"; 1, 7, 3, 6 *avadānam avadya* "cut off a portion" (the technical character of the term appears also from 1, 7, 2, 6 *yat kiṃ cāgnau juhvati tad avadānam nāma*); JB. 1, 120 *ādīm ādatte*; AiB. 6, 3, 5 *utkaram utkiranti*; Gobh. GS. 4, 1, 3 *avadanty avadānāni*; TS. 1, 7, 3, 1 *anvāhāryam āharati* "he brings the anvāhārya mess (a special gift consisting of food and presented to the ṛtvij priest)"; JB. 1, 11 etc. *agnihotraṃ juhoti*; KātyŚS. 2, 8, 10 etc. *prastaram str-* "to spread the p. (a sacrificial seat)"; JB. 2, 387 *sattraṃ niṣeduh* "they performed a great Soma sacrifice" (usually: *sattraṃ āste* lit. "he sits a session").

It may in this connection be remembered that it is a frequent stylistic habit of the brāhmaṇas and sūtras to denote the performance of an action by means of a verb cognate to the name of the action. Thus *saṃnayati* "to lead or bring together" is used in the special sense of "to mix (with sweet or sour milk)", that is: "to perform the saṃnāyā ceremony (consisting in offering milk mixed with other milk and offered with clarified butter)"; *ādadhāti* "to perform the ceremony of preparing the sacred fires, i. e. the *agnyādhāna-*"; *anvāha* "to recite the anuvākyā stanzas". The above instances of *figura etymologica* are in a more complete way synonymous, as appears, for instance, from ŚB. 3, 2, 2, 10: 18 f. *tad eṣa eva vratayati* "he partakes of that fast-milk": *atha vrataṃ vratayati*, the term *vrata-* in the sense of "the feeding only on milk as an observance" being an ellipsis instead of *kṣīravrata-* which occurs KātyŚS. 7, 4, 20.

In emotive, verbose or dignified style, in religious, ritualistic or other technical discussions the mode of expression at issue is apt to occur in standing phrases such as AiB. 8, 15, 1 *ayaṃ sarvā jītir jayetāyaṃ sarvāṃ lokān vindeta*; KauśBU. 1, 4 *taṃ brahmālaṃkāreṇālaṃ kurvanti. sa brahmālaṃkāreṇālaṃkṛto brahmavidvān brahmābhipraiti*; 2, 8 (formula) *aindrīm āvṛtam āvarta ādityasyāvṛtam anvāvarte*. Counterparts of a pathetic or emphatic function are, in Dutch, for instance to be found in the works of the poet Vondel: *ghy eischt een' zwaren eysch*, in old Javanese, e. g. Kuñj. p. 55, 13 *bhaṭāra śrī W. mandarmakēn darma ri watēk dewata kabeh*¹⁶). Here and elsewhere this 'figure' is a useful element in a balanced style: KauśBU. 1, 7 *sā yā brahmaṇo jītir yā vyastis taṃ jītiṃ jayati tām vyastim vyaśnute*.

This mode of expression may on the other hand serve, to a certain extent, as a means of detecting which were the special meanings of verbs when used in connection with the etymologically cognate nouns: RV. 1, 22, 18 *dharmāni dhārayan*.

¹⁶) See Bijleveld, Herhalingsfiguren, o.c., p. 79 ff.

The supposition may be ventured that incidentally an 'etymological construction' turned up under the influence of a tendency to provide a verb with an object. Verbs which are often used without an object or adverb being felt to be deficient in expressiveness may assume an etymologically related word: Lat. *vitam vivere*, Germ. *einen Kampf kämpfen*. These constructions, which are another indication of the verbosity of colloquial usage, draw the hearer's attention expressly to the idea conveyed by the root: AV. 4, 30, 4 *mayā so annam atti yo* . . . "through me he eats food who . . .". RV. 5, 37, 4 (*sa rājā*) *hanti vṛtram | kṣeti kṣitih* constitutes, with *kṣitih*, a balanced structure; without the noun the meaning of the verb would not be that required by the context, for *kṣi-* used 'absolutely' means "to be quiet, remain", with the acc. "to inhabit, rule, govern". Without an object *varṣati* means "to rain", with an object "to shower down", hence RV. 5, 83, 10 *avarṣir varṣam* (subject: Parjanya); 5, 55, 5 *vṛṣim varṣayathāh* (the Maruts); *añjy aṅkte* 1, 124, 8 and elsewhere "to apply grease-paint". Cf. also RV. 10, 164, 2 *bhadraṃ vai varam vṛṇute | bhadraṃ yuñjanti dakṣiṇam*. In connection with the causative *rocaya* the noun *rucaḥ* is RV. 9, 9, 8 perfectly intelligible. We might compare, in Greek, α 49 *ἄπο πῆματα πάσχει* instead of "he has much suffered"; the verb *κτερεῖω* + acc. of a person means "to bury a person with due honours", with *κτερεα* "to pay the funeral rites", e. g. α 291 *σῆμά τε οἱ χεῖραι καὶ ἐπὶ κτερεα κτερεῖται; βουλευειν* means "to deliberate", β. *βουλὰς* "to be in council, to act as a member of the c.". One could also say that the Vedic idiom often preferred "they create creatures" (JB. 1, 296 *prajāh prajānayatāh*) and similar phrases to "they created" or "they created (living) beings". That is to say: the idea conveyed by the root is expressed with reference to both the process and the result: the process continues to exist in the result; process and object are aspects of the same idea. The subject is viewed as concentrating upon the process which constitutes the very idea of the root, without regard to any special object. Hence also ChU. 1, 3, 7 *dugdhe . . . doham* "yields milk". It is interesting to see that AiB. 1, 7, 3 after the complete phrase *vṛṇiṣva* without *varam* is clear enough: *sā vai vo varam vṛṇā iti. vṛṇiṣveti. sātām eva varam avṛṇīta*.

The meaning of the verb may be a special one: thus, in Greek, *φέρειν* is "to bear, carry, convey, bring, endure", etc., but *φόρον φέρειν* means "to pay tribute", tribute being—at least originally—viewed as "that which is brought in", the verb conveying a special sense which it has also in connection with *μισθόν* "hire" and other terms of this semantic class. Thus *ārtim ārchati* etc. "to fall into calamity" cannot be adduced in evidence of an inclination to play upon sounds or words: *ārchati* no doubt conveyed a specialized nuance of the general idea of "going towards, coming"¹⁷.

Often the figura etymologica helps to express the idea of generality and indefiniteness. That is to say: in sentences such as ŚB. 13, 1, 2, 4 *īśvaro vā*

¹⁷) The reader may be referred to the remarks made on p. 273.

eṣaḥ ārtim ārtor . . . nārtim ārchati "he is liable to incur injury . . . he incurs no injury" no specific statement is made about the idea of injury; in translating into German, Dutch or English no article, at least no definite article, is used. In Greek *πορεύειν πόρον* means "to suffer, go through toil". The phrase indicates that the process denoted by the verb takes place in an unspecified way. The frequent expression *annam atti* — cf. e. g. also Manu 2, 53 *nityam annam adyāt samāhitāḥ* refers — to "eating food" in general, whatever food it may be: JB. 1, 238; the likewise frequent *varam vṛṇīṣva* (e. g. JB. 3, 190) "choose a boon" is practically equivalent to "choose something"; cf. also JB. 1, 286 *pradānam prādām*. Cf. also ŚB. 14, 6, 2, 7 *manasū hi kāmān kāmāyate* (cf. JB. 3, 203 *etaṃ vai te kāmam akāmāyanta*); 1, 9, 1, 2 *āśiṣam āśāste*; 14, 1, 1, 12 *taṃ devā abhyasṛjyanta yathā vittiṃ vetsyamānā evam* "the gods rushed forward to him, even as those eager to secure some gain (will do)"; 2, 4, 3, 4 *ājīm . . . ajāmahai*. Instead of "he enters something", "he goes somewhere", etc., Vedic preferred JB. 2, 67 *prapadanam prapadyate* "er begibt sich in einen Eingang" (Caland), "he enters an entrance". In translating into English or other modern languages the verb is as a rule rendered by a word of general sense, the noun by the equivalent of the Sanskrit noun: "to run a race", "to incur injury". To us many cases of *figura etymologica* seem to be tautologic.

If however in the above phrases the substantive is qualified by a determinative attribute the idea denoted is definite: ŚB. 14, 6, 8, 1 (= BārU. 3, 8, 1) *aham imaṃ dvau praśnau prakṣyāmi* "lo, I will pose him two questions". In a similar way, 1, 9, 1, 2 *yām āśiṣam āśāste* "the wish he prays for", *ya-* being a defining, distinguishing, annunciatory includer¹⁸): *athāśiṣam āśāste. tām asmai yajña āśiṣam samnamayati y. ā. ā.*; the repetition of *āśiṣam* after *yām* shows that it is to provide *ya-* with a support. Other examples are 1, 6, 2, 1 *yajñena ha vai devā imāṃ jitiṃ jigryur yāśiṣam iyaṃ jitiḥ*; 1, 8, 1, 10 *tayemāṃ prajātiṃ prajājñe yeyam manoh prajātiḥ*; AiB. 2, 31, 6 *eṣa evaitām ārtim āriṣyati*; 7, 31, 5 *etaṃ bhakṣam bhakṣayati*; JB. 3, 183 *etaṃ vai sa kāmam akāmāyata*; BārU. 4, 3, 9 *taṃ ākramam ākramya*. An adjectival attribute denotes a nuance or a qualification of the occurrence: AV. 6, 71, 1 *yad annam admi bahudhā virūpam*.¹⁹)

This leads us to those constructions in which the accusative seems to serve mainly as a peg to hang an attribute on.²⁰) Instead of "may we prosper in the same way" it reads JB. 2, 98 *samānīm ṛddhim ṛdhnuyāva*; it may be recalled to memory that, if the present author is not mistaken, the ancient Indian accusative expressed an unspecified or unqualified relation of a noun to a verb etc. Other examples are: AiB. 7, 17, 4 (stanza) *pāpaṃ karma mayā kṛtam*; 6, 32, 17 *devā vai yat kiṃ ca kalyāṇam karmā-*

¹⁸) See *Lingua* 4, p. 1 ff.

¹⁹) See also R. M. Meyer, *Deutsche Stilistik*, p. 48 f.; J. Vendryes, *MSL*. 20, p. 180; Brugmann, *Grundriss* II, 2, p. 620 ff.

²⁰) So-called 'berechtigte etymologische Figur oder Abundanz': Haffter, *Unters. altlat. Dichterspr.*, p. 13 ff.

kurvan; ChU. 4, 15, 5 *imam mānavam āvartaṃ nāvartante* "they do not return to the human condition"; GobhGS. 3, 9, 15 *ahatāny āstaraṇāny āstīrya*, though usually translated "having spread new carpets" may also admit of the translation "having been newly carpeted". Comparable constructions occur in other languages, e. g. in Malay (Hik. Isk.) *menangis dengan tangis yang amat sangat*, lit. "he wept with a very great weeping".²¹) This idiom accounts also for the repetition of the noun after a so-called relative pronoun in periods such as AiB. 1, 24, 3 *yām ahorātrayor vijitīm vyajayanta, tām vijitīm vijayate ya evaṃ veda*.

Instead of an adjective a genitive occurs in RV. 4, 51, 6 *yayā vidhānā vidadhur ṛbhūnām* "at which time the gods imposed the tasks of the Rbhus"; JB. 2, 83 *vidviṣāṇānām aśanam āśa* "he had eaten the food of enemies"; 2, 298 *svargasyaiva tal lokasya vikramān kramamānā yanti*; ChU. 5, 2, 4 *sarvaśadhasya mantham dadhimadhunor upamathya*.

Incidentally however an elliptical variant may be noticed: ŚB. 1, 4, 2, 3 *ārṣeyaṃ pravṛṇīte* means²²) "he recites the *pravara*- ("list of names of the ancient ṛṣis") containing the ṛṣi-names".

To those expressions which are hardly avoidable belong in the first place those which are even in modern languages formed in a similar way: JB. 2, 135 *avādyam vadati* "er redet was nicht geredet werden darf" (Ca-land); cf. *ibid. yo 'nighātīyasya nihanti*; AiB. 2, 38, 11 *akṛtam akar iti vai nindanti* "they say in blame: 'he has done the improper act' ("what is not to be done")", cf. 12 *kṛtam asya kṛtam bhavati, nāsyākṛtam kṛtam bhavati*; ChU. 1, 2, 5 *śṛṇoti śravaṇīyam cāśravaṇīyam ca*; 6 *saṃkalpanīyam cāsaṃkalpanīyam ca*; cf. KauśBU. 3, 7 *na prajñātavyam prajñāyeta*. Compare also phrases such as JB. 1, 12 *hantānapajayyam jīgiṣāma* "well, then, let us conquer them so that the conquering character of the act cannot be reversed, i. e. once and for all", in which the verb is accompanied by an indeclinable word. Hardly avoidable are also combinations such as AiB. 5, 32, 6 *viśliṣṭam saṃśleṣayet* "unite something which has become loosened". Neutral from the stylistic point of view is also RV. 10, 53, 6 *tantum tanvan* (cf. 1, 142, 1; 2, 3, 6; *tantram* 10, 71, 9). The above is however not to deny that these constructions are very suitable to express in a sharp and succinct way a contrast or a paradox: RV. 7, 86, 7 *acetayad acitah* "he made the thoughtless think"; 2, 24, 2 *prācyāvayad acyutā* "he moved the firm (the immovable)".

A variety of the above is the occurrence of the root in an adjective which forms part of the same syntactic unit: AiB. 2, 18, 4 *yajamānam eva tad dvipratiṣṭham catuṣpātsu paśuṣu pratiṣṭhāpayati*; ŚB. 3, 5, 3, 10 and GobhGS. 4, 1, 13 *caturgrhitam ājyam grhitvā*; Rām. 1, 59, 20 *mām adūṣyam hy adūṣayat*; Kāl. R. 10, 15 *athainam tuṣṭuvuḥ stutyam*; 1, 30 *ananyasāsanām urvīm śasāsa*.

²¹) Cf. also Bijdr. Taal-, Land-, Volk. 107 (1951), p. 196 f.

²²) According to J. Brough, The early brahmanical system of gotra and pravara, Cambridge 1953, p. 14 f.

Attention may be drawn to causative verbs governing an acc. of the same root: AiB. 5, 27, 6 *annam apy ādayet*. Beside the pure *figura etymologica* we sometimes find the type ŚB. 3, 5, 1, 1 *prāñ prakrāmati trīn vikramān* (cf. 3, 6, 1, 3). Sometimes the noun in the accusative derives from a synonymous root (suppletion): AV. 2, 9, 3 *adhītir adhyāgāt*; AiB. 5, 14, 3 etc. *satram (sattram) āsate*; 1, 6, 12; 2, 5, 9 etc.; GobhGS. 1, 6, 18 etc. *vācam vadet*. RV. 2, 25, 1 the verb *van-* and the denominative *vanuṣyati* deriving from *vanuṣ-* "eager, zealous", which comes from *van-*, are found connected: *indhāno agnim vanavad vanuṣyataḥ* "who kindles the (ritual) fire will conquer the assailants".

There are also instances of the so-called pseudo *figura etymologica*: AiB. 2, 25, 1 *hantājim ayāma*. Expressions occurring beside the construction at issue are for instance AiB. 1, 13, 13 *annasanim . . . karoty* (not: *sanoti*); ChU. 6, 1, 1 *vasa brahmacaryam*; instead of *ājim aj-* we also find *ājim i-, dhāv-, sar-*.

The *figura etymologica* may combine with a third derivative of the same root. At times however this accumulation seems to be primarily due to the technical character of the expression or of the subjects discussed: TS. 1, 8, 3, 3 *akran karma karmakṛtaḥ*; RV. 1, 164, 50 = 10, 90, 16 *yajñena yajñam ayajanta devāḥ*. Elsewhere however the threefold repetition of the same root may in the first place be an important element in forceful language: RV. 6, 66, 9 *ye sahāṃsi sahasā sahante* "die mit Gewalt die Gewalten bewältigen" (Geldner).

In a considerable number of phrases the nominal element forms part of a compound: AiB. 2, 16, 1 *prātaranuvākam anuvakṣyati*; 32, 4f. *tūṣṇīm-śamsam śamset*, and even 6, 16, 1 *anārāśamsiḥ śamsati* "to recite verses without reference to Nāraśamsa"; JB. 1, 11; AiB. 7, 10, 1 etc. *agnihotram juhoti*; 1, 12 *ājyāhutim juhavāma*; AiB. 7, 6, 3 etc. *āhutim . . . juhuyāt*; GobhGS. 3, 8, 10 *tasya mukhyām havirāhutim hutvā*; AiB. 2, 38, 1 *hotṛjapam japati*; JB. 2, 276 *ācāryakarma cakāra*; AiB. 6, 23, 7 *nāhinakarma kuryuḥ*; KathU. 1, 2, 15 etc. *brahmacaryam caranti*; AVPar. 70c, 32, 25 *varṣati śailavarṣam*. Cf. also: AiB. 2, 2, 16 *vājasanim evainam tad dhanasām sanoti* "verily thus he gains it as a gainer of vāja, as gaining possessions"; 5, 9, 2 *ṛtviḥ ṛtuyājān yajanti*.

The interesting combinations: ChU. 3, 15, 2 *putrarodaṃ roditi* "he weeps for a son"; Comm. Pāṇ. 3, 4, 43 *puruṣuvāhaṃ vahati* "he moves in such a way as to be borne or drawn by men" deserve special mention. The possibilities of emphasis inherent in these phrases are especially clear in JB. 1, 187 *subhṛtām prajām bibharti* . . . "richtig unterhält seine Kinder . . .": this mode of expression fulfils the function of an adverb in our languages.

The frequent use of these 'etymological accusatives' explains the occurrence of 'etymological compounds': JB. 2, 266 *karmakṛt-*; TS. 1, 5, 2, 4 *saṃbhṛtasambhāra-* "having collected all requisite materials"; AiB. 1, 7, 3 *varavṛtra-*; AV. 1, 25, 1 *dharmadhṛt-*; 1, 30, 4 *satrasad-*; AiB. 2, 15, 10 *uditānūvādin*; 6, 33, 13 etc. *ayātayāma-* "not worn out by use, fresh, etc."

(name of definite texts). The use made of these compounds is not rarely natural: KathU. 1, 3 *pitodakā jagdhatrñā dugdhadohāh*.

It may be noticed that passive counterparts of the *figura etymologica* are not wanting: JB. 2, 183 *saṃśeṣaḥ samaśiṣyata*; AiB. 2, 18, 6 *āhūtaḥ hūyante*; 25, 4 *graho ghyate*; BārU. 2, 2, 4 *annam adyate*; AiB. 5, 31, 5 *tad eṣābhi yajñagāthā gīyate*; 29, 3 *agnihotram . . . hūyate*; 3, 1, 1 *stute stome*; ŚāGS. 14, 32, 14 *stotre stute*; GobhGS. 1, 1, 22 *prātarāhutir hutā bhavati*; 27; AiB. 1, 4, 9 *karma kriyamānam*. Cf. also RV. 8, 2, 14 *gāyatraṃ gīyamānam*, and the construction *jīvanāśaṃ naṣṭaḥ* (Pāṇ. 3, 4, 43) "having lost one's life" = *jīvo naṣṭaḥ, jīvan eva naṣṭaḥ*. R̥gvedic instances are comparatively speaking rare — cf. also 9, 97, 18 *granthim na grathitam* —, no doubt because the 'passive construction' was not yet the regular counterpart of the active. The 'passive' verb forms are on the other hand frequently connected with an etymologically cognate instrumental: RV. 4, 7, 1 *dhāyī dhātṛbhiḥ*; 3, 17, 1.

Although examples run into thousands it may be useful to add some post-Vedic instances. In the epics we find, without an adjective: e. g. Mbh. 7, 184, 25 *uvāca vākyam*; 4, 21, 21U. *tatas tu kurvataḥ karma*; 3, 42, 20 *jajāpa japyam* "he muttered a prayer"; 7, 45, 22 *tapas taptvā*; 6, 104, 22 *nanāda . . . nādam* "he gave a cry"; 12, 143, 3 *akathayat kathām*; 16 *evam tu vartamānasya tasya vṛttim durātmanah* "leading such a life, entering upon such a course of conduct, living thus or 'subsisting by this subsistence'"; 14, 16, 29 *gacchantiḥa gatim martyāḥ* " . . . go their way, attain their ends"; BhG. 2, 48 *yogasthaḥ kuru karmāṇi* "abiding in discipline perform actions"; 3, 24; 5, 11; cf. e. g. also BrPur. 5, 40; BhG. 7, 1 *yogam yuñjan* "practising discipline"; Manu 2, 50 *bhikṣeta bhikṣām*; 2, 166 *tapas tapsyan*; 222 *japaṇ japyam*; Rām. 1, 45, 5 *uvāca . . . vākyam*; 55, 18 *vākyam uktvā*; 59, 22 *uktvā vacanam*; 2, 4, 44 *bhukṣva bhogān*; Kāl. R. 11, 91 *ūcivān iti vacaḥ*; ViPur. 1, 17, 9 *papau pānam*; Kathās. 12, 75 *kiṃ vijñānam vijñāsi*. Most of these occurrences concern standing phrases, which —irrespective of differences in frequency etc.— may be compared to the parallels in the related languages: in Medieval Dutch: *enen groet groeten*, lit. "to greet a greeting"; *enen spronc springen* "to spring"; *sijn seggen seggen*, lit. "to say one's say"; *een sucht suchten* "to breathe a sigh"; *sinen ganc gaen* (Mod. *zijn gang gaan*) "to go one's way"; *dat werc werken* "to perform that work", etc.²³) In the course of time the number and frequency of these phrases was considerably reduced. Part of them belonged—and still belong—to the daily vocabulary of the general public, other occurrences were of a more studied or poetical character.

²³) See F. A. Stoett, *Middelnederlandsche Spraakkunst*, The Hague 1923, p. 132; H. Paul, *Deutsche Grammatik III*, Halle a. S. 1919, p. 225 ff.; the same, *Mittelhochdeutsche Grammatik*⁶, Halle a. S. 1904, § 242; compare also the survey given by Delbrück, *Vergl. Syntax*, I, p. 365 f. For the Romance languages: F. Diez, *Grammatik der romanischen Sprachen*³, Bonn 1872, p. 116 ff.; W. Meyer-Lübke, *Grammatik der romanischen Sprachen*, III, Leipzig 1899, p. 381.

Very often an attributive adjective is added to the accusative: as is well known, this is the regular construction in classical and later Latin. Mbh. 14, 19, 17 *tivraṃ taptvā tapaḥ*; 6, 99, 1 *vyūhaṃ cāvryūhat mahat*; 14, 16, 14 *gatim agryāṃ gamiṣyasi*; 17, 1 *praśnān sudurvacān | papraccha*; 14, 30, 3 *kṛtvā suduṣkaraṃ karma*; 1, 123, 75 *adhikāṃ sma tato vṛttim avartan* ("to enter upon a course of conduct") *pāṇḍavān prati*; 6, 64, 63 *tasya taṃ nadato nādaṃ sughoraṃ bhīmaniḥsvanam*; 4, 14, 8 U. *ayuktarūpaṃ tu karoti karma naḥ*; BhG. 2, 5 *bhuñjīya bhogaṃ rudhirapradigdhān*; 3, 8 *niyataṃ kuru karma tvam*; Mbh. 14, 20, 4 *kāṃ gamiṣyāmi vai gatim*; BhG. 6, 37; Mbh. 3, 70, 29 *yām nalo veda vidyām*; 4, 16, 53 U. *tat karma kṛtavatī*; 1, 179, 13 *sarva ūcur idaṃ vacaḥ* (cf. Rām. 1, 52, 12); Manu 5, 42 *gamayaty uttamām gatim* "causes to enter a most blessed state"; Rām. 1, 58, 8 *anyām gatim gamiṣyāmi*; 24; 60, 24 *ūcuḥ sūnunāyaṃ vacaḥ*; 59, 11 *ūcuḥ ca vacanaṃ sarvaṃ*; 4, 31, 5 *uvāca . . . svavikṣitaṃ sūnunayaṃ ca vākyaṃ*; Kāl. R. 8, 25 *vidadhe vidhim asya naiṣṭhikam* "he performed his funeral rites"; 14, 36; 15, 13 *sulāv asūta sampannau*. It may, in order to avoid misunderstanding, be observed that, in the case of many combinations, this manner of expression was normal; it was probably hardly possible to find a substitute for *tat karma kṛtavatī*; in other cases, e. g. Kāl. R. 15, 13, the poet could have resorted to synonyms deriving from different roots. The phrase *sūtan sūte* is however not rarely used in other writings: Manu 3, 263; SkandaPur. KāKh. 37, 46, etc.; cf. also Kāl. R. 10, 71.

In this connection mention may also be made of syntactic groups of the following types: Mbh. 3, 66, 19 *ajñātavāsaṃ nyavasat*; 11, 6, 13 *sra-vanti madhunisiravam*; BhG. 1, 12 *siṃhanādaṃ vinadya*; Rām. 1, 48, 27 *kṛtavān asi . . . akartavyam idam* (oxymoron); Kāl. R. 14, 23 *tena ghnatū vighnabhayaṃ*. Compare also, with semantic differentiation, Mbh. 14, 16, 40 *lokān ālokaṃ aham*, practically an instance of assonance; Kāl. R. 15, 51 *śīrṣacchedaṃ paricchidya* "having decided that he deserved to be decapitated". Thus the poets succeeded in creating, in endless variation, assonant and paronomastic combinations, based on the *figura etymologica* as it occurs in natural language; similarly, in German: Schubart²⁴): *stark kämpfstest du den Kampf des Lebens, stark wirst du kämpfen den Kampf des Todes*; Vulpius, Rin. 4, 123 *sein Auge ging auf, sie küsste, ihn grüszend, ein Küszchen darauf*.

The accusative is accompanied by one or more other words depending on it in cases such as: Mbh. 4, 13, 30 U. *karmāṇi tasya kurvanti virāṭaṇ-pateḥ*; 3, 293, 23 *kriyāś ca tasyā muditaś cakre*, the subst. *kriyā-* being, however, specialized in meaning: "he performed the rites"; BhG. 17, 17 *śraddhayā parayā taptam | tapas tat*; Rām. 1, 57, 12 *gaccheyam . . . deva-tānām parām gatim*.

Not infrequently the word in the accusative is a compound: Mbh. 13, 70, 8 *kathā bhavān durgatim idṛśīm gataḥ*; BhG. 6, 40 *durgatim . . . gaccha-*

²⁴) See Paul, Deutsche Grammatik III, p. 226.

ti "comes to a bad end"; Mhb. 6, 50, 57 *evam enaṃ mahāvryūhaṃ vryūhya*; 14, 17, 29 *taṃ mahocchvāsaṃ | bhṛśaṃ ucchvasya*; 38 *naiṣṭhikīm | buddhiṃ buddhyethāḥ*; 4, 21, 72 U. *paśumāraṃ amārayat* "he killed him like a head of cattle", lit. "he killed him according to the manner of slaughtering cattle"; 12, 88, 4 *madhudohaṃ duhed rāṣṭraṃ bhramarā iva pādapam* "he should milk his kingdom like bees collecting honey from plants"; 3, 62, 17 *jīvatv asukhaḥjīvikām*; Manu 2, 170 etc. *svādhyāyam adhīte*. Cf. also Mbh. 3, 64, 37 *kiṃ nu me duṣkṛtaṃ kṛtam*.

Passive parallels are not wanting: Mbh. 13, 70, 8 *śubhaṃ tvayā karma kṛtaṃ na pāpakam*; cf. also 3, 64, 37 *kiṃ nu me duṣkṛtaṃ kṛtam*; 14, 31, 13 *iti rājñāmbaṛiṣeṇa | gāthā gītāḥ* "these were the recitations recited by king A."; BhG. 3, 5 *kāryate . . . karma* "he is made to perform actions"; 17, 28 *tapas taptam*; Rām. 1, 51, 15 *yena taptam mahat tapaḥ*; 58, 20 *yajñair bahuvīdhair iṣṭam*; 51, 11 *yat kartavyam kṛtam mayā*; 49, 2 *mayā sura-kāryam idaṃ kṛtam*; 1, 31, 5 *evam ukte tayoṛ vākye*.

In connection with the *figura etymologica* in the proper sense of the word attention may also be drawn to constructions such as Mbh. 7, 51, 7 *sa tīrtvā dustaraṃ . . . mahārṇavam* in which the root of the verb form recurs, not in the substantive, but in the adjective qualifying it: "having crossed the great ocean which is difficult to be crossed"; Kāl. R. 8, 79 *carataḥ kila duṣcaraṃ tapaḥ*; 10, 25; 10, 15 *athainaṃ tuṣṭuvuḥ stutyam* "they praised him who is worthy of praise". Compare also expressions such as Kāl. R. 11, 10 *uhyamāna iva vāhanocitaḥ* "accustomed to travel in vehicles".

Sometimes the occurrence of a *figura etymologica* is made subservient to the tendency to construct longer repetitional groups: Mhb. 3, 197, 12 *varṣaṃ varṣati varṣakāle*; 14, 28, 20 *manasā manyase matim* "you think thoughts with the mind"; Rām. 1, 57, 14 *dīrghatapasaḥ tapo yatra hi tepire*; 48, 33 *tapas tepe mahātapāḥ*; 49, 21; 55, 12; 45, 14 *śrūyatām rāma śakraśya kathāṃ kathayataḥ śrūtām*; with alliteration: Mbh. 14, 19, 17 *tīvraṃ taptvā tapaḥ*. Part of these instances are natural, originating in combinations of standing phrases or technical terms: BhG. 6, 1 *kāryam karma karoti yaḥ* "who performs action that is required (by religion)" for instance may be viewed in the light of the frequent phrase *karma kṛ-* (2, 48; 3, 24; 5, 11) and the word group *kāryam karma* (3, 19); cf. also 17, 20 *dātavyam iti yad dānaṃ diyate*. Other examples are however no doubt premeditated or variations on more natural models: Daṇḍin, Dśkc. 4 (Nirṇ.¹⁰, p. 169) *gacchāmi gantavyāṃ gatim*; Rām. 1, 57, 17 *śaraṇaṃ vaḥ prapanno 'haṃ śaraṇyāñ śaraṇaṃ gataḥ*; ViPur. 1, 19, 23 *dadhāra dharaṇīdharam*.

Some words must also be said on paronomastic compounds. Rām. 1, 59, 1 *uktavākyam tu rājānaṃ . . . | abravīt* "he said to the king who had given his opinion"; 60, 15 *uktavākye munau; kāryakārin-* "performing a work"; *kṛtakriyā-* "one who has fulfilled his duty"; *kṛtakṛtya-* "id."; *kṛtakarman-* "id."; *jarajirṇa-*; Mbh. 3, 192, 41 *rājabhayaabhīta-*; Kāl. R. 9, 80 *indhaneddhā-*; 10, 7 *bhogibhoga-*; Jātakam. 18, 9 *parakarmakara-*;

BhāgPur. 4, 30, 23 *grhītamāyāguṇavīgrahāya* (*vīgraham grah-*); Skanda-Pur.KaKh. 37, 114 *subhāgyabhāg-*.

These collections of passages exhibiting instances of paronomasia and related constructions are however not intended to create the impression that the thoughts expressed in the above examples were always couched in paronomastic terms. Beside *vācam vac-* we also find, e. g. Mbh. 13, 166, 5 *idam āha vacas tadā*, the verb and the object deriving from different roots; Kāl. R. 14, 59 *jagāda vākyam*; ViPur. 1, 19, 3 *vacanam abravīt*; beside *tapas tap-* e. g. Mbh. 12, 112, 5 *tapah sumahad ātiṣṭhat* (cf. Rām. 1, 48, 16) and Rām. 1, 46, 3 *tapas carisyāmi* (cf. 1, 57, 3; 10); beside *vṛttim vṛt-* Mbh. 12, 113, 14 *saṁśrayed vaitasim vṛttim*. In a similar way *śāpam dā-* is found e. g. Rām. 1, 60, 6 instead of *śapathaiḥ śap-* (Rām. 2, 75, 40; cf. *śapanena śap-* AV. 1, 28, 3).

XIII

POLYPTOTON

We may turn now to the so-called polyptoton, the employment of the same word in various cases ¹⁾. In a large majority of cases the two terms combining so as to form this 'figure' follow each other immediately.

When a woman of the people, visiting a zoological garden and watching the reactions of her little dog to its first acquaintance with a sea-lion exclaims, in Dutch, *het beest ziet een beest* "the animal sees an animal" she has recourse to a mode of expression which is wide-spread in many languages, viz. the repetition — either in immediate contact or in the same syntactic group — of a word in another syntactic function. In the Indonesian Sundanese *panon bayar panon* "eye pays eye" means "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth"; in Malay *orang membunuh orang* literally is "human being killing . . . h. b. ", i. e. "one h. b. who kills another h. b.", i. e. "a murderer"; in Javanese *ana titah sinatru pađa nin titah* "there are creatures who are regarded as enemies by creatures, i. e. by their fellow creatures" ²⁾. In translating: "one . . . the other", "each other" or "other" may often be added. Hence also the frequent use of these structures to express reciprocity: in Malay *berdampil-dampil seorang dengan seorang* means "they crowded up against each other". In Arabic a so-called 'etymologic figure' is a means of forming reciprocal constructions, e. g. *danā ba'duhum min ba'dan* "they drew near to each other"; *jakallama 'rrağulu 'rrağula* "a man may speak with a man (with another man)" ³⁾. That polyptoton was a popular device may also appear from proverbs and standing phrases comparable to the Engl. *like attracts like*, *good finds good* or the Dutch *ons kent ons*, lit. "us knows us": Mřech. 1, 32+ "it is indeed well said: 'a gem is united with a gem' ": *ratnaṃ ratnena saṃgacchatu*; cf. also Mbh. 3, 52, 30.

In flectional languages this structure assumes the character of a polyptoton proper. As already observed by Wackernagel ⁴⁾ it was also in I. E. languages an ancient and widespread means of expressing reciprocity between two species of the same genus (the Latin *manus manum lavat*)

¹⁾ The term, occurring for instance in the *Περὶ ῥητορικῆς* by the rhetor Hermogenes, 1, 12 was also used by Quintilianus, in his *Institutiones*, 9, 3, 37.

²⁾ Other examples: B. J. Bijleveld, *Herhalingsfiguren in het Maleis, Javaans en Soendanees*, Thesis Utrecht 1943, p. 91 ff.

³⁾ See H. Reckendorf, *Die syntaktischen Verhältnisse des Arabischen*, Leiden 1898, p. 399; *Arabische Syntax*, Heidelberg 1921, p. 161.

⁴⁾ Wackernagel, *Vorlesungen über Syntax* ² II, p. 97.

and the idea conveyed by the German phrase "ein anderer einen anderen": Homer, *O* 328 ἀνὴρ ἔλεν ἄνδρα "man slew man"; *Δ* 472; *Δ* 150; Hes. *Op.* 23 ff. ζήλοϊ δέ τε γείτονα γείτων . . . καὶ κεραμεὺς κεραμεὶ κοτέει καὶ τέκτωνι τέκτων . . . ; Verg. *Aen.* 11, 632 *legitque virum vir* and *manus manum lavat*; *ibid.* 10, 734 *obvius adversoque occurrit seque viro vir* / *contulit* etc.⁵⁾; in the *Edda*: *Hávamál* 57 *brandr af brandi brenn . . . funi kveykiz af funa*. Other functions fulfilled by these constructions are the expression of a certain pathetic emphasis, of emphasis in general, of insistence and unambiguousness. Especially proper to emotional speech these characteristics are the more evident if paronomasia combines with phenomena of a similar expressive value. Cf. e. g. Plautus, *Poen.* 1216 *bonus bonis bene feceris*. If these figures occur isolated they often create the impression of archaic and dignified diction⁶⁾.

The above examples could create the impression that the repeated noun is almost always in the accusative. However, other case-forms occur also: *B* 363 ὥς φρήτηρ φρήτηρφιν ἀρήγη, φῶλα δὲ φύλοισ; *Δ* 547 ὀλλίγον γόνυ γοννὸς ἀμείβων; *N* 130 f.; *II* 215. Plaut. *Pers.* 770 *do hanc tibi florentem florenti*; *Poen.* 1252 *ne indigna indignis di darent*; Caec. 264 *R. homo homini deus est*; Lucr. 3, 71 *caedem caede accumulare*; Liv. 7, 4, 7 *malum malo augere*; Plin. *H. N.* 2, 37 *sedem ex sede mutare*. Compare also, in German, *Mann gegen Mann, Mann an Mann, von Hand zu Hand, Seite für Seite, Auge in Auge*.

The very cumulation of instances (cf. Hes. *Op.* 23 ff.; *B* 363; *Δ* 150 f.) shows that the possibilities inherent in this procedure were much appreciated by the ancient poets: it helped them in composing well balanced and sonorous, coherent and picturesque lines.

Sanskrit examples are: with the accusative: *RV.* 1, 132, 2 *bhadṛā bhadrasya rātayah*; 2, 12, 1 *yo jāta eva . . . devo devān kratunā paryabhūṣat*; in this rather long clause, which fills up the hemistich, it is evident that the two forms of the same noun attract each other with the result that a clearly audible sound repetition is produced at the beginning of a pāda; the order of the words is however not unnatural; *devān* might be translated by "the other gods"; 2, 22, 1; *RV.* 2, 35, 3 *tam ū śucim śucayo didi-vāmsam / apām napātām pari tasthur āpaḥ* "him the pure, the shining Son of Waters, the pure waters stand around" (Macdonell⁷⁾): the nominative *śucayaḥ* is separated from *āpaḥ* to which it belongs, drawing to *śucim*; although in these word groups the nominative as a rule precedes⁸⁾, it is, also in Greek verses, sometimes placed after the oblique case: *Δ* 351

⁵⁾ Cf. also G. Landgraf, Substantivische Parataxen, *Archiv für lat. Lex.* 5, p. 161 ff. (a systematic account of the possibilities realized in Latin); M. Johannessohn, *Nachr. Gött. Ges. Wiss.* 1925 Beiheft, p. 374 ff.; (Leumann-)Hofmann, o.c., p. 471 f.

⁶⁾ Compare the description of the relative phenomena in Latin by H. Hafter, *Untersuchungen zur altlat. Dichtersprache*, Thesis Freiburg i. Br. 1934, p. 14 f.

⁷⁾ A. A. Macdonell, *A Vedic reader for students*, Oxford 1928, p. 69.

⁸⁾ Wackernagel is mistaken in holding this to be an absolute rule: o.c., II, p. 194 (if, at least, I do not misunderstand him).

πλάγχθη δ' ἀπὸ χαλκῶφι χαλκός. RV. 6, 75, 14 in an alliterative pāda *pumān pumāṃsam pari pātu viśvataḥ*; one might, if so minded, in cases like this, translate: "one man . . . the other man": AV. 12, 3, 1 *pumān pumso 'dhi tiṣṭha*; 4, 1, 4c *mahān mahi*; 4, 34, 2 (hyperbaton); 5, 12, 1; 7, 5, 3; 1, 9, 1. RV. 3, 4, 1 *sakhā sakhin*; 7, 18, 6 *sakhā sakhāyam* (cf. Kāl. R. 6, 82) show the suitability of these combinations for expressing reciprocity or for certain mutual relations; cf. also 7, 18, 12.

Similarity in function or character is emphasized by juxtapositions such as RV. 2, 5, 7 *svaḥ svāya dhāyase kṛṇutām ṛtvig ṛtvijam* "he (Agni) shall, to his own satisfaction, as a priest, appoint the priest" (two instances in the same line); 2, 11, 10 *amānuṣaṃ yan manuṣo nijūrvāt*. Cf. also 7, 1, 14; KS. 35, 11; PB. 9, 9, 10 etc. *indur indum avāgāt* i. e. "one drop has gone down on the other"; JB. 2, 222 *divyā vai vrātyā vrātyām adhāvayan* (e conject.); reciprocity is emphasized JUB. 1, 56, 1 *sa ūrmir ūrmim askandat* "one wave mounted (the other) wave"; Mbh. 3, 63, 22 *īpsitām īpsito nātha kiṃ mām na pratibhāṣase?*

With case-forms other than the accusative: RV. 1, 1, 5 *agnir . . . / devo devebhir ā gamāt*: here Macdonell⁹⁾ seems to be incorrect in saying that the juxtaposition expresses a contrast; in fact, it emphasizes that the god who is the thema of this hymn comes together with his fellow-gods, with the other gods; 1, 12, 6 *agnināgniḥ sam idhyate* "Agni is inflamed by means of Agni" emphasizes identity; 2, 5, 4 *sākaṃ hi śucinā śuciḥ / praśāstā kratunājani* "with pure mind the pure one was born as praśāstar" (identity of attribute); 3, 4, 8; 7, 3, 1; 1, 7, 4 *ugra ugrābhir ūtibhiḥ* "als Gewaltiger mit gewaltigen Hilfen". AV. 3, 5, 8 *sayonir viro vireṇa mayā* "a hero, from the same womb with me a hero" (i. e. "with me who also am a hero") focusses the hearer's attention on the similarity of the amulet which is addressed, and the person speaking; notice the hyperbaton; AV. 6, 112, 2 */ trayas tribhir utsitā yebhir āsan*: again the marked tendency to place forms of the same stem side by side—sonorous combinations counting for much with these poets and their audience—, but also a desire to be clear¹⁰⁾; JB. 2, 305 *sa u prajñātena devatīrthenārīṣṭenārīṣṭa udrcaṃ gamiṣyāmīti*; Manu 3, 210. This construction is often used in argumentations: AiB. 8, 6, 2 *kṣatreṇaiva tat kṣatram samardhayati*; 6, 36, 2; combining with other derivatives of the same root: AiB. 2, 17, 4 *prajāpatim eva tat prajāyamānam prajāyā . . . anuprajāyate prajātyai*, a natural consequence of the stylistic habits of these authors, no jingle! Words which are not intimately connected from the syntactic point of view may also be juxtaposed: RV. 7, 32, 7 *maghavan maghonām*; RV. 1, 68, 2. With an ablative AV. 3, 6, 1 *pumān pumṣaḥ parijātaḥ* "the male born out of the male". The phrase AV. 3, 18, 4 *adharā sādharābhyah* "she is lower than these who are low" is an instance of 'Ausdrucksverstärkung', indicating a very

⁹⁾ Macdonell, o.c., p. 7.

¹⁰⁾ Cf., in Latin, in a judgment attributed to the 'people' (Schol.-Iuven. 5, 3) *digna dignis*. — On this sūkta see M. Bloomfield, Am. J. Phil. 17, p. 430 ff.

high degree which is dealt with elsewhere ¹¹); cf. also BhG. 8, 20 *avyakto 'vyaktāt*.

A genitive and a nominative: Manu 3, 49 *pumān pumso 'dhike śukre* (hyperbaton); notice, here again, the tendency to place the polyptoton at the beginning of a metrical unit. An interesting instance of 'Steigerung' is Rām. 2, 44, 15 *sūryasyāpi bhavet sūryo hy agner agniḥ prabhoḥ prabhuh / śriyāḥ śriḥ* . . . Other combinations are: AV. 3, 29, 7 etc. *kāmaḥ kāmā-yādāt*: reciprocity, compare the next words: *kāmo dātā k. pratigrahītā*; 6, 117, 2 *jīvā jīvebhyah*; 7, 51, 1 is a fine example of a polyptotic word group acting as an apposition: *indrah . . . / sakhā sakhibhyo variyāḥ kṛnotu* (reciprocity). AV. 4, 8, 1 *bhūto bhūteṣu paya ā dadhāti*; 39, 9 / *agnāv agniś carati praviṣṭaḥ* (hyperbaton); 5, 27, 2; 6, 136, 1; AiB. 3, 12, 1 *chandaś chandasi pratiṣṭhāpyam*; Manu 2, 158 *yathā gaur gavi cāphalā*; JUB. 2, 3, 4 *yo ha vai yajñe yajñam veda . . .*; BhG. 3, 28; Mbh. 1, 38, 15 *sanāmāyām sanāmā sa kanyāyām*. Not uncommon is the juxtaposition of nominative and dative: RV. 1, 1, 5 *devo devebhir ā gamat* "... the god come with the gods"; 2, 5, 1 *pitā pitṛbhya ūtaye*; more than once in comparisons: RV. 8, 48, 4 *sakheva sakhye* "like a friend to his friend" (presupposing a relation of reciprocity and emphasizing similarity and concordance). Acc. and dat.: TS. 3, 5, 8, 1 *prajāpataye tvā jyotiṣmate jyo-tiṣmantam gṛhṇāmi*.

Sometimes the vocative is involved in this juxtaposition: AV. 3, 18, 4 *uttarāham uttara / uttared uttarābhyah* "superior (am) I, O s. one; s. to those who are s."; 4, 6, 6 *dhanuṣ te arasārasam* "your bow, O powerless one, is powerless" (conformity: you are powerless too, with an 'anticipatory' vocative); RV. 1, 58, 9; 7, 32, 7 (see above); 6, 6, 3; TĀ. 4, 28, 1 *mṛtyo mṛtyunā samvadasva*. Voc. and acc.: RV. 4, 51, 4 *revatī revad ūṣa* "ye wealthy ones have shone wealth" (cf. 10, 35, 4); 2, 11, 18 *dhiṣvā śavaḥ śūra* "put on heroism, O hero"; 2, 30, 10 *asmākebhiḥ satvabhiḥ śūra śuraiḥ*; 3, 4, 1; with a remarkable order of words: 3, 6, 6 *athā vaha devān deva viśvān*; 7, 1, 11 *prajāvatīṣu duryāsu durya*; AV. 6, 138, 3 *klība klībam tvākaram* "impotent one, I have made you i."; in 1 and 2 a potent herb is invoked to make a man impotent, in 3 this process is viewed as having been accomplished, and the victim is addressed as "impotent one"; in the next pāda the parallel utterance *vadhre vadhriṃ tvākaram*. Abl. and acc.: JB. 2, 307 *saptadaśāt saptadaśam, annād annam*; ChU. 6, 10, 1 *tāḥ samudrāt samudram evāpiyanti* "they go just from sea to sea"; 14, 2 *sa grāmād grāmam prcchan* "asking. (his way) from village to village". Cf. also BārU. 4, 4, 19; 5, 1, 1. An interesting place is AiB. 3, 7, 11 *śriya evainam tac chriyām ādadhāti*, where *śriya* may be an abl. (dat. *Sāyaṇa*). This juxtaposition of an instr. and an acc. is not infrequent: RV. 10, 90, 16 this combination is even followed by a related verb: *yajñena yajñam ayajanta devāḥ* "with the sacrifice the gods sacrificed to the sacrifice",

¹¹) See chapter XI.

an utterance possible under special circumstances; AV. 3, 8, 6 (= 6, 94, 2) *aham gṛbhṇāmi manasā manāṃsi* "I seize (your) minds with (my) mind", emphasizing congruence and conformity, the next line running as follows *mama cittam anu cittebhir eta* "come after my mind with (your) minds". "Ici encore, dans (RV.) 1, 53, 7, l'emploi crée une sorte de redondance gratuite, *yudhā yudham upa ghed eṣi . . . purā puram sam idaṃ haṃsi* "tu t'avances vers le combat par le combat (ou: combat après combat), tu démolis forteresse après forteresse" " 12). In prose: BārU. 6, 4, 21 *mukhena mukham saṃdhāya* "after having joined mouth to mouth" (reciprocity). In a stereotyped form: *ātmānam ātmanā*, e. g. Mbh. 1, 158, 30 *tārāyāt-mānam ātmanā* "help yourself" 13). The noun in the acc. is an adjective: JB. 2, 159 *āsarīreṇāśarīrām svadhām avaruṇadhāmahai* "by the incorporeal we will gain the i. s."

Other combinations are RV. 10, 10, 12 *na vā u te tanvā tanvaṃ sam paṛcyām*; AV. 4, 1, 3 *brahma brahmaṇa ujjabhāra madhyāt*, where the gen. depending on *madhyāt* draws near to the acc.; 4, 12, 2 *tat . . . saṃ dadhat paruṣā paruḥ* i. e. "put that together, joint with joint"; 4 *majjā majjā . . . carmanā carma . . . māṃsaṃ māṃsena*: a significant accumulation in a stanza used to join broken limbs together; 6, 49, 2 (two instances); 87, 3 *dhruvaṃ dhruveṇa haviṣā*; 104, 1; 117, 2; 7, 40, 2. RV. 1, 4, 7 *em āsum āsave bhara* "bring the swift one to the swift"; 8 *prāvo vājeṣu vājīnam* (notice the assonant *prāvaḥ*) "thou assistest the winner of *vāja*- (vigour and victorious power) in the contests (for vigour)"; cf. 9; 3, 10, 7 *devān devayate yaja*; 2, 24, 15 *vireṣu virām upa prīdhi*; 2, 25, 1 *jātena jātam ati sa pra sarsṛte*; 3, 6, 5 *vratā te agne mahato mahāni*: the god is great and his ordinances are great: this double thought is expressed in a single sentence the word order of which while being normal involves paronomasia. A combination of two pronominal forms AV. 5, 14, 6 *tām u tasmai nayāmasi* 14).

We further find in Vedic prose: AiB. 3, 9, 1 *tam praiṣaiḥ praiṣam aichan*; 1, 16, 23 (cf. 25; 27) *eṣa ha vā asya svo yonir yad agnir agner* (reflexive idea); Gobh. 3, 5, 27 f. *nādrṣtaṃ drṣtato bruvīta, nāsrutaṃ śrutataḥ* "one should not speak of what one has not seen as if one had seen it . . ."; in a technical argument, not avoiding repetition: ŚB. 3, 2, 2, 7 *tad yajñe-naivaitad yajñam saṃbhṛtya yajñe yajñam pratiṣṭhāpayāti, yajñena yajñam saṃtanoti*. Cf. also Manu 2, 105 *guror gurau saṃnihite* "if his teacher's is near" can hardly be expressed otherwise; an oft-recurring mantra is RV. 1, 164, 16d, cf. AV. 2, 1, 2d etc. *yas tā vijānāt sa pituṣ pitāsat* "who knows these, will be the father of the father". Other examples are: Manu 3, 107 *uttameṣūttamaṃ kuryād | dhīne hīnaṃ same samam*; Mbh. 14, 42, 63 *mano manasi saṃdhāya*. Epic instances of polyptoton in general are far from rare; cf. e. g. Mbh. 5, 134, 31 *dinād dinam*; 7, 2, 7; 18; 26; 37; 3,

12) Renou, *Études védiques et pāṇinéennes*, I, p. 61.

13) See Speyer, *Sanskrit Syntax*, p. 199.

14) Cf. Wackernagel's observation on K 225 *πρὸ δ τοῦ ἐνόντες*.

7; 9, 31; 10, 9 etc. etc. Attention may also be drawn to the type Mbh. 7, 5, 8 *āhaveṣv āhavaśreṣṭha*; 10, 50 *taruṇas taruṇaprajñah*; 8, 32 *kṛtvā karma suduṣkaram*; 5, 7.

In the works of the classical poets this juxtaposition—often accompanied by hyperbaton resulting from a conflict between 'syntactic' and 'stylistic' precedence—is not absent: cf. e. g. Kāl. R. 6, 82 *tathāgatāyām parihāsapūrvam | sakhyām sakhi vetrabhrd ābabhāse*, where *p.* though belonging to *ā.* forces its way into the abs. loc. Part of the instances are, by the theorists, dealt with under the general heading *yamaka* or repetition of syllable groups¹⁵).

There exist interesting examples of complicated polyptoton: in Greek, A 267 *καρτίστοι μὲν ἴσαν καὶ καρτίστοις ἐμάχοντο*. Such mantras as MS. 4, 9, 6: 127, 2 *pitāsi pitā no bodhiṣimahi tvā*; RV. 9, 94, 4 *śriye jātah śriya ā nir iyāya* are however of a different type, the repeated words being in the same case form. The mantra VS. 19, 9 *manyur asi manyum mayi dhehi* represents an instance of anaphora.

Word groups are sometimes repeated in another case form: ChU. 8, 9, 1 *śarīre sādhu alamkṛte sādhu alamkṛto bhavati*.

Accumulation of polyptotic repetition is not always due to artificiality: Manu 2, 72 *savyaḥ savyaḥ spraṣṭavyo | dakṣiṇena ca dakṣiṇaḥ*. Cf. also Plaut. Pseud. 1142 *quia tute ipsus ipsum praesens praesentem vides* (emphasis). This is not to contend that such comparatively rare stanzas as RV. 8, 43, 14 were usual in normal speech: *tvam hy agne agnīnā | vipro vipreṇa san satā | sakhā sakhyā samidhyase*.

In other cases—which in the metrical texts seem to constitute a minority—the two case-forms do not follow each other immediately: AV. 3, 15, 5b (= 6b) *| dhanena devā dhanam icchamānaḥ*, but compare HGS. 1, 15, 1b *devā dhanena dhanam i.*, where the *a* pāda—in AV. *yena dhanena prapaṇam carāmi*—does not contain *dhana-*: *yad vo devāḥ p. c.*; the word order in *b* seems to have been conditioned by *a*; 4, 14, 9 *śṛtam ajaṃ śṛtayā prorūhi tvacā*; 5, 28, 1 *nava prāṇān navabhiḥ saṃ mimite*; 5, 13, 4 *cakṣuṣā te cakṣur hanmi | viṣeṇa hanmi te viṣam* where those ideas which arouse emotion are thrown into relief; 28, 1; 6, 118, 2; ŚB. 3, 1, 3, 12 . . . *cakṣuṣy evaitac cakṣur dadhāti*.

Polyptoton and other kinds of repetition may combine so as to form stanzas such as RV. 6, 44, 19 f. *ā tvā harayo vṛṣaṇo yujānā vṛṣarathāso vṛsaraśmayo 'tyāḥ | asmatrāṇco vṛṣaṇo vajravāho vṛṣṇe madāya suyojo vahantu || ā te vṛṣan vṛṣaṇo droṇam asthuḥ* . . . Compare also the oft-repeated use of *hari-* "fawn-coloured" in various case-forms, compounds and derivatives in RV. 10, 96: "das Lied ist eine . . . Spielerei mit *hari-* und verwandten Wörtern, unter die der Dichter auch das Verb *hary-* nebst

¹⁵) "Kālidāsa . . . n'attachait pas d'importance à des procédés de ce genre. La seule partie de son oeuvre où il semble avoir consciemment employé le *yamaka*, est le chant IX du Raghuvamśa . . ." (Diwekar, Fleurs de rhétorique, p. 94).

Ableitungen mischt" ¹⁶⁾; the frequent occurrence of this term was however also evocative or otherwise effective from a magico-religious point of view.

Cases such as AV. 5, 28, 2 *artavā rtubhiḥ* are discussed in the chapter on paronomasia. Sometimes a case-form is repeated with some variation, which is made possible by the existence of variants: 9, 86, 1 *madāḥ*: 2 *madāsaḥ*; although this phenomenon cannot be put on a par with the above instances of polyptoton, it is worth mentioning, the more so as there are similar repetitions of verbal forms: RV. 9, 97, 29 *asṛgran*: 30 *asasṛgram* ¹⁷⁾.

¹⁶⁾ Geldner, *Der Rig-Veda übersetzt*, III, p. 303; see also Renou, *Études védiques et pāṇinéennes*, I, p. 59 ("contiguïté relative").

¹⁷⁾ See also Renou, *o.c.*, I, p. 60.

EXPLICATIVE CONDUPLICATION

In attempting to trace the influence of 'successive thinking' on syntax and stylistics we should discuss also a subject, which hitherto has been somewhat neglected, viz. reinforced repetition or explicative conduplication¹). The emotional character of this very frequent mode of expression is in many cases beyond any doubt. In exclamations a statement or opinion may be repeated so as to increase, in the 'reprise', by a modification or qualification: Shaw, *The Philand.* act 2 (Const. 7) p. 112 *clever man! monstrously clever man!*; Misall. (C. 13) p. 134 *thats an idea! thats a new idea!*; Flaubert, *M. Bov.* (Oeuvr. compl. 8) p. 132 *vous vous faites tort! v. v. f. grand t.*; Duhamel, *Not. de Havre*, p. 26 *quelle vengeance! quel raffinement de v.!*; Cécile p. n. p. 23 *attends, attends un peu, Laurent*; Conf. de min. (M. de Fr.) p. 67 *j'étais si bon, ce jour-là! Dieu! que j'étais pitoyable et bon, ce jour-là!*; from conversations in Dutch: *'t is me een gekkehuis, eenvoudig een gekkehuis; wat nou?, wat krijgen we nou?; zeg het, toe zeg het nou; (annoyed and astonished) en dan dat roken, dat idiote roken altijd!*

The first exclamation may be short and snappy, a mere repetition would be less emphatic, but an addition compensates for this: *ontzettend! gewoonweg ontzettend!*; Duhamel, Cécile p. n. p. 165 (interruption, impatiently) *je sais, je sais tout cela*; cf. also id., *La nuit de St. Jean* 68 *Je ne sais pas. Je ne sais vraiment pas.* The addition may exceed the original exclamation in length: being "overwhelmed" one might exclaim: Shaw, *G. marr.* ch. 12 (p. 302) *great heavens, no! a thousand times, no!* Generally speaking, a marked preference for short asyndetically coordinated sentences combines with a tendency to repeat and enlarge the schema chosen for the first utterance and to avoid long units and complex and synthetic clauses.²). Noteworthy are also the many other emotional occurrences such as: Goethe, *Egmont* a. 5 *seit wann ist E. denn allein, so ganz allein in dieser Welt*; Duhamel, Cécile p. n. p. 55 *je ne me mettrai en colère, devant vous, qu'une fois. Une seule fois!*; ibid. 79 *Seigneur! je suis entêtée! je suis affreusement entêtée!*; Shaw, *Love* a. the art. (Const. 3), p. 114 *girls are going to the devil ... Herbert, going to the very devil.* Or it is indicative of insistence: Duhamel, *Comb. c. l. ombres*, p. 186 *pardonnez-moi, Jacqueline, chère Jacqueline*; Gorter, *Mei*: *weet iemand wat op aard het*

¹) (Leumann-)Hofmann, *Lat. Gramm.*, p. 834; Geminatio mit wachsenden Gliedern, Hofmann, *Indogerm. Jahrbuch* 12, p. 182. Another term might be: explicative epiphoric repetition. See also Havers, *Handbuch*, p. 43 f.

²) Cf. also G. S. Overdiep, *Stilistische grammatica van het moderne Nederlandsch*, Zwolle 1937, p. 107.

schoonste is, het allerschoonste; emphatically: Shaw, Cand. (Const. 8), p. 99 *you are making a fool of yourself, a very great fool of yourself*; in some way or other emotion seems in these instances to have been mixed up with reflection: the speaker dwells on a thought, a sentiment continues.

This sort of repetition seems also to be much favoured in non-emotional cries, especially in street cries etc.: a Dutch boy selling bread in a railway-station: *broodjes, dames en heren, amandelbroodjes!*; from ancient London street cries (Gibbons-Cobb): *new mussels, new lilywhite mussels*; *ripe damsons, fine ripe damsons* etc.; from a Dutch children's rhyme recited in playing catchball: *wie heeft die bal, die mooie bal?*; (man selling refreshments in railway-station) *koffie, warme koffie*. Likewise in popular songs and tunes: (in Dutch) *in het bos, in het bos, in het groene groene bos*.

In other cases, however, the person speaking does not, in the first unit, pronounce his opinion completely; he allows himself a moment's reflection before he ventures to add a qualification or further particulars; or he has to subdue hesitation, reluctance, mental laziness; he does not yet know exactly how to characterize an idea, he wishes to dwell on it in a non-committal manner, or to wait for the reactions of the interlocutor: from a written speech of a Dutch professor: . . . *het volk dat zijn vrijheid, zijn geestelijke vrijheid moge beschermd vinden*; Huxley, Point c. p. (Alb.), p. 345 *but there had always been barriers between them, barriers of his erecting*; Duhamel, Cécile p. n. p. 272 *mon petit S. est malade, peut-être même très malade*; cf. also Hildebrandt, Cam. Obsc., . . . *Kees het geld, onder ze hemmetje het-ie geld*; Cyr. Buysse, Tantes, p. 54 *ge moet het weten, ge moet het zelf maar weten* (with disapproval, speaking more slowly)³. Or the speaker changing his mind, is more guarded in his statements: Duhamel, Comb. c. l. ombres, p. 193 *si je renonce, s. j. r. maintenant* . . . Duhamel, Cécile p. n. 78 (praying) *Seigneur, je ne suis pas malheureuse. Je ne suis pas encore malheureuse*. A rectification is expressed by: *hoe laat is het? : : half drie, goed half drie*.

Not rarely an interlocutor, whilst repeating the words of his partner inserts some such qualification, mostly—it would appear—in order to express his approval with some emphasis: (Dutch conversation) *'t is erg : : ja, 't is zeker erg*; *jammer hè : : ja, verdomd jammer*; cf. also Cyr. Buysse, Tantes, p. 48 *'t is nogal goed weer, niet waar? : : heel goed, heel goed, beaamden ze in koor*. The situation may lead us to make our intentions more clear, to explain the meaning of a question etc.: *please, give me that book : : ?* (there are many books) : : *that big book*. Making one's intentions more clear, in various *nuances*: sometimes the person speaking while reacting to an impression is not immediately able or willing to describe it exactly: Duhamel, Cécile p. n., p. 267 *elle entendit . . . un cri, un long*

³) Helga Eng, Abstrakte Begriffe im Sprechen und Denken des Kindes, Beiheft 8 Zs. f. angew. Psych. (Leipzig 1914) quotes, p. 18 f., examples from children's language: e.g. *habe manchmal was genäht — so 'ne Decke genäht für S. — kleine Decke — und denn sticke ich was drauf — Rosen drauf*.

cri d'enfant; C. Buysse, Ezelken (1925), p. 79 *de tafel stond gedekt, ongezellig — kaal gedekt met het strikt nodige*. This repetition may be suggestive, keeping the reader in suspense: (Dutch peasant woman) *hij is gek mevrouw, hij is compleet gek*; cf. also (peasant) *er zaten lui in de bus — die stadsbus hè — die hadden . . .*; or explicative: *ik heb eigenlijk een kastje nodig, een brievenkastje, om correspondentie op te bergen*.

In other situations the structures under discussion are descriptive, retardative, enabling the hearer or reader to take in all details; often in a quietly narrative style: A. Coolen, Peelw. (1950), p. 166 *haar handen liggen op het tafelblad, haar magere handen*; E. Claes, Herm. Coene, p. 60 *in de kamer is het stil, heel stil*. Sometimes the addition is rather ponderous: C. Buysse, Ezelken (1925), p. 81 *van beschuldigde werd hij beschuldiger, hardnekkige, bitter-verwoede, hartstochtelijk-dreigende beschuldiger*; in an argumentation, or in an attempt to convince the interlocutor: Duhamel, Cécile p. n. p. 215 *ta vie a un but, et un but admirable*.

Even in scientific books this mode of expression is not entirely absent: A. Puttemans, *Censure dans les Pays-bas* (1935), p. 334 *mais des romans . . . il y en a peu, très peu*; Goldenweiser, *Anthropology*, p. 44 *the rules . . . all remain unknown, profoundly unknown*. Here the author whilst emphasizing a statement wants the reader to consider it well.

It remains to add that similar instances occur also in ancient and non-European languages. In Latin, Plautus provides us with many instances: MG. 324 *quid domi? : : domi hercle vero*. Cicero ⁴⁾ was, especially in his orations, not averse from these repetitions; cf. Inv. 1, 15 *peccasse et consulto peccasse*; in the course of time however he replaced them by the non-repetitional phrases with *et quidem, idque*, etc. Martialis 5, 44, 1: *quid factum est, rogo, quid repente factum est*. In an emotional passage in Aeschylus, Suppl. 863 βίᾱ βίᾱ τε πολλᾶ . . .; Arist. Ach. 322 οὐκ ἀκούσεσθ'; οὐκ ἀκούσεσθ' ἔτεόν, ὦ Ἀχαρνίδαι ⁵⁾. Also in Indonesian languages: in Banggai: *bai do tamano doo mapalis, mapalisene kona boïne* "but their father mourned, mourned for his wife" ⁶⁾; in the OJav. Bhomakāwya 4, 5 *raránonton-nonton wija-wijah, arampak paḍa rara* "girls looked on everywhere, everywhere groups of girls"; in Malay, Indra Bangsawan (VL.), p. 25 *ampun tuanku beribu-ribu ampun* "forgive me, Sir, (I crave) forgiveness a thousand times". Minangkabau, Si Rambun dj. (VL. 459), p. 18 "he was a man of (good) family, of royal family from generation to generation".

Turning now to the Veda we may refer to RV. 1, 133, 7 *sunvāno hi śmā*

⁴⁾ P. Parzinger, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Entwicklung des Cicero. Stils*, I, Programm Landshut 1911, p. 65 ff.

⁵⁾ "ἔτεόν . . . utuntur qui instantur et commoto animo rogant", J. v. Leeuwen, on Arist. Vesp. 8 (Leiden 1909).

⁶⁾ In studying these instances the structure of the language should of course be taken into account. What in one language is a question of stylistics, may in another idiom be a matter of syntax. See especially the present author's observation in the Bijdr. Taal-, Land-, Volk., 107, p. 187 f.

yajaty ava dviṣo / devānām ava dviṣaḥ "for the presser (of soma) removes, by means of his sacrifices, hostility, (viz.) the hostility of the gods". The repetition seems to be explicative in character; 9, 111, 3 *vajras ca yad bhavatho anapacyutā / samatsv anapacyutā*, an impressive final retardation at the end of the hymn "that Thou and (Thine) thunderbolt will be unwavering, in the battles unwavering"; cf. also 7, 62, 1 *kratvā kṛtaḥ sukṛtaḥ kartṛbhir bhūt* "mit Umsicht geschaffen ist er von den Schöpfern wohl-geschaffen" (Geldner): "the Sun was created, but not merely created: he was . . .". An interesting hemistich is R.V. 1, 138, 3 *ahelāmāna uruṣamsa sarī bhava / vāje-vāje sarī bhava*.

It is worth while to draw attention to some other instances of this kind of extended repetition which is not rare in the R̥gveda: 8, 46, 30 *gāvo na yūtham upa yanti vadhṛaya / upa mā yanti vadhṛayaḥ*. This procedure may become a structural principle of an entire sūkta: R.V. 1, 130; cf. e. g. 1 *havāmahe tvā vayam . . . / putrāso na pitaram vājasūtaye manhiṣṭham vājasūtaye*; 2 *pibā somam . . . koṣena siktam avatam na vaṃsagas tāṛṣāno na vaṃsagaḥ* "drink soma . . . like a bull, like a thirsty bull".

From the above examples it may appear that Diwekar⁷⁾ was not completely correct in believing that Vālmiki in forging verses of the type Rām. 5, 25, 22 *rāvaṇam bhaja bhartāram / bhartāram sarvarakṣasām* "semble avoir inventé une nouvelle forme de rime". The principle which is of wide distribution was no doubt ancient, the predilection for the immediate juxtaposition of the two identical substantives (śṛṅkhalāyamaka) appears to be due to a later development.

An instance of an adhortative repetition is R.V. 2, 11, 11 *pibā-pibed (= piba id)* "drink, do drink". In this connection mention should be made also of the type AV. 4, 12, 1 *rohaṇy asi rohaṇy asthnaś chinnaśya rohaṇī* "you are a means of healing, a m. of h., a m. of h. broken bone". See also AV. 6, 108, 3 *yām medhām ṛbhavo vidur / y. m. asurā v. / ṛṣayo bhadram m. y. v. / tām . . .* and 4, where two adjectives are added to *ṛṣayaḥ*: *y. ṛ. bhūtakṛto m. medhāvino v.* The same structure also appears in post-Vedic texts: Mār̥k.Pur. 82 (85), 7 *namo devyai mahādevyai*⁸⁾.

These examples are psychologically related to constructions such as occur e. g. R.V. 1, 24, 1 *kasya nūnam katamasyāṃptānām / manāmahe cāru devasya nāma*, which may be considered a kind of 'climax': "of which god, of whom among the immortals, do we now remember the dear name?"; 1, 24, 9 *śatam te rājan bhiṣajaḥ sahasram* "a hundred physicians, O king, are yours, a thousand", and the type 1, 32, 12 *ajāyo gā ajayaḥ śūra somam* "Thou conqueredst the cows, thou conqueredst, O hero, the soma"; 1, 127, 5 *yah sudarśataro divātarād aprūyuse divātarāt*.

R.V. 8, 47, 1 ff. a related kind of repetition occurs in a refrain: *anehaso va ūtayaḥ / svūtayo va ūtayaḥ*.

⁷⁾ Diwekar, Fleurs de rhétorique, p. 44.

⁸⁾ Cf. also A. Beth, Variatieverschijselen in het Oud-Indisch, Thesis Utrecht 1943, p. 108.

VARIOUS REPETITION

CONCATENATION

It is time now to consider a group of structures characterized by the repetition, in a following sentence, of one or more elements occurring in the preceding sentence. Bloomfield ¹⁾ at the time already observed that in the Atharvaveda 'concatenation' is a very common feature, e. g. 1, 23, 1 *idaṃ rajani rajaya kilāsaṃ palitaṃ ca yat* and 2 *kilāsaṃ ca palitaṃ ca nirato nāsayā prṣat*. The phenomenon is so frequent that, according to the same scholar, it—to a certain extent at least—even guarantees the order of stanzas in this saṃhitā. All three stanzas of 6, 42 and 6, 118 concatenate, "so that we may feel fairly sure that the Atharvāni composer placed them in this order, whatever may have been their pre-history". Now, this feature is not limited to the Atharvaveda and not even to ancient India. In the spoken and written traditions of a great variety of peoples, elements from a preceding unit—often the last elements of those that for some reason or other are the most important—are repeated in the succeeding unit, often at the beginning. Some quotations from anthropological and folkloristic literature may be adduced in illustration. From a recitation noted down at the Solomon islands ²⁾: *hoto-hoto pwe / hotopwe rekereke / reke tala ni' u' a / tala ni' u' a mwane / mwane nau holia . . .* "rattle gently / gently up and down / up and down, like a crab / like a crab, a male crab / a male crab which I bought . . ." To quiet a child a nurse sings: *toto piwaulo / p. asinga / a. mwela ulo / m.* etc. From the Indians in Mexico: "Er schmückt sich mit seiner Halskette, s. H. von Perlen . . . mit Halsketten aller Art schmückt er sich" ³⁾. From a war-song of the Apache Indians ⁴⁾: "remove from our heart the fear, the fear which does not come over us for the sake of ourselves . . ." From a Swiss folk-song ⁵⁾: *'s isch es Meiteli z' Solethurn / z' S. bim Ueli*. From the Netherlands ⁶⁾: *wel is het dan zo donker / zo donker in de nacht / dat gij niet en kont vinden . . .* From England (15th century) ⁷⁾: *Adam lay ibowndyn / bowndyn in a bond, / fowre thousand*

¹⁾ Bloomfield, The Atharva-veda and the Gopatha-brahmana, p. 43.

²⁾ W. G. Ivens, Melanesians of the S.-E. Solomon Islands, London 1927, p. 106 f.; see also p. 103; 108. Some bibliographical notes: F. M. Olbrechts, Ethnologie, Zutphen 1936, p. 273.

³⁾ Quoted from K. Th. Preuss, Die Nayarit-Expedition, Leipzig 1912, p. 70, n. 6.

⁴⁾ Quoted from Olbrechts, l.c.

⁵⁾ K. E. Reinle, Zur Metrik der schweizerischen Volks- und Kinderreime, Thesis Basel 1894, p. 58; cf. p. 70 etc.

⁶⁾ Hoffmann von Fallersleben, Niederl. Volkslieder, Hannover 1856, p. 173.

⁷⁾ Quoted by F. B. Gummere, The beginnings of poetry, 1901, p. 207.

wynter thout he not to long. / And al was for an appil, / an appil that he toke . . . From a Lithuanian war-song⁸⁾ . . . *te stovėju kareivėlei, plintas pasistatė // pl. p., kardais pasirėmė.*

It would be incorrect to consider this phenomenon with Bloomfield a "rhetorical device"⁹⁾, or with Olbrechts¹⁰⁾ of merely aesthetic and mnemonic importance. It has been observed¹¹⁾ that Plato, in telling a story likes to repeat, in a similar way, words used in a preceding unit: e. g. Pol. II 359 D f. *ιδόντα δὲ καὶ θαυμάσαστα καταβῆναι, καὶ ἰδεῖν ἄλλα τε δὴ μυθολογοῦσι θαυμαστά . . .* In this the great Greek author no doubt imitated the narrative style of the common people who like to have such resting-places and stepping-stones. A collection of the relevant facts in other works would bring to light also examples of emphatic initial resumption: Hes. Op. 352 *μὴ κακὰ κερδαίνειν κακὰ κέρδεα ἰσ' ἀάτησιν* as well as a certain predilection for repetition where a more modern style would likely avoid using the same word: A 689 f. *ὥς ἡμεῖς παῦροι κεκακωμένοι . . . ἤμεν. ἐλθὼν γὰρ ὃ' ἐκάκωσε . . .*; A 253; Ennius, Euh. fr. 11 *sepulchrum eius est in Creta in oppido Gnosso . . . inque sepulchro eius est inscriptum* (verbose popular narrative style). Emotional passages in poems will no doubt supply a large contingent under this or related headings: *alles ist still vor dir, du Naher, rings umher ist alles still* (Klopstock)¹²⁾.

Although, generally speaking, the trained writer and the schooled modern speaker will prefer other, and more concise, modes of expression to these literal repetitions, they may, under certain circumstances, prefer the latter. If the Dutch police let the criminals know that the "first blow is worth half-a-crown", that "it will be she who will hit that blow" the repetition of the phrase *de eerste slag* "the first blow" implies an emphatic warning which could not be expressed by a bloodless pronoun. Pronouns and other passepartout elements are by their very nature often lacking in vividness, concreteness, suggestiveness. In repeating the word "on the surface of the earth" the poet of the Nala episode evoked an image and an emotion in the mind of the hearer which would have failed to turn up if he had used the adverb *tatra*: Mbh. 3, 61, 5 f. *vaidarbhyā sahito rājā niśasāda mahitale // sa vai vivastro . . . damayantīyā saha śrāntaḥ suśvāpa dharaṇītale*. Another function deserves also particular mention: the recurrence of the same word in the following sentence may emphasize close connection, identity, parallelism, similarity of circumstances etc.: Aesch. Suppl. 176 *παῖδες φρονεῖν χρή . ξὺν φρονοῦντι δ' ἤκετε*; AV. 15, 14, 1 . . . *mārutam śardho bhūtvānvyacalan mano 'nnādam kṛtvā. manasān-nādenānnam atti ya evam veda* "the troop of the M., coming into being,

⁸⁾ See R. van der Meulen, *Die Naturvergleiche in den Liedern und Totenklagen der Litauer*, Thesis Leiden 1907, p. 11.

⁹⁾ Bloomfield, l.c.

¹⁰⁾ Olbrechts, o.c., p. 272 f.

¹¹⁾ E. Norden, *Agnostos Theos*, Berlin 1913, p. 369, n. 2.

¹²⁾ See also O. Behaghel, *Die deutsche Sprache*¹¹, Halle S. 1954, p. 83 f.

moved out after (him), making mind (their) food-eater; with m. as a f. does he eat who knows thus"; 16, 1, 10 *ariprā āpo; apa ripram asmat* "the waters are free from defilement; let them (carry) away from us d."; 16, 2, 2 (anaphorically)¹³). Elsewhere the repetition seems mainly to be a factor in achieving balance: AV. 16, 2, 6 *ṛṣinām prastaro 'si; namo 'stu daivāya prastarāya*; 15, 1, 5. Or a means of avoiding complex periods: Mbh. 14, 42, 4 *yad yasmāj jāyate bhūtaṃ tatra tat pravilīyate / liyante pratilomāni jāyante collarottaram*. There is on the other hand no denying that the many repetitions whether they concern complete words or word stems—*sa evam uktah, sa evam uktvā, sa tathety uktvā, tam ... pratyuvāca*¹⁴)—which are highly characteristic of many ancient Indian works—do not fail to render them, in places, monotonous.

It is clear that in inflecting languages these repetitions may appear in a great variety of outward forms: Mbh. 3, 68, 10 f. *sodhayāmāsa ... malam // sa malenāpakṛṣṭena ... vyarocata*; Rām. 3, 10, 12 *dharṣayanti sma ... rākṣasāḥ ... / rākṣasair dharṣitānām ca tāpasānām ...*; 4, 67, 4 f. *saṃstūyamāno hanumān vyavardhata ... // tasya saṃstūyamānasya ... rūpam āsit*; 6 f. *jṛmbhate // aśobhata mukhaṃ tasya jṛmbhamānasya*; 4, 36, 1 f. *saumitriḥ pratijagrāha tad vacaḥ // tasmin pratigrhīte tu vākye hariḡaṇeśvaraḥ / ...* "S. gave his assent; assent having been given the lord of the monkeys ..."; 37, 1 f. *vyasarjayat // visarjayitvā*; 16 f. *kṛtāñ-jalipuḥ 'bhavat / kṛtāñjalau sthite*; 4, 34, 3 f. *utpapāta hariḥreṣṭhaḥ ... // utpatantam anūtpetuḥ ... striyaḥ* "the monkey sprang to his feet ... after him who rose, the women rose"; 48, 22 *vicinvan ... sarvaṃ te girigahvaram / vicitam tu tataḥ sarvaṃ ...*

An extreme instance is ĪśaU., introd. st. (= BārU. 5, 1, 1) *pūrṇam adah, pūrṇam idam, pūrṇāt pūrṇam udacyate / pūrṇasya pūrṇam ādāya pūrṇam evāvaśiṣyate* "that is full, this is full; the full comes out of the full; taking the full from the full the full itself remains": a characterization of brahman which is not affected by the 'birth' of the universe; this feature in language enables the author to express, concisely and by means of one term the thought that brahman, being both transcendent and immanent, and the universe are not essentially different.

In order to illustrate the technique of the ancient Vedic poets in the matter of linking together the chains of their thoughts we may turn for a moment to some instances of catenary repetition in the R̥gveda. This phenomenon may extend to half-stanzas or even to larger parts of the composition, but as a rule the correspondence is not consistently sustained. 10, 162, 1cd: 2ab *amīvā yas te garbhaṃ durnāmā yonim āśaye // y. t. g. d. y. ā.* consists of a pair of identical pādas preceded by a pair of

¹³) See also Bijdr. Taal-, Land- en Volk., 107, p. 198 ff. For Latin cf. (Leumann-)Hofmann, Lat. Grammatik, p. 841; Hofmann, Lat. Umgangssprache, p. 96.

¹⁴) See the remark made by Oldenberg, Gesch. d. altind. Prosa, Berlin 1917, p. 71 in connection with the style of the prose episodes of the Mahābhārata.

pādas in which the same words are arranged in a different order. As in studying these cases of 'concatenation' it is advisable to consider the context, there is room for the observation that the verb of stanza 1 is in the imperative, that of stanza 2 in the aorist; the request formulated in 1 ab is described as an accomplished fact ('actual past') in 2 cd: "Agni must, together with my formula, repel the demon who tries to destroy your embryo //—him Agni, and my formula, have annihilated" ¹⁵); in 1 cd, 2 ab the identity of the demon, who for reasons of taboo is not called by his name but is referred to by the epithet *durnāmā* "having a bad name", is established, and this substitute for his name must occur in both formulas, i. e. in both stanzas, in order to be sure of destroying the right demon. The front position of *yaḥ* in 2 a is no doubt conditioned by the correlative *tam* which is to follow in 2 c. So any 'rhetorics' must be considered foreign to this passage. Of a similar structure is RV. 9, 67, 31 ab: 32 ab: the two final stanzas of a long hymn containing a kind of śravaṇaphala, indicating the results and rewards of a study of the contents of the ninth book have the first two pādas in common: *yaḥ pāvamānir adhyety | ṛṣibhiḥ sambhṛtaṁ rasam |* and *p. yo a. r. s. r.* In the following instance the same thought is repeated by means of synonyms: 1, 22, 5 ab: 6 ab *hiraṇyapāṇim ūlaye savitāram upa hṛaye | sa cettā devatā padam || apām napātam avase s. u. stuhi | tasya vratāni uśmasi*. Similarly, 1, 109, 7 ab: 8 ab. Compare also 5, 87, 8 ab: 9 ab; 8, 73, 14 ab: 15 ab, where the cd pādas constitute a refrain, recurring in the whole sūkta; 9, 3, 7 ab: 8 ab; 9, 67, 19 ab: 20 ab.

In the majority of cases this practice does not extend beyond the limits of a single pāda: RV. 1, 11, 6 d: 7 c *viduṣ te tasya kāraṇaḥ : v. t. t. medhirāḥ* parenthetical clauses stating that the poets (the wise) "know that (exploit of the god)": a case of varied repetition of the same thought in more or less emphatic or emotional speech. Cf. 3, 39, 1 c: 2 b; 9, 50, 4 a: 5 a. Repetition of a prayer at the end of a hymn leads to similarity in vocabulary and structure: RV. 1, 109, 7 f.: . . . *vajrabāhū | asmān indrāgnī avatam śacībhiḥ*: 8 . . . *vajrahastāsmān i. a. bhareṣu*. RV. 8, 17, 8 states the fact that Indra kills the enemies: *indro vrtrāṇi jighnate*; in 9 he is invoked to do so, i. e. to give evidence, on the occasion meant in the poem, of this ability: *vrtrāṇi vrtrahaṇ jahi*. In 1, 22, 16 ff. the poet enlarges upon Viṣṇu's most remarkable feat, his three strides: 15 . . . *yato viṣṇur vicakrame* . . . 16 *idaṁ v. v. c.* . . . 17 *trīṇi padā v. c. | viṣṇur* . . .; thus the poet concentrates his attention on various aspects of this very important deed, which itself is mentioned again and again. RV. 1, 24, 12 f. may be quoted to exemplify the explication of a passing reference to a particular event: 12 c *śunaḥśepo yam ahvad ṛbhitah | so asmān . . . mamoktu ||* 13 a *s. hy a. g.* . . . *| avaiṇaṁ rājā varuṇaḥ sasṛjyād |* . . . In RV. 1, 32, 1 cd three successive and closely allied feats of the god are briefly enumerated, in

¹⁵) Stanza 2 is an example of an anticipated 'fait accompli' as is often found in magic texts.

2 ab the poet resumes the first of these relating it at great length: 1, 32, 1c *ahann ahim*: 2a a. a. *parvate śisriyānaṃ / tvaṣṭāsmāi vajraṃ svaryam tatakṣa*. At times the thought expressed in the former occurrence is modified or developed in the latter: R̥V. 1, 73, 6 c *samatim bhikṣamāṇāḥ*: 7a *tve agne s. bh.*; 2, 14, 6 cd: 7 ab *yo varcināḥ śatam indraḥ sahasram / apā-vapad bharatā somam asmai || adhvaryavo yaḥ śatam ā sahasram / bhūmyā upasthe 'vapaj jaghanvān*; cf. also 3, 32, 9 f.; 6, 52, 5 f.; 7, 41, 4 f. Elsewhere however the former occurrence enters into detail, the latter refers only to the process itself: 7, 104, 4 a *indrāsomā vartayataṃ divo vadham / sam prthivyā aghaśaṃsāya tarhaṇam*: 5a i. v. *divas pari*.

This procedure may also serve to express a climax: 2, 18, 4 ff.: 4a *ā dvābhyāṃ haribhyāṃ indra yāhi* / . . . ; 5a *ā viṃśatyā triṃśatā yāhy arvān* / . . . ; 6 *āśītyā navatyā yāhy arvān* / . . . Elsewhere two incompatible thoughts are, at short distance, formulated by means of the same words: 4, 17, 6d: 7b *datre viśvā adhithā indra kṛṣṭiḥ || tvam adha prathanam jāya-māno* / 'me v. a. i. k.

A group of two vocatives are repeated at exactly the same place in two succeeding stanzas: 4, 37, 7a: 8a. A voc. and a nominal group: 5, 52, 13c: 14a; a voc. and an adj. 8, 59, 4c: 5c.

Turning now to other documents we see that in these also a large part of a sentence may be repeated: very evident examples such as ChU. 3, 15, 2 have been discussed in the sections dealing with parallelism, responsio, and anaphora: *sa ya etam evaṃ vāyuraṃ diśāṃ vatsaṃ veda, na putrarodaṃ roditi. so 'ham e. e. v. d. v. v., mā p. rudam*. Here attention may be drawn to Rām. 1, 45, 3 f. *kṣaṇabhūteva nau rātriḥ . . . / imāṃ cintayataḥ sarvāṃ . . . kathāṃ tava || tasya sā śarvarī sarvā mama . . . / jagāma cintayānasya . . . kathāṃ śubhāṃ*: the person speaking, deeply impressed by the story which he has heard expresses the same thought: "in thinking over your tale the night flew by" twice. The binary structures of the type BārU. 4, 5, 6—*na vā are sarvasya kāmāya sarvam priyam bhavati, ātmanas tu k. s. p. bh.*—have already been commented upon.

Two or three words may be repeated: R̥V. 3, 21, 1 f. *stokānām agne medaso ghṛtasya . . . prāśāna . . . || ghṛtavantaḥ pāvaka te stokā ścotanti medasaḥ . . .* "O Agni, do Thou taste the drops of fat, of ghee. The drops of fat, rich in ghee, O Agni, trickle for Thee".

In other cases a single word occurring in the previous sentence is repeated at the beginning of the following: R̥V. 2, 21, 2 f. . . *satrāsāhe nama indrāya vocata || satrāsāho janabhakṣaḥ . . .* Other examples of this procedure—to which, in Greek, might be compared ι 115 f.; Hes. Op. 213 f. *μηδ' ὄβριω ὀφελλε· ὄβρις γὰρ . . .*¹⁶)—are JB. 1, 139 *tasya trīṇy akṣarāṇi channāni gāyati*: *trayo vā ime lokāḥ*, and in a kind of chain: AiB. 3, 3, 1 *sapta devatāḥ śaṃsati, sapta vai śirṣan prāṇāḥ, śirṣann eva tat prāṇān dadhāti*; (similarly 3, 12, 1); ŚB. 3, 2, 1, 6; Manu 3, 109; BhG. 6, 33 f. *etasyāham na paśyāmi*

¹⁶) For Indonesian instances see Bijdr. Taal-, Land-, Volk., 107, p. 198 ff.

cañcālatvāt, sthitiṃ sthirām // *cañcalaṃ hi manaḥ* . . . Beside this more or less emphatic repetition subservient to the construction of the argument there are also instances of emotive resumption for magical purpose: AV. 2, 3, 1 *tat te kṛṇomi bheṣajam / subheṣajam yathāsasi*¹⁷). The same device often serves to denote continuation: Mbh. 14, 24, 8 *kāmāt saṃjāyate śukraṃ, śukrāt saṃjāyate rajaḥ*.

Special attention may be drawn to the repetition of the last term of a preceding sentence at the beginning of the next sentence. Manu 3, 65 f., in stating that those families which are deficient in the knowledge of Vedic mantras will perish but that those who are rich in it will be numbered among the great even if they possess little wealth, constructs the sentences expressing these thoughts in such a manner that the word groups "deficient in knowledge" and "rich in knowledge" follow each other chiasmatically: *kulāny āśu vinasyanti yāmi hīnāni mantrataḥ* // *mantratas tu saṃrddhāni kulāny alpadhanāny api*; in doing so he accentuates the contrast. The repetition is often in a different case form: AiB. 6, 2, 3 *aparimitābhir abhiṣṭuyād. aparimito vai prajāpatiḥ, prajāpater vā eṣā hotrā yad grāvastotrīyā, tasyāṃ sarve kāmā avarudhyante* "with an unlimited number should he praise; P. is unlimited. The hotar function of the g. is P.'s; in it one secures all desires"; 6, 20, 6 *pañcapadā pañktiḥ, pañktir vā annam*; 6, 20, 18. JB. 1, 85 *saṃtata iva svargo lokāḥ: svargasya lokasya saṃtatyā avyavacchedāya*, constructions typical of the style of the brāhmaṇas "extensive, so to say, is the heavenly world, for extensiveness, for continuity, of the h. w. (it is done)". One might also compare, in Vedic prose, such constructions as JB. 1, 153 *tān kaleyenaiva kāleyād akālayanta. yad akālayanta tat kāleyasya kāleyatvam. kālayate vai dviṣantam . . . ya evaṃ veda*. That this initial repetition was a suitable device for facilitating the transition to another point or topic may appear from Homer, *B* 535 f. . . . *οἱ ναῶνσι πένητες ἱερῆς Εὐβοίης. Οἱ δ' Εὐβοίαν ἔχον . . . Ἀβαντες*.

It may however also connect stanzas and provide, at the same time, speaker and hearer with a starting-point to begin a new stage of the communication. AV. 7, 81, 1 and 2 = 14, 1, 23 and 24 it reads: *ṛtūmr anyo vidadhaj jāyase navaḥ* // *navo navo bhavasi jāyāmanaḥ* ". . . thou, the other, disposing the seasons art born new. Ever new art thou, being born . . .". The same practice is, in the Vedic mantra collections, sometimes extended to larger units: AV. 6, 42, 1 f. *yathāsaṃmanasau bhūtṛvā sakhāyāv iva sacāvahai* // s. i. s. *ava manyuṃ tanomi te*¹⁸). Cf. also RV. 5, 85, 3 f. *yavaṃ na vṛṣṭir vy unatti bhūma* // *unatti bhūmīm pṛthivīm uta dyām*.

Sometimes the words constituting a short sentence are completely reiterated at the beginning of the following sentence: 6, 19, 11 *etāni vā āvapanāny. etair vā āvapanair devāḥ svargaṃ lokam ajayan* "these are the insertions. By means of these i. the gods conquered the world of heaven".

¹⁷) See Whitney-Lanman, o.c., p. 40.

¹⁸) See also M. Bloomfield, *Rig-veda repetitions*, Harvard 1916, p. 5.

Passing mention may be made of occurrences such as Mbh. 3, 74, 12 ... *tataḥ / tataḥ* ...

A special procedure, which cannot be disconnected from the tendency to repeat the idea expressed by the verb when a subject is described as joining in a process attributed to another subject may be illustrated by ChU. 4, 16, 3 (cf. 5) ... *evam asya yajño riṣyati, yajñam riṣyantam yaḥamāno 'nuriṣyati* " ... even so is his sacrifice injured; when the s. is injured, the sacrificer is injured also".

OCCURRENCE OF THE SAME WORD IN PRINCIPAL AND SUBORDINATE CLAUSES

A well-known procedure in Latin syntax is the repetition of the so-called antecedent in a relative clause: Lex agr. 4¹⁹) *quei ager publicus populi Romani in terra Italia ... fuit, extra eum agrum* ...; outside the inscriptions, the relative clause is mostly postponed: Ter. Heaut. 20 *habet bonorum exemplum, quo exemplo* ... This construction which was no doubt adopted for the sake of clearness was especially liked in archaic, popular, and technical (or rather: 'sonderssprachliches') usage.²⁰) Incidentally a poet of the classical period had recourse to it for achieving a special effect: Prop. 2, 1, 63 *qua cuspide vulnus senserat, hac ipsa cuspide sensit opem*. The same redundancy of expression is also found in the Avesta²¹), adding to the archaic and sacral solemnity of the passages in which it occurs: Y. 43, 5 f. *dāmōiš urvāēsē apamē yahmī urvāēsē ṣasō* lit. "at the last turning-point of creation, at which t.-p. Thou wilt come". Cf. also Yt. 10, 19. In Sanskrit instances of this repetition are—with the exception of some works and of some special constructions—not very numerous²²): RV. 1, 35, 11 *ye te panthāḥ ... antarikṣe / tebhīr no adya pathibhiḥ ... rakṣā ca naḥ* "thy paths in the atmosphere²³), on these paths do Thou (come) today and do Thou protect us" where it helps to avoid ambiguity, emphasizing the identity of the paths. RV. 7, 49, 2 is a particular case, because the postponed principal clause is a refrain, occurring in all four stanzas of the hymn: *yā āpo ... / tā āpo ...* (the hymn is dedicated to the waters). Cf. also RV. 9, 107, 1 and 7, 47, 4 *yāḥ* (viz. *apah*) ... *te sindhavaḥ*. Mbh.

¹⁹) Published: C. G. Bruns-O. Gradewitz, *Fontes iuris romani antiqui*⁷, Tübingen 1909, p. 74.

²⁰) For particulars see (Leumann-)Hofmann, *Lat. Gramm.*, p. 710; 717; *Lat. Umgangssprache*, p. 93; W. Kroll, *Glotta*, 3, p. 8 f.; W. Kalb, *Das Juristenlatein*², Nürnberg 1888, p. 42 f.; E. Löfstedt, *Philol. Komm. zur Peregrinatio Aetheriae*, Uppsala 1911, p. 80 ff.

²¹) See H. Reichelt, *Awestisches Elementarbuch*, Heidelberg 1909, p. 365 (§ 739).

²²) The phenomenon has not attracted much attention: cf. Delbrück, *Altind. Syntax*, p. 559; and 563 f., who incorrectly quotes RV. 3, 22, 2; Renou, *Gramm. védique*, p. 386; *Gramm. sanscrite*, p. 531; *Études véd. et pān.* I, p. 60 f.

²³) For the character of this so-called relative clause see *Lingua* 4, p. 9 ff.

14, 19, 34 *yasminn āvasathe vaset / tasminn āvasathe* . . . "in the selfsame . . . "; BhG. 10, 16 *divyā hy ātmavibhūṭayah, yābhir vibhūtibhir lokān imāṃs tvam vyāpya tiṣṭhasi*. In prose we find: ŚB. 1, 6, 2, 1 *imāṃ jitiṃ jiggyur yaiśām iyaṃ jitiḥ*; 3, 2, 2, 2; 1, 9, 1, 2; AiB. 2, 5, 9 *yām hy anyamanā vācam vadaty asuryā vai sa vāg adevajustā* "for the speech which one speaks with one's mind elsewhere is demoniacal and not acceptable to the gods"; the distance between *vācam* and *vāk* being comparatively great the insertion of the latter word may be due to an (unconscious) desire to be unambiguous. A special kind of repetition belongs to a category which is dealt with elsewhere²⁴): AiB. 1, 24, 3 *yām devā eṣu lokeṣu . . . vijitiṃ vyaḥjayanta, tām v. vi jayate ya evaṃ veda*. Repetition of the demonstrative pronoun *eta-* is not rare: AiB. 4, 7, 1 *tasyā etat sahasraṃ vahatum anvākarod yad etad āśvinam* "for her he made this thousand (of verses) the requisites for the nuptial ceremony which they call the ā."; 3, 34, 3 etc. In causal relative clauses a personal pronoun may follow *ya-*: Rām. 2, 44, 26 *nārhā tvam śocitum devī yasyās te rāghavaḥ sutaḥ*²⁵).

The repetition of the verb (in periods²⁶) such as BārU. 3, 8, 2; ChU. 6, 8, 2) being dealt with under another heading we now turn to a brief enumeration of other compound sentences worth mentioning. ChU. 5, 11, 5 the verb is epiphorically expressed twice: *yāvad ekaikasmā rtviḥ dhanam dāsyāmi, tāvad bhagavadbhyo dāsyāmi*: the idea of giving can, in the principal clause, hardly be left unexpressed, but here again the recurrence of the same word at a short distance is not shunned²⁷). The use of a 'synonym' would moreover have failed to mark the identity of the acts. BārU. 6, 1, 1 adjectives are repeated: *yo ha vai jyeṣṭham ca śreṣṭham ca veda, j-ś ca ś-ś ca svānām bhavati*; cf. 2 etc.

In the Vedic saṃhitās a great effect is sometimes obtained by the frequent use of the same word at short intervals, not only at the opening of lines, but also in different positions. In the nine stanzas constituting the hymn R.V. 3, 59, which is dedicated to Mitra, the name of the god occurs eight times at the beginning, and four times in the middle of a pāda; in 10, 14, being a funeral hymn concerned with death and the hereafter (sixteen stanzas) the name of Yama, the ruler of the deceased, is found sixteen times. In 10, 129 discussing the riddle of creation the interrogative pronoun is used nine times in two stanzas; in the six stanzas of 7, 63 the sun (Sūrya) is five times described as "rising": *ud eti*. Such stanzas as AV. 1, 34 *iyaṃ virun madhujātā / madhunā tvā khanāmasi / madhor adhi prajātāsi / sā no madhumatas krdhi* "this plant is honey-born,

²⁴) See chapter XII.

²⁵) See Speyer, Sanskrit Syntax, § 458 a, R; Ved. u. S. Syntax, § 273. Compare the German construction *wir . . . die wir* etc.

²⁶) Expressing a simile: cf. in Greek : 314; and also K 361: 364.

²⁷) For parallels in Latin see (Leumann-)Hofmann, Lat. Grammatik, p. 841; for the tendency of the Greeks to avoid repetition and their using it: J. D. Denniston, Greek prose style, Oxford 1952, p. 78 ff. But see also Homer, B 51 f.

with honey we dig you; from honey you are engendered; (so) make us possessed of honey", in which—as we have already observed in a former chapter—the repetition is magically suggestive, may be considered Vedic counterparts of the device, known to the Romans as *traductio*²⁸⁾, an Homeric instance of which is τ 204-208 in which the verb *τήκομαι* "to melt" is used five times at short intervals. The authors of the *brāhmaṇas* did not avoid repeating the same technical term in their expositions—cf. e. g. JB. 1, 160; AiB. 3, 11—partly because they had not learned to replace them by pronouns, partly because repetition suggests identity.

REPETITION IN THE SAME SENTENCE

Incidentally a word is repeated in the same sentence²⁹⁾. Very often this phenomenon is due to carelessness³⁰⁾, or also to a more or less conscious desire to draw the hearer's attention to this term, to give it special prominence. A remarkable instance is R.V. 1, 8, 4 *vayam śūrebhīr asṛbhīr / indra tvayā yujā vayam / sāśahyāma pṛtanyataḥ* "we wish, with valiant shooters, O Indra, with Thee as a companion, to overpower the assailants": while the pronoun, 'logically' superfluous often serves to convey an element of emotion, it has here no doubt the double function to lay, on the one hand stress on the desires and intentions of those speaking, and on the other hand on their alliance with the god. Hence the repetition. Cf. also R.V. 9, 97, 16 *adhī ṣṣunā dhanva sāno avye*, a pleonasm translated by Geldner "rinne oben auf dem Schafrücken"³¹⁾, and R.V. 9, 97, 50 *vastrā suvasanāni*. In the epos the double occurrence of an enclitic pronoun in the same sentence, which is not rare, may sometimes be due to reasons of versification, although emotion and emphasis have also something to do with it. Mbh. 3, 62, 25 *śrāntasya te kṣudhārtasya pariglānasya naiśadha / kaḥ śramam rājaśārdūla nāśayiṣyati te 'nagha* the repeated contact with the person addressed is in this highly pathetic passage only too natural. Ibid. 63, 24 the person speaking attempts to rouse the hearer's compassion: *yūthabhraṣṭām ivaikām mām harinīm . . . / na mānayasi mām*. Curiously enough other examples found in the Nala episod likewise concern such terms as are likely to convey emotion: Mbh. 3, 64, 63 *sāham . . . apaśyanti hṛdi priyam / na vindāmy amaraprakhyam priyam prāṇesvaram prabhum* (notice the alliteration which is also apt to turn up in pathetic passages): that he is here beloved is especially accentuated. Cf. also 62, 15 in some mss., crit. ed. otherwise).

The repetition of an imperative at a short interval seems to be a popular

²⁸⁾ See Auctor ad Herennium 4 (5), 20; cf. also Cic., De Or. 3, 206.

²⁹⁾ Cf. also F. Boas, Primitive art, Oslo 1927, p. 310.

³⁰⁾ For Latin see (Leumann-)Hofmann, Lat. Grammatik, p. 841.

³¹⁾ I have my doubts about the pleonastic character of R.V. 8, 1, 21 *madeneṣitam madam* assumed by Renou, Études véd. et pāṇ., I, p. 61.

means of expressing emphasis or insistence; as a rule this verb form after having in the usual way opened the utterance is added at the end: in Dutch colloquial *kom toch hier kind, kom toch*. A Prākṛit instance is AMāg. *sūtrakṛtāṅga* 2, 1, 6 *uppayāhi khaku bho paumavarapoṇḍariyā uppayāhi* "fly up, O you beautiful lotus, fly up"³²), a Sanskrit instance is e. g. Mṛcch. 10, 11+.

REPETITION OF AN ADJECTIVE

A procedure naturally resulting from the propensity for expressing oneself by means of binary structures consists in the repetition, in successive clauses or word groups, of the same adjective in connection with two different substantives: Hes. Op. 267 *πάντα ἰδὼν Διὸς ὀφθαλμὸς καὶ πάντα νοήσας*: it is difficult to say whether the English translation "the eye of Zeus, seeing all and understanding all" goes too far in the attempt to render the original text as exactly as possible for I for one am unable to escape the conviction that the repetition of the adjective is not only a result of the aversion to connecting two verb forms governing the same object, but is also subservient to emphatical purposes; 612 *δεῖξαι δ' ἡελίῳ δέκα τ' ἥματα καὶ δέκα νύκτας* and not infrequently with numerals in other works, e. g. B 489 *οὐδ' εἰ μοι δέκα μὲν γλώσσαι, δέκα δὲ στόματ' εἴεν*; AīB. 3, 4, 7 *atha yad enam dvābhyām bāhubhyām dvābhyām arañibhyām manthanti, dvau vā aśvinau . . .*; BārU. 3, 9, 26. Other examples are: BārU. 2, 1, 20 ("as small sparks come forth from fire, even so) *asmād ātmanah sarve prāṇāḥ, sarve lokāḥ, sarve devāḥ sarvāṇi bhūtāni vyuccaranti*; ChU. 5, 18, 1 *sa sarveṣu lokeṣu s. bhūteṣu s. ātmasv annam atti*; in the Avesta: Yt. 10, 66 *uyraça naire ham.varaitiš, uyramča kavaēm xvarənō, uyramča . . . uyrašca . . . uyrašca*, and 91 *frasnātaēibya zastaēibya frasnātaēibya hāva-naēibya* "with washed hands and mortars".

QUOTATIONS

It seems also worth noticing that one or more words occurring in a quotation are not rarely repeated in the text following it: AV. 15, 10, 4 f. *brhaspatim eva brahma praviśatv indram kṣatram tathā vā iti. ato vai b. e. b. praviśad i. k.* "let brahma enter B. (and) dominion I.; thus verily it was said. Thence verily b. entered B. (and) d. I."; 15, 3, 2 f.; ŚB. 3, 1, 2, 14 f.; ChU. 5, 11, 2 . . . *taṃ hantābhyāgacchāmeti. taṃ hābhyajagmuḥ* " . . . well let us go to him. Then they went over to him". Some R̥gvedic examples are: 1, 75, 3a : 4a *kas te jāmir janānām agne: tvam j. j. a.*; 1, 24, 1c : 2c *ko nō mahyā aditaye punar dāt | pitaram ca dṛṣeyam mātaram ca: sa nō m.*

³²) See A. M. Ghetage, in the New Indian Antiquary, 2, p. 47.

a. p. d. / p. c. d. m. c. (compare also the first hemistichs of these stanzas); 6, 27, 1 : 2 are made up entirely of a chain of questions and answers relating some exploits of the god Indra: *kim vasya pītau ... || sad a. m. sad v. a. p. ...*; 10, 82, 5cd : 6ab *kaṁ svid garbham prathamam dadhra āpo | yatra devāḥ samapaśyanta viśve || tam id g. p. d. ā | y. d. samagachanta v.*; 10, 108, 1d : 2d. The effect is in these examples — which are characterized by vertical parallelism — unmistakably that of liveliness of diction. It is on the other hand not surprising to find that this practice — no doubt likewise in imitation of the natural speech of the masses — was also adopted in the so-called brahmodyas or discussions in question and answer of cosmogonical and religious doctrine, couched in enigmatic language. See e. g. VS. 23, 9 ff. *kaḥ svid ekāki carati : : sūrya ekāki carati* “who moves single and alone? : : the sun m. s. a. a.” etc.; AV. 10, 2, 22 : 23 *kena devām anu kṣiyati : : brahma d. a. k.* etc. Compare also RV. 5, 44, 14 : 15 *yo jāgāra tam ṛcaḥ kāmāyante | yo jāgāra tam u sāmāni yanti | ... || agnir j. t. ṛ. k. | agnir j. t. u. s. y.* “who is awake, him the ṛg verses love; who is awake, to him the sāmāns come ... Agni is awake etc.”. Cf. also RV. 6, 9, 2 f. In these riddles which were a means of generating or liberating sacred power, of getting an insight into the mysterious connections of things, of grasping the fundamental, all-pervading powers underlying the unstable and transient phenomena³³), a precise correspondence between question and answer and hence, a well-balanced binary structure were obviously considered necessities. One might compare, in the Avesta, Yt. 5, 77 f. etc. Of course, part of the terms used in the narrative proper may also recur in a quotation: AiB. 3, 17, 4 *tau vā etau pragāthāv astūtau santau punarādāyaṁ śasyate. tad āhur : yan na kiṁ canāstutaṁ sat punarādāyaṁ śasyate ...*; ChU. 4, 2, 1 ff. Cf. also RV. 6, 9, 2 and 3. In these cases also a ‘modern’ author of a ‘scientific’ work would as a rule shun these repetitions, replacing them by “thus it happened, they did so” etc.

It would be vain to attempt cataloguing all variants of the procedures under consideration. Many passages could for instance be collected to illustrate the various ways in which this repetition of one word, or of a few words, could be made an integrant part of an addition to, or amplification of, a thought expressed in the former part of the utterance. Homer, *K* 292 ff. may be quoted as a case in point: *σολ δ' αὖ ἐγὼ ῥέξω βοῶν ἦνιν εὐρυμέτωπον, / ... / τίη τοι ἐγὼ ῥέξω χρυσὸν κέρασιν περιχέας*. Under this head may be discussed cases such as AV. 16, 2, 4 *suśrutau karnau, bhadraśrutau k., bhadram ślokaṁ śrūyāsam*, or in the Avesta, Yt. 10, 4. Or this repetition may be a means of adding a parallel thought: AiB. 3, 11, 6 *yad ... mohayed yajñam, mugdho yajamānaḥ syāt*.

³³) See ‘Notes on brahman’, Utrecht 1950, p. 60 f.

CATENA

Worth mentioning is also the incidental occurrence of what might be considered a kind of 'catena' ³⁴): AiB. 6, 19, 7 *tāni dvādaśa sampadyante: dvādaśa vai māsāḥ samvatsaraḥ, samvatsaraḥ prajāpatiḥ, prajāpatir yajñāḥ* "these make up twelve, the year has t. months, P. is the year, the s. is P."; 3, 6, 4. These passages are similar in structure to children's rhymes such as, in Dutch, *in Holland staat een huis, in dat huis daar woont een heer, die heer die neemt een vrouw . . .* ŚB. 3, 1, 1, 2 *tad varṣma sat samam syāt, samam sad avibhramṣi syād, avibhramṣi sat prākpravaṇam syāt. prāci hi . . .* "while being a high place (the preceding sentence was: (a place) which lies highest: *varṣiṣṭham*), it should be even, and being even, it should be firm, and being firm, it should incline to the east, since the east is . . ."; BārU. 5, 5, 1 *tā āpaḥ satyam asṛjanta, s. brahma, b. prajāpatim, p-r devān*; 6, 2, 15 likewise in describing an evolutionary process: ". . . into the light, from the 1. i. the day, f. the d . . ."; 6, 4, 1 in describing serial relation; ChU. 3, 11, 4; 4, 15, 5; 5, 10, 1; BhG. 2, 62 . . . *saṅgas teṣūpajāyate | saṅgāt samjāyate kāmāḥ | kāmāt krodho 'bhijāyate*. Examples of closely related procedures are: ChU. 1, 1, 2 *eṣām bhūtānām prthivi rasāḥ, prthivyā āpo r., apām etc.*; 7, 26, 2 *āhāraśuddhau sattvaśuddhiḥ sattvaśuddhau dhruvā smṛtiḥ, smṛtilambhe . . .*; 1, 8, 4; and AiB. 6, 12, 15 *yad u jagatprāsāhā, jāgataṁ vai trīyasavanam, trīyasavanasyaiva samṛddhyai*.

Another type of 'catena' may be exemplified by ChU. 7, 4, 2 *samakal-pantāpaś ca tejaś ca, teṣām samklṛtyai varṣam samkalpate, varṣasya samklṛtyā annam s., annasya s. prāṇāḥ s. etc.* (responsio and epiphora). Sometimes the greatest part of the clauses is concerned in this chainlike repetition: ChU. 3, 12, 7 ff.

Incidentally this procedure is peculiar to a series or collection of stanzas. In the ancient poetry of the Lithuanians it has even developed into repetition of complete lines: *trake berželis stovėju, beržu lapelei mirgėju, | b. l. m., bernelis žirge sėdėju, | b. z. s., su mergužele kalbėju* "im freien stand eine birke, es flimmerten die birkenblätter / e. f. d. b., der bursche sass auf dem rosse, / d. b. s. a. d. r., plauderte mit dem mädchen" ³⁵). As a case in point RV. 2, 11 may be quoted, where "die Wiederholung eines im Schlusze einer Strophe gebrauchten Wortes im Anfang der folgenden Strophe so häufig (ist), dass sie als eine beabsichtigte stilistische Eigentümlichkeit des Liedes bezeichnet werden muss": 2 f. *ukthair vāvṛdhānaḥ || uktheṣv in nu śūra yeṣu cākan . . .* "fortified by songs of praise. // The s. of p. with which Thou, O hero, art pleased . . ."; 3 f. *vāyave . . . na śubhrāḥ || śubhram nu te śuśman vārdhayantaḥ | śubhram vajram bāhvordudhānāḥ | śubhras tvam . . .* "as the splendid (teams) for Vāyu. // Strengthening Thy splendid impetuosity, placing the splendid thunderbolt

³⁴) Cf. Scip. min. frg. Isid. Orig. 2, 21, 4 *coactus cum illo sponsionem feci, facta sponsione ad iudicem adduxi, adductum . . .*

³⁵) The translation is Van der Meulen's, o.c., p. 22; cf. however also p. 40.

in Thine arms—, Thou, splendid . . . ”; 6 f. *harī sūryasya ketū || harī nu ta indra vājāyantā*; 7 f. *aramsta parvataś cit sariṣyan || ni parvataḥ sādi*; 8 *indresitām dhamanīm paprathan ni || indro . . .*; 9 f. *arejetām rodasī bhiyāne . . . vṛṣṇo asya vajrāt || aroravid vṛṣṇo asya vajro . . .*; 10 f. . . *papivān sutasya || pibā-pibed*; 11 f. *indram āva || tve indrāpy*; 12 f. *syāma || syāma*; 13 f. *asme rayīm rāsi viravantam || rāsi kṣayam rāsi mitram asme*; 15 f. *tarutra . . . bṛhadbhir . . . || bṛhanta in nu ye te tarutra . . . etc.* Another example is RV. 10, 84 where the same practice runs, in a no doubt deliberated way, also through the larger part of the sūkta: 1 . . . *pra yantu naro agnirūpāḥ || 2 agnir iva manyo tviṣitaḥ sahasva . . . 4 . . . vijayāya kṛṇmahe || 5 . . . viṣeśakṛd . . . ; 5 . . . yata ābabhūtha || 6 . . . ābhūtyā . . . ; 6 . . . saṃsr̥ji || 6 saṃsr̥ṣṭam . . .*

The same catenary structure is, on a smaller scale, found in many other passages. In a succession of stanzas a word or word group, a motif or an expression are taken up anew in the next stanza, in such a way as to carry on, modify or develop the thoughts expressed in the preceding stanza. Thus AV. 13, 1, 46 ff. it reads 46 cd *tatraitāv agnī ādhatta himam ghraṃsam ca rohiṭaḥ || 47 himam ghraṃsam cādhyā . . . iṣāte rohitasya svarvidaḥ || 48 svarvido rohitasya . . .*

This principle underlies also the structure of parts of the dialogue hymn RV. 10, 98; in 2 Bṛhaspati addresses Devāpi as follows: *praticīnaḥ prati mām ā vavṛtsva | dadhāmi te dyumatīm vācam āsan* “turn again to me, I put brilliant speech in your mouth”, to which Devāpi’s answer is: *asme dhehi d. v. ā. “do put . . .”*. The last words of this reply *divo drapsa madhumān ā viveṣa* “the delicious drop from heaven has entered me” are in a modified form taken up by the interlocutor who lays also claim to the same draught: *ā no drapsā madhumanto viśantu*, advising Devāpi to become a hotar: *ni sīda hotram . . .* The words quoted last are repeated by the poet: . . . *hotram ṛṣir niśīdan devāpir . . .* “the ṛṣi D. took up hotarship . . .”, a similar affirmation by the mouth of the poet occurring also RV. 10, 28, 11a: after Indra’s words 10d *godhā tasmā ayathaṃ karṣad etat* the poet states that an alligator certainly will snatch away the leg of those who do not feed the brahmins—he replaces *tasmāi* by the plural *tebhyaḥ*.

REPETITION OF WORDS SPOKEN BY THE INTERLOCUTOR

In addition to the above remarks and to the observations already made in chapter II with regard to the identity of the schema of a question, an instruction or communication and that of the answer or the repetition of the communication, another note may be inserted here on the literal repetition of part of the utterance of the interlocutor: BārU. 4, 2, 1 *nākaṃ tad bhagavan veda yatra gamiṣyāmīti : : atha vai te 'haṃ tad vakṣyāmi*

yatra gamiṣyasīti. Not all instances should be put on a par. Whereas in an English translation of the preceding example the last words (*y. g.*) could be replaced by "that", the particular nuance implied in ChU. 4, 14, 2 might be appropriately expressed by a literal translation: *ko nu tvānu-śaśāseti* : : *ko nu mānuśisyāt?* "who has instructed you? : : who should have instructed me?" Compare, in Greek, Aesch. Suppl. 216; 438.

It should however be remembered that to a much larger extent than in modern Western languages a single word, especially the verb is repeated instead of our "yes, no, good" etc.: ChU. 1, 8, 3 *hanta tva prcchānīti* : : *prccheti hovāca* ; 7; 4, 5, 2; 6, 3; 5, 3, 1. Aesch. Suppl. 456.

RESUMPTIVE PRONOUNS

Another peculiarity of these ancient writings is the resumption of a substantive at the beginning of a sentence introduced by the anaphoric and demonstrative pronoun: BārU. 2, 3, 5 f. . . . *yo 'yaṃ dakṣiṇe 'kṣaṇ puruṣaḥ . . . tasya haitasya puruṣasya rūpam . . .* "... this person who is in the right eye . . . the form of this person"; KauṣU. 1, 3 ("having entered on this path . . . , he comes to the world of Brahman") *sa brahmalokam. tasya ha vā etasya lokasyāro hradāḥ* "now, this world of b. has the lake Ara".

As is well known possessive pronouns are rarely used in Sanskrit. A repeated noun accompanied by an oblique case of a personal pronoun is therefore the usual mode of expression in sentences such as BārU. 4, 5, 3 *yathāivopakaraṇavatām jīvitam, tathāiva te jīvitam syāt* "as the life of the rich, even so would your life be". In a variety of other circumstances also a word occurring in a subordinate clause preceding the principal clause is repeated in the latter: BārU. 6, 1, 14 *yad vā ahaṃ vasiṣṭhāsmi, tvam tad vasiṣṭho 'si*; ChU. 5, 1, 14; 5, 10, 7 *tad ya iha ramaṇīyacaraṇāḥ, abhyāśo ha yat te ramaṇīyāṃ yonim āpadyeran*. Similarly, if the principal clause precedes: ChU. 7, 16, 1 etc.

VARIOUS TYPES OF RESUMPTION

Without aiming at anything like completeness some modes of expression, collected at random, may find a place here in further illustration of the tendency under discussion. Of some frequency is the resumption of a verb by an absolute locative: AiB. 3, 1, 1 . . . *stuvate. stute stome daśamaṃ grhṇāti* "they celebrate in song. When the eulogium has been sung he draws the tenth"; JB. 1, 130 *eṣa vai devaratho yad rathantaram; rathantare prastute prthivīm hastābhyām gacchet*. Other well-known types

³⁰ H. Lüders, Varuṇa I, Göttingen 1951, p. 174, n. 1. "Der Dichter zeichnet sich durch gesuchte Rhetorik aus" (Geldner, Der Rig-veda I, p. 287). In any case, the application of this device exceeds any natural usage.

are: AB. 3, 15, 1 *sa paramām eva parāvatam agachad. anuṣṭub vai paramā parāvat*; JB. 8, 9, 13 *anutodo vairājasyānutunnam hi vairājam*. ŚB. 5, 1, 4, 5 *so 'dbhyaḥ sambhavann asarvaḥ samabhāvat* "while being produced from water it was produced incomplete"; ŚB. 3, 1, 3, 4 *taṁ vicakrur yathāyaṁ puruṣo vikṛtaḥ* "they accordingly fashioned it as this man is fashioned"; BārU. 4, 2, 4 *abhayaṁ tvā gacchatāt . . . , yo naḥ . . . abhayaṁ vedayase*; BārU. 4, 5, 5 *priyā vai khalu no bhavati satī priyam avrddhat* "though . . . you were dear to us, you have increased your dearness"; ŚB. 3, 1, 2, 7 (identification) *vajro vai kṣuras. tatho hainaṁ eṣa v. k. na hinasti* (cf. 3, 5, 3, 15 etc.); ŚB. 3, 3, 3, 1 *sa vai rājānaṁ paṇate. sa yad r. p. . . ; 3, 3, 2, 14 f. tasmād vā udācaṁ nyācaṁ mimite. yad vevod. n. m.*

Etymological explications are far from rare ³⁷): AiB. 3, 1, 2 *vāyavyaṁ śamsati, tena vāyavya ukthavān* "he recites (a triplet) to Vāyu, that is why the Vāyu (cup) has its litany"; cf. 3.

A statement of an argument may be made as follows: ChU. 3, 12, 1 *gāyatrī vā idaṁ sarvaṁ bhūtam yad idaṁ kiṁ ca, vāg vai g., v. vā i. s. bh. gāyati ca trāyate ca*. BārU. 4, 1, 2 *prajñety enad upāsita : : kā prajñatā?* "one should ponder over it as intelligence : : what is the nature of that i.?"; ChU. 4, 1, 1 *sa ha sarvata āvasathān māpayāṁ cakre, sarvata eva me 'tsyantīti*; BārU. 3, 9, 26. This resumption is sometimes anaphorically extended: AiB. 3, 7, 6 *atha yenaiva ṣaḥ avarādhnoti sa riktāḥ. rinakty ātmānam, rinakty yajamānam . . . yasmāi vaṣatkaroti* "that one in which the syllable s. fails is the empty; he empties himself, he e. the y. . . for whom he says vaṣat."

The very style of adducing reasons, drawing conclusions, discussing controversies, illustrating difficult points, prevailing in the brāhmaṇas and earlier upaniṣads lead the authors to repeat words or to resume part of the contents of one or more preceding clauses: AiB. 3, 9, 1 *yajño vai devebhya udakrāmat, tam praiṣaiḥ praiṣam aichan. yat praiṣaiḥ praiṣam aichams, tat praiṣānām praiṣatvam* "the sacrifice went away from the gods; they sought to start it with directions; in that they sought to start it with the d., that is why the d. have their name"; 3, 3, 3 *yaṁ kāmayeta : prāṇenainaṁ vyardhayānīti, vāyavyaṁ asya lubdhaṁ śamsed. ṛcaṁ vā padaṁ vātiyāt, tenaiva tal lubdham. prāṇenaivainaṁ tad vyardhayati* "if one desire of a man: 'let me deprive him of breath', one should recite (the triplet) to Vāyu for him in confusion; he should pass over a verse or a line; thereby it is confused; verily thus does one deprive him of breath"; 3, 2, 1 *annādyam vā etenāvarunddhe yat praūgam. anyānyā devatā praūge śasyate, 'nyad-anyad uktham praūge kriyate . . . (responsio!)* "by the praūga one wins proper food; now various deities are celebrated in the praūga, different litanies are performed in the p. . ."; ChU. 5, 1, 1 *yo ha vai jyeṣṭhaṁ ca śreṣṭhaṁ ca veda, j.-ś ca ha v. ś-ś ca bhavati, prāṇo vāva j. ca ś. ca*. Other instances worth quoting are, inter alia: ChU. 3, 19, 3; 4, 5, 3.

³⁷) For this point see chapter XXI.

Very numerous are the examples of a structure which may be exemplified by AiB. 3, 13, 2 f. *tasmād v anuṣṭubh agriyā makhyā yujyate sarveṣāṃ savanānām. agriyo mukhyo bhavati, śreṣṭhatām aśnute ya evaṃ veda* "therefore the a. is employed at the very beginning of all the pressings. The very first does he become, pre-eminence does he attain, who knows thus". Other examples are: BārU. 1, 3, 7 *tato devā abhavan, parāsurāḥ. bhavaty ātmanā, parāsyā dviṣan bhrātṛvyo bhavati ya evaṃ veda*; ChU. 3, 18, 3 ff. *so 'gninā jyotiṣā bhāti ca tapati ca, bh. ca t. ca kīrtiyā yaśasā . . . ya evaṃ veda*; ChU. 1, 6, 7 *sa eṣa sarvebhyaḥ pāpmabhya uditāḥ. udeti ha vai sarvebhyaḥ pāpmabhyo ya evaṃ veda* with the remarkable 'inversion' (initial position) of the verb ³⁸). Cf. also JB. 3, 109 *trptīr ha no vettha: tā naḥ prayaccha, yābhir vayaṃ trpyāma. trpyāt sa brāhmaṇaḥ prajayā . . . yo 'smān vedeti*; ChU. 1, 1, 7. There may be room here for a digression in order to complete our picture of this mode of expression. Generally speaking the contents of the former sentence and the order of the elements contained in it are foremost among the factors determining the order of words in the latter clause or sentence of the twofold structures: BārU. 1, 3, 9 *dūraṃ hy asyā mṛtyuḥ. d. ha vā asmān m. bhavati y. e. v.*; ChU. 4, 15, 2. However, an important idea mentioned in the former sentence is apt to recur at the beginning of the latter: B. 5, 11, 1 *etad vai paramaṃ tapo . . . ; paramaṃ haiva lokaṃ jayati, y. e. v.* In other cases the verb which occupies the ultimate position in the preceding sentence is resumed immediately: BārU. 5, 13, 2 *prāṇe hīmāṇi sarvāṇi bhūtāni yujyante. y. hāsmāi s. bh. śraiṣṭhyāya*. Sometimes the idea, not the word, is repeated: BārU. 1, 2, 5 *sarvaṃ vā attiti . . . sarvasyaitasyāttā bhavati . . .* A short clause may be inserted between the two clauses concerned in this procedure: BārU. 1, 2, 1.

In arguments such as ChU. 1, 6, 2 the differences between archaic and modern style are also evident: instead of anaphoric pronouns or words like our "the former", "the latter", the nouns are consistently repeated: *antarikṣam eva ṛg, vāyuh sāma, tad etad etasyām ṛcy adhyūḍham sāma, tasmād ṛcy adhyūḍham sāma gīyate. antarikṣam eva sā, vāyur amas, tat sāma* "the atmosphere is the ṛk and the air is the s.; this s. rests on that ṛk; therefore the s. is sung as resting on the ṛk. The a. is sā, the air ama, that makes sāman". Cf. also ChU. 1, 8, 1; 2, 5, 2; BārU. 3, 9, 25; 4, 3, 9; 3, 10; 23.

Repetition of the noun where a more modern style would replace it by a pronoun is indeed very frequent in the ancient IE. languages. Some striking instances are also: ChU. 4, 14, 1 . . . *ācāryas tu te gatiṃ vakteti. ājagāma hāsyācāryaḥ. tam ācāryo 'bhyuvāda* instead of "... but the teacher will tell you the way. The said person returned. He said ..."; ŚB. 3, 1, 2, 21; 5, 1, 11; 9, 1, 1, 16; JB. 1, 5; 1, 133; 134 *na svakṛtam iriṇam adhyavaseyam, īśvaraḥ pāpīyān bhavitor, yat s. i. adhyavasyatiti*; Manu 2, 3; 99 *indriyāṇām tu sarveṣāṃ yady ekaṃ kṣaratīndriyam* "when one among the

³⁸) See 'Remarques sur la place du verbe . . .', p. 12; 16 ff., where many instances are quoted.

i. slips away"; 3, 2; 60 where the repetition helps to express the idea of reciprocity: *saṃtuṣṭo bhāryayā bhartā bhartrā bhāryā tathaiva ca*; in Greek, *I* 122 f.; *Δ* 134 f. (responsio); *ι* 193: 195 (but see also *ι* 153); the classical authors repeat the noun for the sake of clearness or emphasis, e. g. Xen. An. 3, 2, 23³⁹).

However, if the demonstrative pronoun has occurred in a period it is, if need be, repeated: ŚB. 3, 2, 3, 9 *yad vā ārdraṃ yajñasya, tat saumyaṃ; tad āpaśyaṃs, tad ātanvata*.

We have had occasion above to mention some examples of 'Ring-kompōsition'. Cf. e. g. ŚB. 3, 2, 2, 9. Non-identical repetition in the way of a ring is not absent: ChU. 4, 4, 2 *nāham etad veda tāta yadgotras tvam asi* (follows an explication). *sāham etan na v. y. t. a*. Compare also ŚB. 3, 5, 3, 1. *puruṣo vai yajñah. puruṣas tena yajño yad enaṃ puruṣas tanuta. eṣa vai tāyamāno yāvān eva puruṣas tāvān vidhīyate. tasmāt puruṣo yajñah* "the sacrifice is a man; it is a man because a man prepares it . . . it is just as large as a man; this is why the s. is a man"; 3, 1, 1, 2 *dakṣinataḥ pratyucchritam iva syād . . . tasmād d. p. i. s.*; *ibid.* 8; 3, 1, 3, 7. An interesting form of repetition is also ŚB. 3, 1, 3, 10 *athākṣyāv ānakti . . . te evaitad anaruṣkaroti yad akṣyāv ānakti* "thereupon he anoints his eyes . . . he now makes his eyes sound by anointing them". The authors of the brāhmaṇas were not averse to an accumulation of these conclusive or recapitulative repetitions: ŚB. 3, 1, 2, 20. Notice also ŚB. 3, 1, 1, 3 in fine *iti nu devayajanasya* "so much as to the place of worship" as compared to 3, 1, 1, 1 *devayajanaṃ joṣayante* "they choose a place of worship".

It was doubtless a long tradition which provided the post-Vedic authors with a number of schemata admitting of variation in detail: BhG. 13, 1 f. . . . *tām prāhuḥ kṣetrajña itī tadvidah || kṣetrajñaṃ cāpi māṃ viddhi*; 16, 19 f. *āsuriṣv eva yoniṣu || āsurīm yonim . . .*; 2, 43 f. . . . *bhogaiśvaryagatiṃ prati || bhogaiśvaryaprasaktānām . . .*; 7, 3 . . . *kaścid yatati siddhaye | yatatām api siddhānām kaścid . . .*; 3, 15; 5, 25; 18, 58; Manu 2, 101 f.; 119. Interesting examples of chainlike structures are: BhG. 1, 39 f.; 2, 62 f.; 3, 42. Cf. also: Mbh. 14, 31, 8 . . . *vaitṛṣṇyaṃ nādhigacchati | tṛṣṇārta iha nimnāni dhāvamāno na budhyate*; 14, 43, 26 f. *saṃnyased iha buddhimān. || saṃnyāsī . . .*; 29.

In arguments and explanations a complete sentence is sometimes repeated, in the outward form of a subordinate clause, before the following principal sentence: AiB. 1, 24, 5 f. *te varuṇasya rājño grhe tanūḥ saṃnyadadhata. te yad varuṇasya rājño grhe tanūḥ saṃnyadadhata tat tātūnaptram abhavat*: "they deposited their bodies in the house of king V.; that they d. th. b. in the h. of k. V., that became their tātūnaptra". Here again the speed of a 'modern' language, which would express the reference to the preceding communication by a single word, contrasts with the deliberateness of an ancient literary idiom which, for that purpose, needs

³⁹) See Kühner-Gerth, o.c., I, p. 556, A. 2.

a clause. Other examples are: AiB. 1, 12, 3; 3, 11, 7; 6, 18, 1; compare also JB. 1, 237 *tad apām evaiśvaryam āsīt. yad apām evaiśvaryam āsīt apām rājyam apām annādyam, tad agnir abhyadhyāyat* "... then the sovereignty belonged to the waters. This s. of the w., their kingdom, their food, that was coveted by A."; ŚB. 2, 3, 3, 3 *tad enaṃ janayati. taṃ janayitvā bibharti. sa yathā haivaiṣa etam asmiṃ loke janayitvā bibharti evam u haivaiṣa etam amuṣmiṃ loke janayitvā bibharti*; 3, 3, 2, 9 *tad rājānam mimīte sa yad r. m.*; 14; ChU. 4, 16, 1.

A similar repetition may be interrupted by a quotation (*iti* clause) or similar unit: ŚB. 1, 4, 2, 1 *yad dha vai devā agniṃ gariṣṭhe 'yuñjan* "... *iti tam etad g. yuktā* ...

The same type of *yad* clause occurs also in shorter constructions: AiB. 6, 11, 14 *sa etābhir eva mādhyamdinam savanam abhyatṛṇad. yad abhyatṛṇat, tasmād etā abhitṛṇavatyo bhavanti*.

CATENARY STRUCTURE OF STANZAS

It has already been stated that in the Vedic mantra collections catenary structure of stanzas is a favourite practice. Although this point has also drawn the attention of Bloomfield⁴⁰⁾ some examples may, by way of additional illustration and characterization of the technique of the Vedic poets, find a place here: sometimes the repetition is almost literal: ṚV. 5, 1, 5d : 6a *agnir hotū nī śasādā yajīyān* (stating a state of affairs): *a. h. ny asidad y.* (the fact has occurred in the past with reference to the present; it is still actual, and the thought is completed:) *upasthe mātuh.* Elsewhere the latter pāda is different in details: ṚV. 1, 23, 23d *taṃ mā sam sṛja varcasā* : 24a *saṃ māgne varcasā sṛja* / *saṃ prajayā saṃ āyuṣā* (notice the development of the thought); 4, 35, 2d ("now soma may be drunk, for you have ably made four cups out of one") *ekaṃ vicakra camasaṃ caturdhā* : 2a *vy akrṇota c. c.*, restating the assertion: "you have indeed ...", "it is true, you have ..." With some variation in the choice of words probably after an impressive pause: 5, 30, 10d "Indra brought the cows together" *yad iṃ somāsaḥ suṣutā āmandan* : 11a *y. iṃ s. babhrudhātā a.* ("then he roared"), the poet probably wished to focus special attention on this important feat, for in 11c he once again mentions Indra's drinking. ṚV. 10, 50, 6a the repetition once again introduces a further development of the thought: 5d *viśved etā savanā tūtumā kṛṣe* // *e. v. s. t. k. / svayaṃ ... yāni dadhiṣe*; see also 10, 52, 3d : 4a; 62, 5d : 6a, and with variation in the choice of words: 7, 104, 15d : 16a. An interesting place is ṚV. 10, 65, 13cd : 14a: after having enumerated some deities whom he expects to respond to his appeal—cd running as follows: *viśve devāsaḥ śṛṇavan vacāṃsi me / sarasvatī saha dhībhiḥ puramdhyā* //—the poet omitting Sarasvatī and

⁴⁰⁾ Bloomfield, Rig-veda repetitions, p. 5 ff.

the predicate remoulds the other words so as to form one pāda—14a *viśve devāḥ s. dh. p.*—, and adds a number of other deities, repeating the wish that they might find pleasure in his prayers. Curiously enough the goddesses which are invoked twice are Dhī “religious thought, expressed in the poem, the formulated thought of the poet”, and Purandhi, who to all probability represents “plenty” or rather “the fulfilment of the wish for plenty”⁴¹); they are mentioned together 8, 69, 1; 92, 15; rather than attributing the reiteration to a certain clumsiness we could suppose the poet’s desire to draw special attention to these two divine figures representing means and end of his endeavours to have induced him to link together these stanzas in this particular way. A similar reduction of the contents of a hemistich occurs 10, 30, 7d : 8a. In 1, 85, 5a the preceding pāda except an epithet and a word belonging to 4c are repeated. In RV. 10, 96, 6d : 7a the repeated words themselves are in the same pāda supplemented by a modification of the thought expressed: *indrāya somā harayo dadhanvire || araṃ kāmūya harayo dadhanvire*: the soma did not only flow for Indra, it was to his great satisfaction that they did so. Other passages where the concatenating pādas consist of partly identical nouns are e. g. RV. 10, 35, 1d : 2a *adyā devānām ava ā vr̥ṇīmahe || divasprthivyor a. ā. v. | mātṛn sindhūn . . .*; 6, 42, 2d : 3c. In 8, 19, 22d : 23a the second pāda takes up an epanaleptic amplification making it a temporal clause . . . *agnir ghr̥tebhīr ākutaḥ || yadi gh. ā. vāśīm agnir bharate*. As already observed a poet sometimes repeats the last words of a quotation so as to affirm the thought expressed by them. In 8, 11, 9a the speaker himself repeats the last words of an address in the third person: 8b *samatsu tvā havāmahe || s. agnim avase | . . . h. |* (notice the expansion). Cf. 7, 17, 3d : 4a.

Sometimes the concatenation is part of an almost literal repetition of the words occurring in the former stanza. RV. 9, 64, 25 : 26 (notice that 25 is in the indicative, 26 in the imperative) *tvam soma vipaścitam | punāno vācam iṣyasi | indo sahasrabharṇasam || uto sah. | vā. s. makhasyivam | p. i. ā bhara*.

At times the concatenating pādas consist of the same words rearranged in different order: 1, 163, 3d : 4a the independent sentence *āhus te triṇi divi bandhanāni* is followed by the sequence *tr. t. ā. d. b.*. There may be some truth in Bloomfield’s⁴²) remark that “this kind of change, on account of its extreme simplicity, carries with it an extra touch of rhetorical liveliness”, the motive of the change is, in this case, perfectly evident: *triṇi* is anaphorically reiterated in 4b *triṇy apsu triṇy antaḥ samudre*. RV. 10, 130, 5d : 6a the different order seems to have been conditioned by the tendency to give the front position to a verb if its affirmative character is emphasized⁴³) : *tena* (anaphoric) *cāklpra ṛṣayo manuṣyāḥ || c. t. ṛ. m.* “... in fact (indeed) . . .”. Cf. also the above 10, 50, 5d : 6a.

⁴¹) For particulars see Macdonell, o.c., p. 124.

⁴²) Bloomfield, o.c., p. 7.

⁴³) See ‘Remarques sur la place du verbe . . .’, Utrecht 1952, p. 67.

RECURRENCE OF LARGER UNITS

It is not always easy to estimate the stylistic value of recurrences of larger units at short intervals. In many passages in the brāhmaṇas this repetition has no doubt no special force, giving the impression of 'primitive' or archaic naivety: JB. 1, 121 (the gods) *akāmayanta: pūtā medhyāḥ śritāḥ syāma, gacchema svargaṃ lokam iti* ... (4 lines further) *tato vai te p. m. ś. abhavann, ag. s. l.* Elsewhere the parallelism between, for instance, myth and ritual actuality may be considered to have stimulated the author to retain the traditional procedure: JB. 1, 87: the sun was in the beginning removed from the earth to the sky by three trios of verses: a sacrificer who wishes to go to heaven likewise. Cf. also ŚB. 3, 2, 2, 3. Or the procedure is largely conditioned by the technical and 'systematic' character of the texts: JB. 1, 127; 135; 223; GobhGS. 2, 6, 2; 10; 7, 3; 8, 9. Hence also the recurrence of such detailed attributions as are found JB. 1, 248 *ya etaṃ trivṛtaṃ vajraṃ tribhṛṣṭim acchidram accham baṭkārinam ahar-ahar imāṃ llokān anuvartamānaṃ veda* ... *eṣu u evainaṃ t. vajras t. a. 'cch. a. i. l. a. . . . abhivartate.* Compare also AiB. 3, 11, 8 *brahmakṣatrayoḥ saṃśṛityai. tasmād brahma ca kṣatraṃ ca saṃśṛite* and similar instances: "(he should act thus) in order to unite b. and k.; therefore b. and k. are united".

Passing mention may be made of repetitions in the opening words of two successive chapters: AiB. 3, 15, 1 : 16, 1 *indro vai vṛtraṃ hatvā nāstrīti manyamānaḥ : indraṃ v. v. jaghnivāṃsam nāstrīti m.*

The partial identity of the elements of the two clauses of a compound sentence has already been commented upon under other headings: ŚB. 3, 2, 3, 21 *yad eva prāyaṇīyasya bahir bhavati tad udayanīyasya bahir bhavati :* cf., in Greek, A 268 ff. ὥς δ' ὅτ' ἂν ὠδίνουσιν ἔχῃ βέλος ὅξυ γυναικα, | . . . / ὥς ὀξεῖ' ὀδύναι δύνον μένος Ἀτρεΐδαι.

The same phenomenon occurs in the Avesta: cf. e. g. Yt. 10, 18; 89 *yim zaotāram stayata ahurō mazdā aśava āsu.yamam bərəzi.gāθram ; yazata z. ā-o b-ō . . .*

Complete sentences are, in the brāhmaṇas, easily repeated: ŚB. 3, 1, 1, 8 : 10 "he who is consecrated . . . becomes one of the deities . . . let him not commune with every one, for he who is c. . . b. o. of the d.", a reminder followed by the statement that the gods do not commune with every one. The contents of a formula quoted in the text are repeated so as to apply to the case under consideration: ŚB. 3, 1, 2, 12 "he goes out of the water saying 'cleansed and pure I go forth from them'; for c. a. p. he indeed g. f. f. th."; 3, 2, 3, 13 f.; 3, 2, 1, 19 f. the same advice is three times given with almost the same terms.

RECAPITULATIVE SENTENCE CONNECTION

A large volume could be written on a syntactic phenomenon which may for convenience be termed here recapitulative sentence connection. In natural, archaic and pre-scientific style long and complex periods are rare or even completely absent. The tendency to avoid long units, which make extraordinary concentration a necessity, and the aversion to subordinating modifications and qualifications to the main contents of the same syntactic structure, usually lead to a decided preference for parataxis characterized by various types of repetition, anaphora, recapitulation, and concatenation. The component parts of a narrative or communication are as a rule strung together (the Greek term was *λέξις εἰρομένη*) in co-ordination. In order to arrange and to distribute the subject-matter in a convenient and intelligible way some devices, however, developed which, while marking the important points or stages in the argument or narrative, enabled the speaker to concentrate upon the following part of the utterance and prevented the hearer from losing the thread or being bewildered by too rapid a succession of new facts, orders, or communications. One of these devices ⁴⁴) consists in repeating, by way of preamble or 'take-off run', the verbal idea of a preceding sentence before adding, in the next principal sentence, a new part of the communication. This is the general principle, particulars may vary according to circumstances.

It is evident that this mode of expression which does not overstrain the mental powers of both speaker and hearers is always much favoured by those who want to suit their matter to their audience, especially if this audience consists of children or illiterate people. Mothers, teachers, nurse-maids often resort to it: in Dutch *we gaan eerst eten en als we dan gegeten hebben gaan we uit*.

This structure was before being mechanized no doubt often employed for the sake of clearness, the repeated element forming a hinge on which the unfolding of the thought pivots. This is especially evident when there is a considerable distance between both verb forms: *VaikhSS. 4, 13 ... arcayet. karavira-śaṅkha-puṣpa- ... puṣpaiḥ ... pūrvavad abhyarcya ...* 'he should worship (the planets). After having worshipped them, as has been described with flowers of the ... , he should ...' But those who experience some difficulty in formulating their thoughts or those whose style of writing is affected by the narrative style of the illiterate are apt to employ this device much more frequently than modern speakers of a standard idiom or writers of an economically deliberate style. It may easily be mechanically reproduced, becoming a marked feature of 'archaic' style. In Greek, Herodotus' work contains many instances: e. g. 1, 8, 1 *Οὗτος δὲ ὦν ὁ Κ. ἡρώσθη τῆς ἐώντοῦ γυναικός, ἐρασθεὶς δὲ ἐνόμιζε ...*; cf.

⁴⁴) Though using this term I do not agree with Bloomfield, *R̥gvedic Repetitions*, Harvard 1916, p. 5 who believes concatenation to be a "favourite rhetorical device of the Vedic authors".

also, in Homer, *A* 595 f. *μειδῶσεν . . . Ἡρῆ / μειδῶσασα δὲ παιδὸς ἐδέξατο χεῖρὶ κῶπελλον*; cf. also *K* 577; *ι* 149; (*ι* 312). In Latin, e. g. Auctor ad Herennium 1, 9, 14.⁴⁵⁾

In all periods of Sanskrit instances of this 'recapitulation' are frequent: ŚB. 7, 1, 2, 1 *prajāpatiḥ prajā asṛjata. sa prajāḥ sṛṣṭvā sarvā ājīm itvā vyasramsata. tasmād visrastāt prāṇo madhyata udakrāmat* "P. produced creatures. Having p. c., and run the whole race, he became relaxed. From him, when relaxed, the vital air went out from within"; 5, 4, 5, 15. We may notice here, first the frequent Sanskrit habit of linking two communications by an absolute and in the second place the use of a participle for the same purpose. This practice seems to have been especially preferred when emphasis was laid on the processes themselves and their succession. Similar constructions occur in Latin: Caes. B. C. 1, 28, 4 *nares . . . reprehendunt, reprehensas excipiunt*; Ovid. Met. 13, 189 *fateor fassoque ignoscat Atrides*⁴⁶⁾, and Cato, Agric. 81 *ita coquito ad ignem, ubi coctum erit irneam confingito*, and Greek: Xen. Cyr. 3, 1, 37 *νῦν μὲν δειπνεῖτε δειπνήσαντες δὲ ἀπελάνετε*; in the Indonesian idiom of Manggarai (island of Flores) *hia ngo oné mbaru boné; jai o. mb. b.* "he entered the house; having entered the h."

The earliest Indian examples seem to occur in RV. X⁴⁷⁾: 10, 109, 6 f. *rājānaḥ satyaṃ kṛtvānā brahmanājyām punar daduḥ / punardāya brahmanājyām . . .*; cf. 10, 174, 1 f. We cannot discuss here the likewise frequent instances of resumption of the idea expressed in the preceding sentence, e. g. Mbh. 12, 261, 19 f. *tasthau kāṣṭhavad avyagro na cacāla ca karhicit // tasya sma sthāṇubhūtasya nirviceṣṭasya . . .* The above remarks are not to contend that the authors of the brāhmaṇas used to recapitulate wherever it would have been possible. A sequence of brief statements referring to successive acts or events is often expressed otherwise, for instance by a series of absolutes: ŚB. 3, 2, 1, 28 ("when he was born after a year's time he thought: ". . .";) having seized and pressed it tightly he tore it off and put it on the head of Yajña: *tāṃ pratiparāmrśyāvestyāchinat. tāṃ yajñasya śirṣan pratyadadhāt*; 3, 6, 3, 14 *grhṇāti grhītvā . . . strṇāti, stīrtvā . . . pari dadhāti, paridhāya . . . abhyā dadhāti, abhyādadhāya . . . juhōti*⁴⁸⁾; JB. 1, 165 *tad yathā vā adaḥ samudraṃ prasnāya dvīpam vittopotsnāya viśrāmyann āsta . . .*; 1, 202; GobhGS. 2, 3, 8 *hutvopothhāyopaniṣkramya dhruvaṃ darśayati*; or one process is 'recapitulated', the others are subjoined by means of an absolute: ŚB. 2, 5, 3, 5 *caruṃ śrapayati śrapayitvābhighāryodvāsayati*.

To illustrate the very frequent use of absolutes in these structures

⁴⁵⁾ See H. Fränkel, *Eine Stileigenheit der frühgriech. Lit.*, N. G. G. W. 1924, p. 63 ff.; Norden, *Die antike Kunstprosa*, p. 39. For modern rhetorical use: R. M. Meyer, *Deutsche Stilistik*, München 1913, p. 226.

⁴⁶⁾ (Leumann-)Hofmann, o.c., p. 830.

⁴⁷⁾ See also Renou, *Études védiques et pāṇinéennes*, Paris 1955, I, p. 60, n. 2.

⁴⁸⁾ See also A. Minard, *Trois énigmes sur les cent chemins*, II, Paris 1956, p. 68; Oldenberg, *Altind. Prosa*, p. 28, n. 3; J. Bloch, *B. S. O. S.* 5 (1930), p. 734.

the following quotations may suffice. The shortest standard type is AiB. 1, 18, 1 f. *taṃ saṃjabhrus. taṃ sambhṛtyocur āsvinau* "they gathered it together; having gathered it together they said to the Āsvins: . . ."; similarly 2 f.; 3, 45, 5; JB. 1, 224 *tābhyām astuvātām. tau stutvaiva . . . svargam lokam anūdapatatām*; 2, 90 *tāh . . . udeyus; tā hodetya . . .*; ŚB. 1, 3, 1, 2 *athā pātrāṇi nirṇenijati. tair nirṇitya pariveviṣati*; ChU. 1, 4, 5 . . . *praviṣati, tat praviṣya . . . bhavati*. Like the Greek participle of the aorist used in similar circumstances the absolutive marks temporal progression. If a verb forms part of an oft-recurring phrase the whole phrase is repeated in cases such as AiB. 5, 32, 1 *sa tapo 'tapyata. sa tapas taptvemāṃl lokān asṛjata*; JB. 3, 104; ŚB. 3, 1, 2, 9 *atha nāpitāya kṣuram prayacchati. sa keśaśmaśru vapāta sa yadā k. vapati* (cf. Kauś. 54 *uptakeśaśmaśru*); 5, 2, 2, 19 . . . *apa upasprśya mähendram graham ḡṛṇati. mähendram graham ḡṛhīvā stotram upākaroti*, for "to draw the Mähendra cup" see also 4, 3, 3, 15; AiB. 1, 3, 19 f. *muṣṭi kurute. muṣṭi vai kṛtvā garbho 'ntaḥ sete* "he closes his hands; verily, closing its hands the embryo lies within".

If the object of the former sentence is the 'starting-point' of the thought expressed in the latter the verbal idea is repeated by means of a participle: AiB. 2, 8, 1 *puruṣam vai devāḥ paśum ālabhanta. tasmād ālabdhān medha udakrāmat* "the gods slew man as the victim. When he had been slain his sap went out"; 5, 32, 1 *tāṃl lokān abhyatapat, tebhyo 'bhitap-tebhyas trīṇi jyotiṃsi ajāyanta* "he brooded over (performed tapas with regard to) these worlds, from th. w. when brooded over these luminaries arose"; JB. 1, 160 *prajāpatih paśūn asṛjata. te 'smāt sṛṣṭā apākrāman*; ŚB. 2, 5, 2, 30 *saṃmrjanty agnim. saṃmrjṣte 'gnau*; compare also ŚB. 11, 4, 2, 16 *eṣa haināḥ saṃtarpayati. tāsāṃ saṃtrptānām devā hiraṇmayāṃś camasān pūrayante* "he satisfies them; and these (oblations) having been satisfied, the gods fill gold cups (with them)"; JB. 1, 22 *tān ha provāca. tebhyo ha proktebhyah. . . cakāra*; ChU. 3, 1, 3; 4, 17, 1. The same construction is resorted to if the subject of the first sentence is not the subject of the second: AiB. 6, 4, 1 *devā vai yajñam atanvata, tāṃs tanvānān asurā abhyāyan* "the gods performed a sacrifice; as they were performing it the asuras came to them"; cf. 2, 11, 1; JB. 1, 89 *sa ya etad evānya uttiṣṭhet, tam uttiṣṭhantam ārabhyānūttiṣṭhet*; ChU. 3, 19, 3. Or in cases such as AiB. 7, 20, 4 where the subject changes: . . . *iti devayajanam yācati. sa yat tatra yācita uttarām sarpati. . .*; ŚB. 11, 4, 1, 3 *taṃ hābhiprapede. taṃ hābhiprapannam abhyuvāda*. Not infrequently the noun expressing the object is repeated: RV. 10, 135; 1 f. *pītā purānān anu venati || p. anuvenantam carantam . . . abhy acākaśam*; AiB. 7, 19, 1 *prajāpatir yajñam asṛjata. yajñam sṛṣṭam anu brahmakṣatre asṛjyetām*; ŚB. 2, 5, 2, 42. Notice also ŚB. 3, 1, 4, 23 *tāṃ vā anuṣṭubhā juhoti. saiṣānustup satī . . .* The instrumentalis agentis is repeated together with the verb: AiB. 6, 18, 1 *tān vā etān sampātān v-ḥ . . . apaśyat, tān v-ḥa dṛṣṭān vāmadevo 'sṛjata* "it was V. who first saw these sampātas, it was Vā. who created them when they were seen by V."; KauśU. 1, 4. Or an anaphoric pronoun: JB. 1, 160 (see above); JB. 1, 187

p-h prajā asṛjata. tā asya sṛṣṭāḥ parābhavan. A similar repetition may affect another word (e. g. an adverb) which is closely connected with the verb: AiB. 6, 4, 1 f. *devā dakṣiṇataḥ . . . asurarakṣāṃsy apāghnata. te vai dakṣiṇato 'pakaṭā asurā madhyato yajñam prāviṣan;* AiĀr. 2, 1, 5 *taṃ devāḥ prāṇayanta sa prañītaḥ prātāyata.* An enclitic may, of course, be inserted before the part.: JB. 2, 100 . . . *prajā asṛjata. tā enaṃ sṛṣṭā nāpēcāyan.*

The structure under discussion may be interrupted by a parenthesis: AiB. 7, 22, 6 *kṣatram vā eṣa prapadyate, yo rāṣṭram prapadyate. kṣatram hi rāṣṭram. taṃ kṣatram prapannam brahma na pariṇāti;* cf. also JB. 2, 128; or by a quotation (*iti* clause): AiB. 7, 16, 10 *sa indram tuṣṭāva . . . iti caitena sūktena . . . tasmā indraḥ stūyamānaḥ . . . dadau,* the participle reminding the hearer of the situation described by the words *sa indram tuṣṭāva.*

Sometimes another participle is added to the one repeating the verbal idea: ŚB. 11, 4, 3, 1 *prajāpatir vai prajāḥ sṛjamāno 'tapyata. tasmāc chrāntāt tepānāc chrīr udakrāmat* "P. was becoming heated . . . From him, worn out and heated . . ."

BārU. 2, 4, 4 may be quoted as an instance of a favourite mode of expression: *ehi, āsṣva, vyākhyāsyāmi te; vyācakṣāṇasya tu me nididhyā-sasva* "come, sit down, I will explain to you; but while I am explaining, ponder thereon".

It is worth noticing that a participle is also found instead of an absolute if the verbal idea is not presented as a mere fact: JB. 1, 138 *te devā asurān ajayan te vijigyānāḥ . . . abhyavāyan* "die Götter besiegten die Asuras. Als sie als Sieger zurückkehrten . . ." (Caland); 2, 160 *sa ha tatāma, sa ha tāntaḥ paraṃ lokam jagāma.* Cf., in the epos, Mbh. 3, 198, 18 f. (prose) *brāhmaṇam amṛgayat. athāsya mṛgayamāṇasya . . .*

Some particular structures are worth mentioning separately: AiB. 7, 19, 3 the abs. in the second member is followed by a non-recapitulative abs. which forms unity with the finite verb: *athainam brahmānvait, taṃ āpnot, taṃ āptvā parastān nirudhyātīṣṭhat* "then b. followed it, it obtained it; having obtained it it kept blocking it from above". Continuing the author repeats all verbal ideas by means of a part. adding an independent non-recapitulative abs.: *sa āptaḥ parastān niruddhas tiṣṭhañ jñātvā svāny āyudhāni brahmopāvarata* "it being obtained and blocked from above standing, recognizing its own weapons, went up to brahman". Sometimes a verb is repeated by a noun, cf. e. g. ŚB. 3, 2, 2, 1 *vācam yacchati. sa vācamyama āste . . .* (cf. 3, 2, 1, 38). The part. may follow at some distance: Mbh. 3, 64, 46 f. A remarkable order of words: JB. 1, 182 *svargaṃ lokam avahat. ta 'bruvan s-m l-m gatvā: . . .* The first occurrence of the verb is a participle, the second a verbal adjective: MGS. 2, 4, 4 f. *saṃjñāpyamānam avekṣate. saṃjñāptaṃ snapayitvā* "he beholds (the victim), when it is killed. After having washed the slaughtered (victim) . . ." A complicated instance is: ŚB. 2, 3, 1, 32 *tad ubhayato jyotī reto devatayā parigrhṇāty. ubhayataḥ*

parigrhitam vai retah prajāyate. tad ubhayata evaitat parigrhya prajanayati.

At times the recapitulative absolutive follows at some distance: ŚB. 2, 2, 4, 2 *tad vā enam etad agre devānām ajanayata. tasmād agnir iti. agnir ha vai nāmaitad yad agnir iti. sa jātaḥ pūrvaḥ preyāya*; Rām. 1, 48, 23 *darśa*: 25 *dr̥ṣtvā*.

ChU. 5, 19, 1 f. may be quoted as an instance of a catena: ... *prāṇas trpyati. prāṇe trpyati cakṣus t. etc.* An example of complicated variation is Mbh. 1, 66, 13 f. *sa vai ... tayā mando vyayuyajata || viprayuktaḥ sa mandātmā bhramati* ...

As it is the general idea expressed by the first verb that is repeated it is not necessary that the identical verbal root returns in the second sentence: AiB. 8, 12, 4 f. ... *etām āsamdīm ārohat. tam etasyām āsandyām āsinam viśve devā abruvan* "... he mounted the throne. When he was seated on the throne ..."; 17, 4 f. *ārohayet : āsinam*; AiB. 4, 27, 5 *tau devāḥ samanayams, tau samyantau* ...; ŚB. 3, 5, 1, 15 *te yajñam samjahrus te y. sambhṛtya* ...; VaikhSS. 9, 14 ... *annam anindann aśnāti. bhuktvā ... ācamet*; Mbh. 3, 192, 26 (prose) *abhyagacchad upetya ca* ... We know already that a preverb may be subject to variation: JB. 3, 152 *sa devān abhyait. tam āyantam dr̥ṣtvā*. The verbal idea may even return as a bound form, e. g. AiB. 6, 1, 6 where it is represented by the first member of a bahuvrihi compound: ... *sarpāḥ pāpmānam apajaghnire. te ete 'pahatapāpmāno ... prayanti*; JB. 2, 136 with variation: ... *pāpmānam nirghnanti. so 'pahatapāpmā* ...; this phrase recurs also elsewhere (e. g. ŚB. 2, 3, 3, 13); ŚB. 12, 7, 1, 1 *viśvarūpaḥ vai tvāṣtram indro 'han. tam tvaṣṭā hataputro 'bhyacarāt* "I. slew T. 's son V. Seeing his son slain, T. bewitched him (I)"; VaikhSS. 2, 16 ... *pādau savyādi prakṣālayati. sa dhautapādāḥ ... abhimr̥ṣati* "... he washes his feet, the left one first. The guest, having had his feet washed, seizes ...". Not all instances are alike: ŚB. 3, 5, 1, 17 *sa hovāca: anindyā vai māvr̥ṣata, so 'nindyair vr̥to nāśakam apakramitum iti* "he said: 'the blameless chose me, as chosen of the b. I could not go away'".

What is repeated is not always the verb; incidentally another word qualifying the verb expresses the 'recapitulation': VaikhSS. 4, 4 (p. 58, 1 f. C.) *brāhmaṇān yathātr̥pti bhojayet. teṣu tr̥pteṣu pitaras tr̥ptā bhavanti* "... he should feed unto satiety the b. When these are satisfied, the Fathers are satisfied". Or other words are repeated together with the verb: ŚB. 2, 6, 1, 15 *apasalavi triḥ paristr̥ṇan paryeti*; so '*pas. t. paristr̥ya* "he circumambulates while strewing round about, thrice to the left; he ... having strewn round about ..."

This structure may also occur in direct oration: JB. 2, 409 "... *samvatsaram stuṣva. tam ... eva tuṣṭuvānam* ..."; 3, 77 (twice); 193 *hanta tam eva stavāni. sa eva mā stutaḥ samudraḥ pūnar abhyavaplāvayīṣyati*; ŚB. 1, 2, 4, 11.

Being especially characteristic of narrative or didactic style, of statements and expositions, it is not surprising to find that this device is rare

in the mantra literature. Attention may however be drawn also to passages such as R.V. 2, 13, 1 *rtur janitrī tasyā apas pari / maksū jāta āviśad yāsu vardhate* "the season is (his) mother; born out of her he soon entered the waters . . ."

The incidental cases of 'variation', a simplex alternating with a compound, should not escape attention: Mbh. 3, 76, 17 f. *dadau vidyām . . . / sa ca tām pratiṣṭagrāha . . . / grhītvā ca :* as *pratigrah-* has the special sense of "to take as a present or into possession, to accept, to receive", and *grah-* is often used to express the general meaning of "taking, obtaining" (though also that of "receiving") this alternation is, at least in this context, no merely stylistic variation. Cf. also Rām. 1, 54, 2 : 5 (see further on). This procedure may enable the poet to express subtle distinctions and shades of meaning, and to picture the development of the process in a succession of stages. In JB. 3, 152 (see above) the process is first (*abhyait*) viewed from the standpoint of the person who went, then from that of the persons to whom he went. Similar instances occur in Greek: Hdt. (Hecataeus) 2, 70 *οἱ δὲ ἔλκουσι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐξέλκυσθῃ ἐς γῆν;* 73⁴⁹).

Generally speaking, the effect of this 'figure', — which impresses us as evidence of epic verbosity — is an unmodern retardation of the course of the narrative; it enables the reciter to proceed leisurely, helping him in his task of memorizing and improvisation; it meets the demands of the listening audience, for whom such repetitions are worth having. Cf. e. g. Rām. 4, 12, 1 f. *etac ca vacanam śrutvā sugrīvasya subhāsitam / pratyayārtham mahātejā rāmo jagrāha karmukam || sa grhītvā dhanur ghoram śaram ekam ca mānadaḥ / . . . ;* 16, 12 f. *antakpuram saha strībhiḥ praviṣṭā śokamohitā || praviṣṭāyām tu tārāyām saha strībhiḥ svam ālayam / nagaryā nirayau krudhho mahāsarpa iva śvasan || sa niḥsvasya mahāroṣo vālī . . . ;* 37, 37 : 38, 1 *pratiṣṭagrāha ca prītas teṣām sarvam upāyanam || pratigṛhya ca tat s. u. upāhṛtam . . . ;* in direct speech: 4, 18, 36 *śṛṇu cāpy aparam bhūyaḥ kāraṇam haripuṅgava / tac chrutvā hi mahad vīra na manyum kartum arhasi.* Cf. also Rām. 4, 38, 19 f. where *niśidetī tato* 'bravit. || *niṣaṇṇam tam tato dṛṣṭvā* would likewise, in modern eyes, be much too wordy.

That this was not the only type of 'concatenation' may appear from the following examples: Rām. 4, 11, 85 f. *cikṣepa . . . / asurasya tanum . . . || kṣiptam dṛṣṭvā tataḥ kāyam s. punar abravīt* "he (R.) hurled away the body . . ., having seen that it was f. a. S. said . . .": here we would, in matter-of-fact style, prefer "then, thereupon, and", or "seeing that". Similarly 49; 19, 5 f. *te . . . trastāḥ pradudruvuh || sā dadarśa tatas trastān harin āpatataḥ* "they frightened ran away. She saw the monkeys fly frightened". Rām. 4, 34, 3 f. *utpapāta . . . || utpatantam anūtpetuḥ . . . striyaḥ* (see above). Notice also cases such as Mbh. 3, 297, 34 *prajāś tva-yaiva niyamena samyatā, niyamya caitā nayase nikāmayā*, where the absolute repeats the phrase *niyamena samyatāḥ*; 7, 15, 6 f. *saubhadraḥ . . .*

⁴⁹) See the remarks made by H. Fränkel, in the Nachr. Gött. Ges. d. Wiss. 1924, p. 89.

bhīmena vāritaḥ || vārayitvā tu saubhadraṁ bhīmasenaḥ ...; 7, 28, 1 f. *yiyāsatas ... || taṁ prayāntam ...*

Epic instances are very numerous: with an absolutive: Mbh. 1, 49, 24 *mṛgaṁ vivyādha ... viddhvā cānvasarat tūrṇam*, the particle marking immediate succession⁵⁰), similar instances of 'Anschlusstellung' being 1, 3, 43; 3, 56, 23 etc. Mbh. 3, 72, 3; 77, 32; 4, 14, 4 U.; 7, 18, 22; 1, 30, 1 f. *sā garuḍena ... abhayaṭa ... || tāṁ bhaṅktvā sa*; 12, 143, 25 f. *dadarśa ... kapotīm śitavihvalām | drṣtvā ... pañjarake 'kṣipat*; 149, 1; 174, 15; 14, 26, 18; Rām. 2, 15, 19; cf. 46, 29; 3, 7, 2; 4, 19, 4; 33, 23; 37, 37; 38, 1 *prati-jagrāha* : *prati-grhya ca*; 38, 19; 66, 14 etc. A special case is the frequent structure Mbh. 12, 146, 19 f. *uvāca ... ity uktvā ...* "he spoke: ...; having spoken he ..."; here the repetition of the verbal idea helps, as a kind of 'Ringkomposition'⁵¹), to remind the hearer of the thread of the story. Cf. e. g. also Rām. 1, 54, 2 *cintayāmāsa ... 5 iti samcintayitvā*; 2, 15, 19 : 24. Sometimes this repetition is an equivalent of our "so that" or "in order to": Mbh. 12, 112, 2 *hanta te 'haṁ pravakṣyāmi ... | yathā rājñeha kartavyaṁ, yac ca kṛtvā sukhī bhavet* "I shall tell you ... what a king should do ... in order to be happy" (or "... and what those works are by which he may become h."). With variation: Mbh. 3, 76, 17 f. *prati-jagrāha : grhītṛvā*; 7, 19, 24; 7, 184, 32 f. *tām ... vācam ... pratyapūjayan. tat sam-pūjya vacaḥ*; cf. Rām. 1, 46, 7; 2, 7, 32 f. *pradadau : dattvā*. With a participle: Mbh. 1, 32, 5; 3, 70, 19; 7, 8, 12; 12, 56. Rām. 2, 11, 20; 49, 2; 3, 3, 16; 4, 9, 12; 15 *praviveśa bilam tataḥ | tasya praviṣṭasya bilam ...*; 10, 17; loc. abs. 66, 27; with variation: Mbh. 4, 16, 6 f. *jagrāha ... | pragrhyamānā*; 7, 10, 2; 20, 29; 29, 9 *varma ... vyaśīryata ... || śīṇavarmā*. 12, 146, 11 f.; Rām. 3, 5, 24 f.; 7, 3 f.; 4, 17, 2 f. *apatat : nipatite*; 26, 22; 30, 1; with a synonym: 4, 50, 3 *āseduḥ ... | teṣāṁ ... vasatām*.

There are in classical texts many interesting instances of what might be called free application of, or variation upon, this device: Aśv. Bc. 5, 9 f. ... *manasaś ca sthitimārgam ālalambe || samavāptamanahsthitīś ca sadyaḥ ... muktaḥ* "he took the path of mental stillness; and his mind at once came to a stand and he was freed from ...": the adverb *sadyaḥ* emphasizes the idea of immediate succession inherent in the Anschlussstellung of the compound containing the repeated element. Kathās. 6, 16 *sasmāra sū taṁ nāgakumārakam | smṛtamātrāgataḥ so 'tha ...* (notice *mātra* : "as soon as ...").

Some post-epic instances may also find a place here: Aśv. Bc. 4, 2 "the women went forth from the city garden (*pratyujjagmuḥ*) ... to meet the king's son ..., and as they approached him (*abhiḡamya ca*), their eyes opened wide in wonder": no repetition in the above sense, but successive actions, although the verbal roots are identical; 5, 67 is, however, modelled upon the ancient schema: *atha so 'vatatāra ... | avatīrya tataś ca*; cf. 6, 57 f.; 5, 44. Kathās. 25, 46 (loc. abs.); 52 (part.); 53 (part.);

⁵⁰) For *ca* after an absolutive, marking immediate succession, see Vāk, vol. 5, p. 30.

⁵¹) See above, p. 83 f.

37, 67 (part.); 76, 26 'grahit || grhitvaiva ca; 77, 29. Often in purāṇas, cf. e. g. Bḍ. 1, 7, 142 *dudoha* ... / *dugdheyam gauḥ* ...; BrP. 6, 45 f. *darśayāmāsa* ... / *sa tu dr̥ṣṭvaiva*; 152, 34 f. *punar daduḥ* || *punar dattvā*; ViPur. 4, 15, 18 f. (prose) *tasmimś ca puṇḍarīkanayane jāyamāne. jātena ca tena* ...; VāP. 9, 3 *svātmanā samayūyujat. yuktātmanas tatas tasya*.

It may finally be recalled that this syntactic phenomenon is also found in the Middle Indo-Aryan dialects. In the Ardha-Māgadhī prose the number 2 is very often used as a sign of repetition after verbal forms. It does, however, not suggest the simple repetition of the verb, but the absolutive (gerund) deriving from the same root and it points out the succession of acts thus enumerated: Vip. 14 *sā* ... *catāri putte savvālan-kāravibhūsie karei 2 bhagavaḥ goyamaṣṣa pāesu pāḍei 2 evaṃ vayāsī* "she adorned the four sons with all ornaments (and having adorned them) she placed them at the feet of the venerable G. and (h. p. them) spoke thus"⁵²). The same idiom was proper to Pāli. In earlier Pāli a period was in innumerable cases subdivided into several clauses in each of which the verb of the preceding clause was resumed by means of an absolutive: Samy. Nik. V, 177, 2 *atha kho* ... *Ā* ... *upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā* ... *nisīdi, nisajja* ... *avoca* "but Ā. came ..., having come he sat down, h. s. d. he said." In later Pāli this mode of expression has become rare.⁵³)

Sanskrit counterparts of B 870 f. *τῶν μὲν ἄρ' Ἀμφίμαχος καὶ Νάσσης ἡγησάσθην*, / *N. 'A. τε, Νομίνορος ἀγλαὰ τέκνα* have not come to my notice, or they have escaped my attention.

⁵²) A. M. Ghatage, Repetition in Prakrit syntax, New Indian Antiquary 2, Bombay 1939, p. 49.

⁵³) H. Hendriksen, Syntax of the infinite verb-forms of Pāli, Copenhagen 1944, p. 140.

DUPLICATION OF WORDS, WORD GROUPS AND SENTENCES

Although more or less spontaneous word duplication is a rather rare phenomenon among those groups and classes which have, generally speaking, lost contact with what may be called 'primitiveness' — which however is always apt to come to the surface —, that is to say, in those circles where the so-called intellectual or modern mental structure dominates, it is in natural, emotional speech far from being unimportant. "Nothing is more natural than the prevalence of reduplication, in other words, the repetition of all or part of the radical element" ¹⁾. Those authors who have been inclined to hold opposite opinions, contending for instance that 'iterative compounds' are comparatively speaking rare ²⁾, probably forgot that they had selected their examples from literary languages or standard usage. As this book is not concerned with word formation we will leave the phenomena of reduplication (consisting in the repetition of part of the word, usually at the beginning) undiscussed, confining ourselves in the following observations chiefly to complete gemination or reduplication, whether of words and phrases or clauses ³⁾, and that mainly from the point of view of syntax and stylistics. The relevant facts have already been enumerated by my predecessors; we can therefore confine ourselves to a résumé and some additional observations.

As the repetition of words, to express, as the case may be, the various ideas of frequency, distribution, intensity, variety, or continuance is wide-spread in many — Indo-European ⁴⁾ or other — languages and as it

¹⁾ E. Sapir, *Language*, New York 1921, p. 79.

²⁾ Cf. L. H. Gray, *Foundations of language*, New York 1939, p. 164.

³⁾ For duplication in general see A. F. Pott, *Doppelung, als eines der wichtigsten Bindungsmittel der Sprache*, 1862, and the present author, *The function of word duplication in Indonesian languages*, *Lingua* 2 (1950), p. 170 ff.; the Vedic phenomena were discussed by H. Collitz, *Über eine besondere Art vedischer Composita*, *Verh. des V. intern. Orientalistencongresses* I, 2, Berlin 1882, p. 287 ff.; Delbrück, *Altindische Syntax*, p. 51 ff.; the same, *Vergl. Syntax* III, p. 141 ff.; Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik* II, 1, Göttingen 1905, p. 142 ff. (with a bibliography); Speyer, *Sanskrit Syntax*, p. 190 ff.; Renou, *Grammaire sanscrite*, p. 121; 499 (bibliography); H. R. Diwekar, *Les fleurs de rhétorique de l'Inde*, Paris 1930, p. 38; 42 f. — For Chinese (emphasis; repetition of the process by several persons): J. Mullie, *Structural principles of the Chinese language*, Peiping 1937, II, p. 640.

⁴⁾ For other Indo-European languages see e.g. Delbrück, *Vergl. Syntax*, l.c.; Leumann-Hofmann, o.c., p. 12; 374; 485; 833 f.; 850; Schwyzler-Debrunner, o.c., II, p. 699 f.; W. Vondrák, *Vergl. Slav. Gramm.* II, Göttingen 1928, p. 574 f.

is up to now a marked characteristic of the modern Indo-Aryan idioms ⁵⁾, it is warranted to suppose that it was also a feature of colloquial Ancient Indian. The rather numerous occurrences in the texts themselves corroborate this hypothesis.

One of the basic functions of all duplication ⁶⁾ consists in denoting repetition, reiteration, frequency etc. That is to say: in correlation with a series of similar or almost similar impressions a repeated term can be apt to convey the ideas of frequency or repetition ⁷⁾, for instance repetition of action: in Mori (Celebes) *mēlonso-lonso* means "to leap repeatedly", in Malay *ogèl-ogèl* "to wag (of a dog's tail)"; in Haida (Amer. Indian) *la qî'ngA ñgAñ* "he looks many times"; in Jain Māhār. Vasudevahiṇḍi 74, 14 *te ya bhayavanto paṇamanto paṇamanto aikkamai* "saluting those venerable sages repeatedly he goes forward". Compare, in Sanskrit, e. g. *punar* "back, again" which in the sense of "again and again, repeatedly" is as a rule geminated: ṚV. 1, 92, 10 *punaḥ punar jāyamānā purāṇī* "the ancient goddess (Uṣas or Dawn) who is born again and again"; 3, 5, 7; Mṛch. 10, 32+ *tālia tālia* "by beating and beating".

The iterative idea may imply distribution ⁸⁾. What may be called distributive plurality is often indicated by duplication. "Ein Substantiv wird . . . wiederholt, wenn sein Begriff in wiederholter Erscheinung gedacht wird" ⁹⁾: Ungar. *ottan* ² "in places", Roum. *simbata* ² "every Saturday"; Lat. *locis et locis*; AMāg. Vipākāśr. 9 *gehe gehe kālunavadiyāe vittim kappemāne viharai* "he lived maintaining himself by piteously begging from house to house"; Hindi *ban* ² *māre phire* "they wandered about in forest after forest". In Sanskrit most instances denote temporal or spatial ideas. Significantly enough, the locative is comparatively speaking very frequent. This case which generally speaking denotes a definite relation which may be described as the sphere ('Bereich') in which the process takes place, is especially when this 'sphere' is a particular point in place or in time often susceptible of repetition. From an examination of the R̥gvedic instances the noticeable fact emerges that these locatives—*pade* ², *grhe* ², *dame* ², *vane* ², *ahar* ², *gātre* ², *jane* ², *raṇe* ² etc. ¹⁰⁾—are always placed at the beginning or the end of a pāda, where they, being 'ponderous' by themselves, attract special attention. There are two exceptions: 1, 101, 4 . . . / *ya āritah karmani-karmani sthirah* ¹¹⁾ and 8, 93, 17 . . . / *yat some-soma*

⁵⁾ See e.g. S. H. Kellogg, A grammar of the Hindi language³, London 1938, p. 492 ff.; J. Bloch, L'Indo-aryen, Paris 1934, p. 162; A. M. Ghatage, Repetition in Prakrit Syntax, N. I. A. 2 (Bombay 1939), p. 47 ff.

⁶⁾ In this chapter the terms duplication, doubling, and gemination are used promiscuously.

⁷⁾ Cf. also E. Hofmann, Ausdrucksverstärkung, Göttingen 1930, ch. I.

⁸⁾ Cf. e.g. also T. G. Bailey, Grammar of the Shina language, London 1924, p. 75 (distribution); I. Gershevitch, Grammar of Man, Sogdian, Oxford 1954, p. 236.

⁹⁾ Wackernagel, o.c., II, 1, p. 143.

¹⁰⁾ See Collitz, o.c.; Delbrück, V. S. III, p. 142 ff.

¹¹⁾ But compare PGS. 2, 17, 9 *karmani* ² *svāhā*.

ābhavaḥ, which may be semantically kept apart from the above words. Places where this duplication is made subservient to more extensive sound repetition are strikingly infrequent: 9, 73, 4 *pade-pade pāśinaḥ santi setavaḥ*; 10, 40, 1 *prātaryāvāṇaṃvibhvaṃ viṣe-viṣe vastor-vastor vahanānaṃ dhiyā śami*; 6, 47, 11 *have² suhavam*; 7, 38, 8 *vāje-vāje vata vājinaḥ*; 10, 91, 2; cf. 1, 138, 3. The conclusion may be that these duplications were to a large extent syntactic, not stylistic, devices: they were mechanized. In the Avesta we find, in a similar way, Vend. 5, 10 *nmāne nmāne visi visi* "in house on h. (in every house), in village on v.". Some stanzas contain a plurality of duplicated nouns: R.V. 10, 91, 2 *sa darśataśrīr atithir grhe-grhe* / *vane-vane śiśriye takvarīr iva* / *janaṃ-janaṃ janyo nāti manyate* / *viśa ā kṣeti viśyo viśam-viśam*: a piece of deliberate art. Cf. 10, 53, 3; 163, 6 (cf. AV. 2, 33, 7) in a magical text: *aṅgād² lomno² / jātam parvaṇi²*.

With regard to those duplicated substantives which are not in the locative it may be observed that in the Rgveda they often occur in pairs: at the beginning of two successive pādas: 1, 168, 1 *yajñā-yajñā vaḥ samanā tuturvaṇir* / *dhiyaṃ-dhiyaṃ vo devayā u dadhidhve*; 6, 48, 1 *yajñā-yajñā vo agnaye* / *girā-girā ca dakṣase*; 5, 15, 4; 9, 55, 1, cf. 6, 49, 8; 8, 12, 19 *devam-devam* is resumed by *indram-indram* "always the god Indra"; cf. also 6, 15, 6; 3, 26, 6 *vrātaṃ-vrātaṃ gaṇaṃ-gaṇaṃ* / *suśastibhīr agner bhāmam marutām oja imahe*; 9, 77, 3 in the same pāda (amplification). Three occurrences in the same hemistich: 5, 53, 11 *śardhaṃ-śardhaṃ va eṣāṃ* / *vrātaṃ-vrātaṃ gaṇaṃ-gaṇaṃ suśastibhiḥ* / *anu krāmema dhītibhiḥ* "host after host of these, troop after troop, multitude after multitude we will accompany with well-made recitations, with religious thoughts": suggesting the numerousness of the Maruts and the 'ramifications' of their 'organization'? The stanza 1, 123, 4 *grhaṃ-grhaṃ ahanā yāty achā dive-dive adhi nāmā dadhānā* / *siṣāsanti dyotanā śasvad āgād* / *agram-agram id bhajate vasūnām* in stating that Uṣas (Dawn) comes from house to house, bearing her name day after day, possessing what is the best of all helps by its very rhythm to create the impression that the goddess is omnipresent, ever-returning and always bountiful. R.V. 10, 37, 9 may in a similar way be regarded as suggesting an uninterrupted increase of prosperity: *ahnāhnā no vasyasā-vasyasod ihi*; cf. 9, 55, 1. The stanza 8, 27, 13 is remarkable by an anaphoric *devam-devam* combining with rhyme: *devam-devam vo vāse* / *devam-devam abhiṣṭaye* / *devam-devam huvema vājasātaye grṇanto devyā dhiyā* "jeden Gott wollen wir zu eurem Beistand, jeden Gott, damit wir zur Geltung kommen, jeden Gott . . . rufen" (Geldner). In 3, 4, 1 two instances of duplication combine with alliteration and adnomination: 4, 7, 1; 5, 8, 5; and especially 10, 40, 1 are characterized by alliteration; 7, 90, 2 by adnomination: *jāto-jāto jāyate vājy asya* "every successive son who is born to him is possessed of victorious power". Ghatage¹²) is no doubt right in emphasizing that the translation "every"

¹²) Ghatage, o.c., p. 51.

is in these cases not very accurate, because it generally speaking leaves out the idea of succession implied in the original and adds the sense of totality which may not always be present in it. Again, plurality, repetition or succession in the phenomenal world are reflected by repetition in language.

That this procedure was also noticed and utilized by the authors of magical formulas may appear from AV. 10, 6, 5 *tasmai ghṛtaṃ surāṃ madhv annaṃ annaṃ kṣadāmahe* / *sa naḥ piteva putrebhyaḥ śreyas śreyas cikitsatu* / *bhūyo bhūyaḥ śvaḥ śvo devebhyo maṇir etya* "to it we distribute . . . food after food . . . ; let it provide . . . what is better and better, more and more, morrow after morrow". Some examples borrowed from Vedic prose are: TS. 2, 5, 6, 6 *tasmād ahar ahar manuṣyā aśanam ichante* "therefore men desire food day by day ("einen Tag nach dem andern")"; 2, 4, 12, 2 *sa iṣumātraṃ iṣumātraṃ viṣvaññ avaradhata* "he grew on all sides an arrow (shot)" (i. e. "a bowshot here, a b. there"); AiB. 4, 13, 4 *naur . . . tīraṃ tīraṃ ṛccanti* "ein Schiff, das immer wieder ans Ufer anstöszt" ¹³); KauṣB. 13, 1 "he pays homage: 'h. ! h. !'": *namaḥ, namaḥ*; cf. Ś.Ā. 1, 5; comm. on Pāṇ. 8, 1, 12 *jyestham jyestham praveśaya* "allow them to enter in order of age".

This iterative, distributive, continuative force of this device led the authors to have recourse to it in passages such as: AiB. 1, 10, 7 *devatā akṣarabhājāḥ karoty, akṣareṇākṣareṇaiva tad devatām prīṇāti* "he makes the deities sharers in the syllables; verily thus s. by s. he delights a deity": it is not a rare procedure to begin a following syntactic unit by a term occurring in the preceding. Cf. also 2, 37, 14. Id. 4, 27, 4 *yathādo 'śvair . . . anyair anyair aśrāntatarair aśrāntatarair upavimokaṃ yānti*; ŚB. 12, 7, 1, 1 *tasvendriyaṃ vīryam aṅgād aṅgād asravat* "... flowed from limb after limb"; AiB. 5, 25, 2 *pratigrṇāty avasite 'vasite daśasu padeṣu*; AiB. 5, 31, 6 *prātaḥ*²; 6, 1, 1 *madhyamdine*²; 7, 12, 8 *ahaḥ*² "day by day"; 1, 23, 3 *dvir dvir ekaikam upāyan* "they performed . . . one by one twice each"; PB. 8, 6, 9 *girā girā* "by hymn on hymn" ¹⁴). ChU. 6, 3, 3 *tāsāṃ trivṛtaṃ trivṛtaṃ ekaikāṃ karavāṇīti*; Cf. also Mbh. 3, 76, 7 *dvāri*², etc. etc. As a rule these occurrences are no occasion for stylistic comment. They add however to the amount of repetitional word groups.

But cases in which the repetition conveys a marked shade of emphasis are not absent: TS. 2, 6, 6, 1 *dhiyā dhiyā tvā vadhyāsur yo mā prāvoca iti* "at pleasure may they slay you, since you have denounced me!"

As already stated Diwekar ¹⁵) is no doubt mistaken in contending that RV. 1, 12, 2 *agnim agniṃ havimabhiḥ sadā havanta viśpatim* / *havyavāham* . . . " 'Agni, Agni' they always invoke with invocations, the lord of the clan, the bearers of the oblations . . ." is an example of poetical ornament-

¹³) Wackernagel, o.c. I, p. 143, and not: "moving to either bank" (Keith, Rigveda brāhmaṇas, p. 207).

¹⁴) See also Caland, Pañcaviṃśa-brāhmaṇa, Calcutta 1931, p. 177.

¹⁵) Diwekar, o.c., p. 8. See also ch. I, p. 12.

ation: "la répétition ici ne sert qu'à orner le vers". On the contrary, the name of the god, which in ritual and in daily life is pronounced more than once, is in a natural way repeated: on every occasion for worship (*sadā*) people invoke the god: "Agni, and again Agni . . .". Compare especially MS. 2, 4, 8; 45, 13 *yathā vā idam nāmagrāham asā asā iti hvayati* "even as here (i. e. in daily life) one calls, while mentioning the name, 'hey, Mr. So-and-So, hey, Mr. So-and-So' ". Similarly 6, 15, 6; 8, 60, 17. The line 10, 96, 5 *tvam tvam aharyathā upastutaḥ* may be viewed in the same light: "Thou, thou" i. e. "Thou alone"; RV. 10, 22, 12 *vayam vayam ta āsām sumne syāma* "immer nur wir wollen in der Gunst dieser deiner (Übermacht) stehen" (Geldner) may be compared to 5, 77, 2 *pūrvah-pūrvo yajamāno vanīyān* "je früher der Opfernde daran ist, desto mehr gewinnt er" (Geldner), or rather "jedesmal der welcher . . ." (Collitz).¹⁶

Continual action is also indicated by the repeated verb in PB. 12, 6, 8 (Indra had deceitfully killed Namuci, whose head rolling after him kept crying) "man-slayer, you have cheated, y. h. ch.": *adruho 'druhaḥ*.

Adjectives are often subject to duplication¹⁷, a device especially adopted to denote a high degree of a quality. In Hindi, a repeated adjective is intensive in force: *suthare-suthare bastr* "the cleanest clothes"; this also includes exactitude: *bāṭikā ke bīc-bīc meṃ* "in the very middle of the garden"; similarly, in the Prākritis: AMāg. Vip. 32 *mahayā mahayā saddeṇaṃ ugghosemāṇā* "proclaiming with a very loud voice". Sanskrit instances of this 'intensive' duplication are rare: e. g. *alpālpa-* "very little": Kāl. Megh. 78¹⁸; Mṛch. 9, 29+ *kiṃnimittam uvviggo uvviggo via lakkhīasi* "... greatly excited (distressed)". Sometimes¹⁹ this device is familiar: BKŚS. 20, 335 *sā tathāpi priyā priyā / priyāṃ vegavatīm prāpya yat satyaṃ vismṛtaiva me* "though I loved her very much . . .". The Vedic examples 8, 2, 25 // *panyam panyam* and 74, 10 / *p. p.* may be considered to point out the intensity of the quality: "(uninterruptedly, thoroughly, always . . .)".

Adverbs and expressions doing duty for adverbs are often subject to such tendencies as cumulation ('Abundanz'), repetition, and other intensive or emotional procedures²⁰. In many languages adverbs are often duplicative, especially to express intensive, iterative (Manu 7, 81 *tatra tatra*) or emotive connotations: in the Indonesian Tontemboan (Celebes) *ure* means "long", but *ure-ure* "quite a long time"; the Mod. Pers. *mūr-mūrāna* means "slowly", *mūr* "an ant"²¹; the Japanese *masu-masu*

¹⁶) Collitz, o.c., p. 289.

¹⁷) See Lingua, 2, p. 185 ff.

¹⁸) Manu 7, 129 the sense is "little by little".

¹⁹) But not always (otherwise: Renou, Gr. sanscr., p. 499).

²⁰) "L'adverbe est le support de l'élément subjectif de la pensée, et l'intonation variable se charge d'exprimer la dose de sentiment qui l'accompagne" (Ch. Bally, Traité de stylistique française, Heidelberg-Paris, I², p. 320); see also (Leumann-) Hofmann, Lat. Gramm., p. 833 f.

²¹) For other examples see Lingua, 2, p. 192 ff.

“repeatedly”; *usu-usu* “faintly” ²²). In the Indian idioms the repetition of these words is fairly frequent: in Pāli we find *Dīgha Nik.* 1, 226 ... *bhagavantam piṭṭhito piṭṭhito anubaddo hoti* “... was following the Lord very closely (right on his heels)”, the single *p.* meaning “(from) behind”; in the Veda: *ṚV.* 6, 28, 2 *bhūyo bhūyo rayim id asya vardhayan* “increasing his possessions more and more”. Emphasis is expressed: *ṚV.* 3, 31, 20 *makṣū makṣū* “recht bald” (Geldner); 7, 59, 11 *iheha vaḥ ... yajñam ā vr̥ṇe* “hier und nirgend anders wo” (Ludwig), rather than “überall” (Geldner). Compare, in Latin *iam iam (que)*; *longe longe (que)*.

The repetition of absolutes to denote a continual action ²³) is found already in the brāhmaṇas: *sa vai saṃmr̥jya saṃmr̥jya pratapya pratapya pra yachati* “every time after having ...”

Pronouns when geminated are often to be taken ‘distributively’ or ‘indefinitely’: *TS.* 1, 7, 4, 6 *yad yad bhrātr̥vyasyābhidyāyet ...* “whatever of his enemy’s he may covet ...”; *ṚV.* 8, 21, 9 *yo na idam idam purā pra vasya ānināya* “who has brought us formerly this and that welfare”; 8, 39, 4 *tad tad agnir vayo dadhe yathā yathā kṛpaṇyati*. The procedure was largely mechanized, although such phrases as e. g. occur *JUB.* 1, 60, 1 *tasmād bahu kiṃ ca kiṃ ca manasā dhyāyati* “... many things, whatever they may be” or 3, 2, 1 *taṃ ha nādadrāte ko vā ko veti manyamānau* “they did not care for him believing him to be nothing to them” are not devoid of a certain emotional nuance.

Numerals are generally repeated in a distributive sense: in the Hindi sentence “in every house ten or twelve people are lying ill” the words for house, ten, and twelve are pronounced twice, and in Pāli, *Mhvs.* 6, 37 *duve duve putte janayi kālē sā* means “she gave birth to sons two at a time”. Vedic examples are numerous: *ṚV.* 3, 55, 18 *soḥā yuktāḥ pañca pañca*; 8, 68, 14 *ṣaḍ dvā dvā*; 10, 55, 3; 75, 1 always in connection with other numerals, attesting the antiquity of the predilection for combinations of numerals in India; 10, 48, 6.

According to Delbrück ²⁴) the repetition of prepositions expresses ‘repetition’. This is not incorrect, but the procedure may also imply an element of emotion: in a minority of cases the phrase *pra pra*—which, being by far the most frequent, is always placed at the beginning of a pāda—is predominantly intensive or emphatic in character: *ṚV.* 5, 5, 5 *pra pra yajñam pr̥ṇitana* “machet das Opfer recht vollständig!” (Geldner); 7, 8, 4 *pra prāyam agnir bharatasya śr̥ṇve* “dieser A. des B. ist weit berühmt” (Geldner); 8, 69, 1 may perhaps be described as intensive-adhortative in character: *pra pra vas triṣṭubham iṣam* “(traget) ... euren T.-Ohrenschmaus vor!” (Geldner); cf. also 9, 9, 2; 6, 48, 1; 7, 6, 3. In 1, 40, 7 *pra*

²²) For particulars see e.g. G. Sansom, *A hist. Grammar of Japanese*, Oxford 1928, p. 132; 296.

²³) Cf. Pāṇini 3, 4, 22. See also Speyer, *Ved. u. Skt. Syntax*, § 224.

²⁴) Delbrück, *Altindische Syntax*, p. 55; cf. *Vergl. Syntax III*, p. 150 “wiederholte Bewegung im Raume”.

pra is found together with two anaphoric emotional questions (cf. also 1, 129, 8; 1, 138, 1); 1, 150, 3 *pra pret* (= *pra* + *id*). AV. 7, 26, 3 *pra pra yajñapatiṃ tira* the phrase helps to suggest the idea of uninterrupted continuation ("on and on"); cf. VS. 11, 83 etc. Similar remarks could be made with regard to RV. 1, 126, 7 *upopa me parā mṛṣa* "fasz mich doch daran". Although the meaning of 8, 74, 9 is "may she add renown to renown" the double preposition helps to form a stanza which is rich in sound repetition: *sā dyumnair dyumninī bṛhad upopa śravasi śravaḥ / dadhīta vr̥tratūrye*. Compare also RV. 10, 191, 1 = AV. 6, 63, 4²⁵). That *upary upari* and *adho 'dha* imply the idea of proximity—"offenbar eine Abart der Steigerung"—was already taught by Pāṇini²⁶). A kind of 'Steigerung' is also expressed ŚaṅB. 2, 3, 5 *yo vai dhurāṃ dhūstvaṃ veda dhurā-dhurā bhrātr̥vyād vasiyān bhavati* "... becomes richer in loads" (cf. JB. 1, 107).

Strange to say some authors²⁷) have in studying the phenomenon under discussion entirely overlooked its emotional aspects. From a psychological point of view it was however argued²⁸), half a century ago, that new or startling events, that anything making a vivid impression on our senses and any sudden or unexpected action, noise or appearance, in a word that any emotion may make us resort to linguistic iteration and duplication. Although it is evident that various procedures of doubling, repetition of the same idea, and 'Abundanz' are often applied to be clear, to emphasize, to be unequivocally understood, it must, indeed, be readily admitted that emotion and excitement not rarely urge us to pronounce especially those words or sentences which are laden with emotion twice or even three or four times²⁹). As several scholars already had occasion to note this universal human disposition is at the root of various morphological, syntactic and stylistic phenomena.

Emotional duplication (in the more limited sense of the term) is attested by the doubled vocative, emphatical exclamations etc.³⁰). The so-called initial vocative—rather: the vocative preceding a sentence³¹)—is sometimes emotionally repeated³²): MŚS. 1, 2, 5, 10 *patni patny eṣa te lokah* "O wife, wife, this is your world!". This is in harmony with the fact that in many languages the non-emphatic vocative is inserted in the sentence,

²⁵) And Geldner, o.c., III, p. 404; Whitney-Lanman, o.c., p. 329.

²⁶) Pāṇini 8, 1, 7; see Delbrück, Vergl. Syntax, III, p. 151.

²⁷) For instance E. Cassirer, Philosophie der symbolischen Formen, I, Berlin, 1923, p. 143.

²⁸) J. van Ginneken, in the Leuvense Bijdragen 6 (1906), p. 288 ff.

²⁹) See also J. Vendryes, Le langage, Paris 1921, p. 180; Hofmann, Lateinische Umgangssprache², 1936, § 59 ff.; § 85 ff.; Havers, Handbuch, p. 160 f. (§ 139).

³⁰) See Wackernagel, p. 144 (§ 59 bβ).

³¹) This vocative is often not subject to the usual sandhi rules: Pañc. 1, 15, 17 *bhadra, aham* instead of *bhadrāham*.

³²) Cf. Pāṇini 8, 1, 8 "a vocative at the beginning of a sentence is repeated to express indignation, approval, anger, abuse, and menace".

the emphatic made to precede it: Schiller, *Räuber* 72, 6 *Franz, verlasz meine Amalia nicht!*³³⁾ Other examples are: RV. 10, 146, 1 *āraṇyāni āraṇyāni* . . . "O Mistress of the jungle" ("angstvolle Anrufung der Göttin der Wildnis"³⁴⁾); Mṛch. 8, 30 + *bāle bāle* "girl! girl!"; compare, in Greek *E* 31 **Aqες *Aqες* and in Latin, Ter. Andr. 282 *o Mysis, Mysis*; Ad. 256 *o frater, frater*.³⁵⁾ Notice also the type Mṛch. 9, 29 + *kadham bhāva-rebhilo. bho bh.-r.* "what?, friend R.; O, f. R."; in Latin, Ter. Hec. 856 *o Bacchis, o mea Bacchis*. Interjections are of course often geminated³⁶⁾: Mbh. 5, 179, 36 *dhig dhig ity abruvan*; 3, 53, 4 *hā heti rudatī*. Kathās. 12, 182 *hā hāham patitāsmi*. Examples of exclamations are: BārU. 2, 1, 1 *janakaḥ, janaka iti vai janā dhāvanti* "people indeed will run hither, crying: 'A J., a J.'" (cf. *a Croesus*). Mbh. 3, 62, 9 *drśyase drśyase, rūjann, eṣa dr̥ṣṭo 'si naiṣadha*. Imperatives are apt to be geminated, e. g. Rām. 2, 21, 12 "let the enemy be slain, be slain!"; 6, 101, 46 (and elsewhere) *ehy ehi*³⁷⁾; Mṛch. 1, 8 + *marisedu marisedu ajjo* "pardon, pardon, Sir!"; ibid. *ajja pasida pasida* "be calm, Sir, be calm"; 10, 52 +; ViPur. 1, 18, 9 *tvaryatām tvaryatām*; BhāṣP. 7, 7, 8 *muñca muñca*: the ideas expressed are often required to be stated with emphasis. In the R̥gveda we find 2, 11, 11 *pibā-pibet* "drink, do drink" and 8, 1, 30 *stuki stukit*. Insistence and continual action are indicated by the construction *lunīhi lunīhity evāyam alāvīt* "cut, cut, in this way he cut", i. e. "he cut and cut again", which survives in Mārāṭhi³⁸⁾.

The so-called vetative particle *mā*—which rejects the realization of a process³⁹⁾—is doubled BārU. 2, 1, 2 *mā maitasmin samvadiṣṭhāḥ* "please don't talk about him!"; Kathās. 12, 183 *devi mā mā pata*.

Threefold emotional repetition is attested by Pat. on Pāṇ. 8, 1, 12 v. : *ahir ahir ahir budhyasva b. b.* "a snake, a s. a. s., take care, t. c., t. c."; or rather the exclamation is repeated as often as necessary⁴⁰⁾. Triplication is, incidentally, also found in ritual formulas: *namo brahmaṇe* (e. g. TĀ. 2, 13, 1) is ĀSS. 12, 15, 12 repeated, AiB. 8, 9, 5 and 6 pronounced three times, the triplication being expressly stated in the text⁴¹⁾.

Poets being not averse to using geminated words sometimes gave them a certain stylistic value: Rām. 2, 42, 12 *nivṛtyaiva nivṛtyaiva sīdato rathavartmasu* (*punaḥ punar ity arthaḥ* comm.) suggesting the idea that in returning each step was torture; 3, 11, 50 *tatra tatra*; a certain iterative

³³⁾ It is my intention to revert to this point in another publication.

³⁴⁾ Wackernagel, o.c., II, 1, p. 144; see also Geldner, *Der Rig-veda*, III, p. 379.

³⁵⁾ See also Hofmann, *Lat. Umgangssprache*, § 21 and § 59.

³⁶⁾ Cf. also G. S. Overdiep, *Stilistische grammatica van het moderne Nederlandsch*, Zwolle 1937, p. 518.

³⁷⁾ See also Diwekar, o.c., p. 81.

³⁸⁾ Cf. comm. on Pāṇ. 3, 4, 2 and R. G. Bhandarkar, *JRAS.* = B. 16 (1885), p. 85.

³⁹⁾ See *The character of the Indo-European moods*, Wiesbaden 1956, p. 197 ff.

⁴⁰⁾ For the number three in Vedic religion see A. A. Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, Strassburg 1897, p. 189; cf. also ŚB. 5, 1, 4, 11 "what is threefold belongs to the gods".

⁴¹⁾ Compare also (Leumann-Hofmann, o.c., p. 834.

force is inherent in 1, 57, 1 *vinīḥsvasya vinīḥsvasya* "sighing at every breath"; 3, 4, 7 *udyamyodyamya*. Bhāsa, Vās. 4, 6 *smṛtvā smṛtvā yāti duḥkham navatvam* "by constant recollection . . ."; Kāl. R. 4, 6 *kāle kāle : sarveṣv api योग्यakāleṣu*. In some stanzas the four long syllables at the beginning of each quarter are in the Meghadūta, no doubt deliberately, filled up by a geminated noun ⁴²): 9 *kāle kāle bhavati bhavatā* (adnominatio) "in every season"; suggestive of uninterrupted repetition "in e. s. he sheds hot tears due to long separation"; 10 *mandam mandam nudati pavanaś cānukūlo yathā tvām* : the four long syllables and the nasals focus, for a moment, the attention exclusively on the sense of the adverb: "very gently, slowly" — the duplication in the sense of "high degree" (*ādḥikye*), comm.—: "as a favourable breeze very gently impels you on"; 13 *khinnah khinnah śikharīṣu padam nyasya gantāsi yatra / kṣīṇah kṣīṇah parilaghu payah srotasām copayujya* (notice the vertical correspondence) "the path which you are to pursue after setting foot on mountains, whenever fatigued — according to the commentator Vallabhadeva: *ādḥikye*, or, less probably: very fatigued, as the Durghaṭavṛtti, on Pān. 8, 1, 12 would have us take it ⁴³) — and also after drinking the wholesome water of streams, whenever you find yourself exhausted": anyhow the repetition and the long syllables join in emphasizing the idea of exhaustion expressed in the text. Giving way, in the ninth song of the Raghuvamśa, to an inclination to sound repetition Kālidāsa composed also a stanza in which the word *tilaka-* was, in two different meanings, repeated: 41 . . . *aṅkitah / na khalu śobhayati sma vanasthalīm / na tilakas tilakah pramadām iva* : the subject is, in an uncommon way, placed at the end of the long clause.

Foreign to the matter under discussion, but worth mentioning are some examples of word repetition dealt with by Diwekar ⁴⁴): Rām. 2, 26, 8 the alliterative pāda *prāṇebhyo 'pi priyām priyām* means "the dearest, dearer than life"; 3, 22, 9 *himavān himavān giriḥ* "the Himālaya (the snowy one) is covered with snow"; 1, 3, 5 *rāmarāma vivādam* "the dispute between two men called Rāma". An extreme case of repetition of the same word in different meanings is the stanza Rām. 5, 32, 45 *suvarṇasya suvarṇasya / suvarṇasya ca bhāvinī / rāmeṇa prahitaṁ devī / suvarṇasyāṅguriyakam* a specimen of the artificial utilization of the possibilities inherent in natural procedures, favoured by classical and post-classical poets: "Rāma sends you, fair princess, this ring, made of gold, of beautiful colour and well-engraved letters and weighing a suvarṇa". A peculiar form of word repetition may be exemplified by a Prākṛit line: JainMāhār. Vaj. 358 *taha vi hu haṁso haṁso kō kō cciya varāo* "even then the swan remains a swan and the crow a crow". The repetition of nouns so as to be used in two different meanings or syntactic relations was noted by the Indian stylistic

⁴²) Compare e.g. also the suggestive force of the long sequences of syllables *nītvā māsān* (2), *nītvā rātrim* (38), *nūtā rātriḥ* (88).

⁴³) Thus also R. H. Assier de Pompignan, Meghadūta, Paris 1938, p. 5.

⁴⁴) Diwekar, o.c., p. 38 ff.

experts who discussed it under the heading *yamaka* or repetition of syllable groups ⁴⁵). From the examples adduced by Daṇḍin one may be quoted here: 3, 16 *hāriṇī hāriṇī śarma tanutām tanutām yataḥ* "let this charming beauty with the necklace bring weal unto me who am already reduced to a skeleton". The great predilection of many poets flourishing in later periods for sound repetition led them to compose, on a basis which essentially and originally was natural, highly artificial stanzas, in which this figure combining with other forms of sound repetition recurs twice or even more than twice and in which the group of syllables affected by the repetition are far from forming always separate words: 3, 8 *madhuraṁ madhur ambhojavādane vada netrayoḥ | vibhramam bhramara-bhrāntyā vidambayati kiṁ nu te* "tell me, does Spring, by the wandering of the bees, (merely) imitate the sweet playful dance of the two eyes on your lotus-face?"

Repetition of syntactic groups is comparatively rare: PB. 8, 7, 4 *yathā . . . ittham iva cettham ceti* "like . . . thus and thus", no doubt accompanied by a gesture indicating the manner more precisely ⁴⁶); PrU. 3, 4, *etān grāmān etān grāmān adhiṭiṣṭhasveti* "you superintend such and such villages"; KauṣB. 13, 9 *kasmād dhotā yakṣad dhotā yakṣat*. In *aho darśanīyāho darśanīyā* "is not she pretty!" (see comm. on Pāṇ. 8, 1, 12) the device helps to express excellence or a high degree. There are indeed interesting instances of repeated sentences: AiB. 1, 2, 6 *yad vāva sa tatra yathābhājanam devatā amum āvahāmum āvahety āvāhayati, tad eva hotur hotṛtvam* "in that he there according to their sharing invites the deities, saying: 'Bring hither N. N., bring hither N. N.', that is why the hotar has the name". Here the repetition indicates that the same process is, or was, performed on many occasions or in connection with a plurality of beings. Similarly, ŚB. 3, 1, 1, 10 *imaṁ iti vicakṣvemam iti vicakṣva*; AiB. 1, 21, 16 *yābhir amum āvatam, yābhir amum āvatam ity, etāvato hātrāśvinau kāmān dadṛṣatuḥ* "by which ye did help N. N., by . . . N. N. (he says), so many desires do the Aśvins see in it"; 6, 14, 5. Cf. KauṣB. 11, 4 "all the gods resort to the hotar, expecting: 'with me will he begin, w. m. w. h. b.'". AiB. 2, 1, 4 *vajro vai yūpaḥ, sa eṣa dviṣato vadha udyatas tiṣṭhati. tasmād dhāpy etarhi yo dveṣṭi tasyāpriyam bhavaty amuṣyāyaṁ yūpo 'muṣyāyaṁ yūpa iti dṛṣṭvā* "The sacrificial post is a thunderbolt; it stands erect as a weapon against the enemy. Therefore also the one who hates does, even up to now, feels uneasy in seeing 'this is N. N. 's post, this . . . post'": the eventuality described in the text is likely to happen at any time. AiB. 2, 1, 6 *sarveṣāṁ vā eṣa vanaspatīnāṁ yonir yat palāśas. tasmāt palāśasyaiva palāśenācakṣate 'muṣya palāśam amuṣya palāśam iti* "the p. is the birth-place of all trees; therefore they speak with the term 'p.' of foliage generally, as the f. of N. N.; the f. of N. N.": relevant to many individual

⁴⁵) See e.g. Daṇḍin, *Kāvyādarśa*, 3, 1-77; Mammata, *Kāvyaprakāśa*, 9, 117 ff.

⁴⁶) For the popular phrase *unus et unus* and Peregr. Aether. 6, 2 *signa sibi locis et locis ponent* in Latin see Löfstedt, *Philol. Komm. z. Peregr.*, p. 84 f.

cases. Elsewhere the repetition of the syntactic group expresses continuance or, to quote Collitz ⁴⁷), "ständige Fortdauer"; AiB. 5, 1, 5 *te virūpā bhavata virūpā bhavateṭi bhavanta āyaṃs* "they kept prospering (saying) 'become misshapen, b. m.'": i. e. "they repeated, kept repeating, the words *v. bh.*" Cf. 8, 22, 8. A plurality of subjects uttering the same thought: ChU. 6, 10, 1 *na viduḥ: iyaṃ ahaṃ asmi, i. a. a.*; 6, 15, 1; cf. JB. 1, 138. AiB. 2, 25, 1 the gods disagreed, each of them being desirous of drinking soma first: *ahaṃ prathamah pibeyam, ahaṃ prathamah pibeyam*; ChU. 5, 1, 6 *atha ha prāṇā ahaṃśreyasi vyūdire: ahaṃ śreyān asmi, ahaṃ śreyān asmi*, the apparently frequent use of this phrase having given rise to the compound *ahaṃśreyas* "claiming superiority for one's self". This is not the only example of phrases — used in performing a process etc. — becoming, in the outward form of a compound, a designation of that process ⁴⁸): *ahamuttara-*, *ahambhadra-*; *kojāgara* < *ko jāgarti* "who is awake?". The Pāli (Dīgha N. 1, 226) *app' eva nāma siyā bhesike, a. e. n. s. bh.* "it may be so Bh., it may be so" is typical of popular repetition. Two sentences in succession are repeated BārU. 5, 15, 3 *aum krato smara, kṛtaṃ smara; k. s., k. s.*; similarly, with an extension, likewise in a formula: JB. 1, 128 *draviṇasvad evodgātre bhavati, d. yajamānāya; d. evod. bh. d. y., d. prajābhyaḥ*.

In other cases the utterance is not repeated completely: AiB. 2, 2, 17 *chandāṃsi . . . , tair etad devān yajamānā vihwayante: mama yajñam āgachata, mama yajñam* "... the metres, by means of them the sacrificers vie in calling the gods: 'to my sacrifice come ye, to my s.'"; 2, 3, 3 (cattle would not serve the deities as food, they kept refusing:) *nāsmān ālasyadhve nāsmān* "ye shall not slay us, not us"; 2, 15, 4 "... both the gods and the asuras resorted to the sacrifice, (thinking) 'for us will he recite, for us'": *asmabhyam anuvakṣyaty asmabhyam iti*; 2, 16, 1 *mām abhi pratipatsyati mām abhi*. Often in exclamations: Mṛch. 10, 11+ *āaccha le cāludattā, āaccha* "come along, O C., come along!".

Observe that non-repetition is usual after *ya- ya-*: ChU. 5, 10, 6 *yo yo hy annam atti, yo retaḥ siñcati*; 8, 1, 5 *yam yam antam abhikāmā bhavanti, yaṃ janapadam, yaṃ kṣetrabhāgam, taṃ tam evopajīvanti*.

In matters of daily practice, e. g. in counting, the same sentence may recur more than twice: PB. 10, 3, 4 *eme pañca* "these are five" is repeated four times in succession, followed by *ime catvāro 'sāv ekaḥ*.

Incidentally a phrase is, in ritual formulas, repeated in the reverse order of words: AV. 16, 9, 3 *aganma svaḥ, svar aganma*; PB. 9, 9, 8 *hutasya cāhutasya cāhutasya hutasya ca*. This procedure may sometimes subserve the speaker's intention to view an idea or the truth of a statement from all sides: from a Dutch sermon: *een pover stel, die tien en die twee, die twee en die tien*. The formulas pronounced at the beginning of the Agnihotra (morning and evening oblations of milk etc.) run as follows SV: 2, 1181;

⁴⁷) Collitz, o.c., p. 287.

⁴⁸) See Wackernagel, Altind. Grammatik II, 1, p. 326.

VS. 3, 9 etc. *agnir jyotir jyotir agniḥ, sūryo j. j. s.* ⁴⁹⁾: this formula in which Agni (or Sūrya) encloses, so to say, the double *jyotiḥ* is considered to be pregnant, because it increases the offspring of the sacrificer (MS. 1, 8, 5: 121, 2; Kāth. 6, 5 : 53 : 21). May we also compare exclamations such as ŚB. 13, 5, 2, 5 ff. *mahiṣi haye haye mahiṣi; brahman haye haye brahman* "brahman, hey; h., b.!" etc.? ⁵⁰⁾ An Avestan instance is Yt. 5, 131 (both ends or flanks of an army) *hōyūm ča dašīnəm ča d. ca h. ca* "the left and the right, the r. and the l.". The procedure is popular in many languages; in exclamations etc.: Mozart, Don Giov., Act 1 *gente ajuto, ajuto gente*; in a French folksong *mon ami Robin, Robin mon ami* ⁵¹⁾. 'Variationsbedürfnis' may be one of its roots, probably not the only one ⁵²⁾.

We may perhaps not disconnect this procedure—as far as it occurs in texts of a magico-religious character—from the practice of reciting formulas in the reverse order for magical reasons ⁵³⁾. According to the ĀpastŚrS. 14, 15, 1 a *yajamāna* (institutor of a sacrifice) could be destroyed by sacrificing whilst turning to the west and pronouncing certain formulas backwards. The backward recitation of the *sāvitrī* stanza (RV. 3, 62, 10) is explained AthVPar. 34 (cf. also 31, 9, 4), and according to the R̥gvidhāna, 1, 15, 4 this mode of reciting "destroys the enemies"; it is also recommended "when incantations are needed". "Ein ganzer Spruch wird von hinten nach vorne hergesagt um so seine normale Wirkung aufzuheben oder in das Gegensätzliche zu wenden. So wenn... ein frommer Spruch Böses wirken soll". ⁵⁴⁾ This practice may have left its traces in the mantra collections.

⁴⁹⁾ Cf. e.g. Āp.ŚS. 6, 10, 8.

⁵⁰⁾ According to Eggeling's interpunction (SBE. 44, p. 386 f.): "brahman, hey hey brahman!", which after all is more probable.

⁵¹⁾ See also H. Frei, *La grammaire des fautes*, Paris 1929, p. 278.

⁵²⁾ As seems to be the opinion of Havers, *Handbuch*, p. 180.

⁵³⁾ See e.g. Heim, *Incantamenta magica graeca latina*, Leipzig 1892, p. 530.

⁵⁴⁾ *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* VII, 845; J. Gonda, *The R̥gvidhāna*, Utrecht 1951, p. 20; KauśBr. 14, 1.

COMPLEMENTARY WORD GROUPS

Two words of the same grammatical category often combine so as to form fixed phrases: Germ. *Freud und Leid*, *Haus und Hof*, *los und ledig*; Fr. *sain et sauf*; Engl. *kith and kin*, *the quick and the dead*; Dutch *lorren en benen* "rag-and-bone", *man en paard noemen* "to give chapter and verse". Similarly, we find in ancient Greek a considerable number of phrases such as B 171 *κραδίην καὶ θυμόν*; 352 *φόνον καὶ κῆρα*; ζ 16 *φνῆν καὶ εἶδος*; Hes. O. 637 *πλοῦτόν τε καὶ ἄλβον*, etc. etc. It would be an interesting task to collect a large number of instances from Indian languages, where they are also far from rare: ŚB. 3, 2, 4, 6 etc. *ṛttam gītam* "dance and song"; JB. 1, 25 *itiṃ ca gatiṃ ca* "Gang und Bahn" (Caland); ChU. 2, 19, 2 etc. *prajayā paśubhir* "in offspring and cattle"; 5, 10, 10 *suddhaḥ pūtaḥ* "pure and clean"; Manu 2, 186 *sāyam prātaś ca* "in the evening and morning"; 212 *guṇadoṣau* "virtue and vice", etc. etc. These combinations do not always occur in the same grammatical form: AV. 4, 38, 4 *ānandinīm pramodinīm* "the rejoicing, the delighting one", but Kauś. 40, 13 c; 70, 1 c *ānandīno modamānāḥ*; TĀ. 6, 11, 2 a *ānandāya pramodāya*. This points to a combination of ideas rather than special nouns, verbs or adjectives.

Referring for a close examination of those instances which are characterized by similarity of sound, especially in the way of alliteration, to another chapter of this book ¹⁾ we shall attempt here to describe the main peculiarities of those special groups of word combinations which are remarkable by definite semantic relations. Under the heading of 'fixed phrases' come not only many more or less synonymous combinations—Germ. *los und ledig*—but also a great number of complementary combinations in which both members may be regarded as complementing or supplementing one another. Phrases and compounds such as *man and wife*, *sun and moon*, *heaven and earth*, Hind. *annjal* "grain, water", i. e. "food and drink, victuals, subsistence, maintenance", *mābāp* "mother, father", i. e. "parents" are of wide distribution in many languages. In many cases the terms coupled are opposite in meaning: Dutch *lief en leed*, corresponding to the Engl. *weal and woe*; *winst en verlies*, i. e. loss and gain; Hind. *kamtī — barhtī* "fall and rise (of prices etc.)". It should however be borne in mind that pre-scientific man very often values as pairs of complements what would impress a scholarly mind as pairs of opposites. ²⁾

¹⁾ See chapter VIII.

²⁾ See for a detailed exposition of this point my *Reflections on the numerals 'one' and 'two' in ancient Indo-European languages*, Utrecht 1953.

In the ancient I. E. languages the complementary character of these phrases was, as already stated in one of the preceding chapters of this book, very often indicated or emphasized by a single or double *k^e, as appears from an abundance of examples of the type A 544 ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε; RV. 5, 38, 3 *divaś ca gmaś ca* "of heaven and earth". A long sequence of similar word pairs as e. g. occurs in AV. 2, 15 is in Vedic literature no rarity: *dyaus ca prthivī ca* "heaven and earth", *ahaś ca rātri ca* "day and night", *sūryaś ca candraś ca* "sun and moon", *brahma ca kṣatram ca* "the social classes and socio-religious powers brahmanhood and nobility", *satyam cāṇṛtam ca* "truth and untruth"; *bhūtam ca bhavyam ca* "what has come to be and what is to be" ³⁾. Cf. also AV. *dyaus and prthivī* 2, 28, 4 (*dyaustvā pitā prthivī mātā*); *soma-* and *savitar-* (sun and moon), 1, 29, 3; 3, 8, 3; 15, 6; 6, 40, 1 beside *dyāvāprthivī*; at the beginning of two successive pādas 6, 53, 1; *prāṇāpānau* "inspiration and expiration" 7, 53, 2; *manasā hṛdayena ca* "with mind and heart". The two opposite classes of deities: 4, 10, 5 *devāsuresbhyah*; 6, 141, 3.

What lies behind the widespread mode of expression Manu 9, 14 *surūpaṃ vā virūpaṃ vā pumān iti* "whether he be handsome or ugly — (it is enough that) he is a man" instead of "any man" ⁴⁾ is again the tendency to express ourselves by means of contrasts or 'extremes' and binary structures rather than by very general pronouns or abstract formulations. A similar remark may be made with regard to the type BhG. 2, 48 *siddhasiddhyoḥ samo bhūtvā* "being indifferent to success or failure".

Nor are instances wanting of that special form of complementary word group which has been termed 'polare Ausdrucksweise' ⁵⁾, i. e. the concrete and graphic expression, by means of pairs of 'opposites' — i. e. complements —, of ideas of 'totality': everybody, all, everything, always, nobody, nothing, never, etc.: *to go through thick and thin* means: to face and overcome all difficulties; *young and old* is a popular and analytical "everybody", including those who are neither old nor young in the proper meaning of the words. As a rule the terms constituting these phrases are well known to, or much used by, the common people: *day and night* ("always"), *body and soul*; "je augenfälliger (nicht je wesentlicher) die Scheidung ist, um so besser" ⁶⁾. There is no point in adding many examples: phrases such as *νόκτας τε καὶ ἡμαρ* (e. g. X 432; in the N. Test. e. g. Apoc. 6, 15; 11, 18; 13, 16 (three times!) etc.), Skt. *divā naktam*, Mal. *malam siang*, Germ. *Tag und Nacht* ⁷⁾ are of considerable frequency in many languages ⁸⁾.

³⁾ See e.g. also H. Oertel, I.F. 31, p. 65 and n. 6.

⁴⁾ Cf., in Greek, e.g. Arist. Nub. 295.

⁵⁾ See Havers, Handbuch, p. 149 f.; 161 f. For the definition: E. Bruhn, in F. W. Schneidewin und A. Nauck, Sophokles erklärt, VIII, Berlin 1899, Anhang, § 228; "Aufteilung einer bestimmten Größe unter einem bestimmten Gesichtspunkte" (R. M. Meyer, Deutsche Stilistik², München 1913, p. 132.

⁶⁾ R. M. Meyer, Die Altgermanische Poesie, Berlin 1889, p. 462.

⁷⁾ Cf. also, in Old Persian, Bis. A 7.

⁸⁾ Cf. e.g. also Bijdr. Taal- en Volk. 107 (1951), p. 193 f.

Originating in the untrained thought of the ancient speech-making masses — which prefer enumerating to abstracting — ⁹⁾, being in their cultural life much more dominated by natural events and phenomena than modern man, they meet the requirements of colloquial speech which abounds in concreta, hyperboles, emphatic contrasts ¹⁰⁾. Part of them clearly reflect the opinions and beliefs of the ancients; the prayer formulated AV. 16, 4, 6 “may I, safe and sound . . . attain dawns and evenings” may no doubt be associated with the belief that dawn and evening were critical moments ¹¹⁾. It would be an interesting task to make researches into the spread of these word groups from the point of view of ‘social’ linguistics. Children and the idiom of the domestic circle often continue using them instead of the more ‘intellectual’ (begriffliche) synonyms. In Dutch *pa en moe, vader en moeder* are in many circumstances preferred to the somewhat stiff and ‘acquired’, formal and ‘official’ *vaders*. How often do we not, all of us, resort to the bipartite phrases, either from ‘love of ease’, or because we wish to throw their very bipartite character into relief? However, these word groups can also satisfy those who attach much value to accuracy and a graphic enumeration of details or possibilities: RV. 1, 114, 7 *mā no mahāntam uta mā no arbhakam | mā no ukṣantam uta mā no ukṣitam | mā no vadhiḥ pitaram mōta mātaram . . .* “(O Rudra,) do thou kill neither the great one among us nor the small, neither the growing up nor the grown up, neither our father nor our mother”; there are striking parallels in other ancient literatures: “*Aber die Söhne soll bestehen | für ihn und seine Erben | geborne und ungeborne | erzeugte und unerzeugte | genannte und ungenannte . . .*” in an Old-Norse formula ¹²⁾; “the born and the unborn” (*zātanam azātanam ča*) in the Avesta, Yt. 5, 42 and the opening lines of Hesiod’s *Opera*: . . . ὅμῳς ἀπατοί τε πατοί τε etc.

As is well known the diction of magic is as a rule characterized by a tendency to accuracy: in the short text AV. 1, 19 (four stanzas) there are four instances of complementary word groups used in a logically superfluous way. In authoritative works, e. g. the dharma-books a phrase of this type is a means of indicating that a rule must be observed irrespective of definite circumstances: *Manu* 2, 191 *codito guruṇā nityam | apracodita evā vā* “both when ordered by his teacher, and without a (special) order, (a student) shall study . . .”.

Moreover, not all ‘polar phrases’ can easily be replaced by an equivalent abstract. ‘Day and night’ is, irrespective of its special stylistic nuance, “always”, but what is a similar simple and abstract equivalent of *weal*

⁹⁾ See e.g. R. Thurnwald, *Psychologie des primitiven Menschen*, in G. Kafka, *Handbuch der vergleichenden Psychologie* I, p. 296 ff.; A. Goldenweiser, *Anthropology*, New York 1946, p. 407 ff.

¹⁰⁾ F. Dornseiff, *Pindars Stil*, Berlin 1921, p. 102 goes too far in holding this type of phrase to be peculiar to “der griechischen diesseitig gerichteten Seele”.

¹¹⁾ RV. 2, 8, 3 *doṣoṣasi* in connection with the worship of Agni.

¹²⁾ J. Grimm, *Deutsche Rechtsaltertümer*³, 1881, p. 38 ff.

and woe? How to find in Dutch a practical substitute for *heen en weer trekken* "to move about"? The Engl. *ups and downs* may according to the dictionaries mean "fluctuations", its peculiar stylistic colour and the good services which it renders in a variety of contexts and situations have made it, in many cases, so "irreplaceable" that it has been readily borrowed, as a loan-word, by the Dutch, who possessed logical equivalents: *wisselvalligheden, voor- en tegenspoed*. It is therefore not surprising that the intellectual standard language has in other cases also adopted these essentially 'colloquial' expressions. In Sanskrit the term *sāraphalgutvam* (e. g. *Manu* 9, 56), which is translated by "der Wert oder Unwert, die Güte oder Schlechtigkeit, die grosse oder geringe Bedeutung", or "value (and) or worthlessness" actually is the equivalent of modern scientific terms such as "comparative importance". In its outward form it does not, in principle, differ from the numerous phrases current in many languages of East and South-East Asia and other parts of the world: *Gayo* (Sumatra) *berat-rinön* "heavy-light" i. e. "responsibility"; *Mal. ta' djual-beli* "not in the market"; *untuñ-rugi* "luck (and, or) loss", i. e. "risk". It is significant that in Indian thought "the pairs of opposites (or extremes)" came to play an important part (cold and heat, joy and sorrow): these dvandvas are (see e. g. *Pat. Yogas.* 2, 48): "une relativité interne toujours en mouvement et rupture d'équilibre: aspects objectifs ou semi-objectifs de notre instabilité propre et subjective"¹³). Similar compounds are e. g. *sārāsāra-* (*Mbh.* 12, 113, 13) lit. "substance and (or) emptiness", i. e. "relative strength or quality"; *kṛtākṛta-* "done and not done", in the sense of "optional"¹⁴). That the Indians often retained the habit of expressing themselves in pairs of 'opposites' may also appear from many passages in their literature: *Mbh.* 14, 19, 25 *vinivṛtya jarāmṛtyuṃ na śocati na hr̥ṣyati* "... he neither grieves nor exults"; *Manu* 3, 75 *bibhar-tidaṃ carācaram* (a compound of frequent occurrence); 138 *nāriṃ na mit-ram yaṃ vidyāt*.

A complete list of 'complementary phrases' in Vedic prose would teach us, first that they were far from unusual in that body of literature, and in the second place that they were, in outward form and stylistic value, not always similar. Part of them are compounds consisting of two different word stems: *AiB.* 3, 3, 2 *pāpa-bhadram* "the bad and the good, evil and good"; *Kāthop.* 1, 12 *harṣa-śokau* "joy and sorrow"; or paronomastic compounds: *KauṣBU.* 1, 4 *sukṛta-duṣkṛte* "good and evil deeds"; 2, 15 *sukha-duḥkhe* "pleasure and pain"; not rarely a ... *ca* (e. g. *AiB.* 5, 30, 3 *bhūtaṃ bhaviṣyac cāpi sarvaṃ*) or a ... *ca* ... *ca* group is preferred: *BārU.* 4, 3, 16 *dr̥ṣṭvaiva puṇyaṃ ca pāpaṃ ca* "after having seen good and evil"; *AiB.* 5, 22, 1 *svādu cāsvādu ca* "pleasant and not pleasant". The

¹³) O. Lacombe, *L'absolu selon le Védānta*, Paris 1937, p. 41.

¹⁴) Cf. also L. Renou, *Grammaire sanscrite*, I, Paris 1930, p. 106.

¹⁵) "Hunger and thirst" and other phrases are in many languages the only usual expressions.

place AiB. 5, 30, 3, forming part of a quotation, is remarkable by the addition of the word *sarvam* which expresses the totality: "that has been and is to be, all (of it)": compare, in Greek, B 789 πάντες ὁμηγερέες, ἡμεν véoi ἦδε γέγοντες; in Latin, Cic. ND. 1, 121 *neminem nec deum nec hominem*. The combination of an adjective and its opposite formed by the negative prefix is frequent. Stylistically the passage AiB. 5, 22, 1 is interesting by the exegetical character of the clause in which it occurs: "now that by which he makes speech distinct, by which he discerns the pleasant and the unpleasant . . .". An adjective and its negated form often combine so as to form a compound: ChU. 8, 12, 1 *ātto vai saśarirah priyāpriyābhyām* "the incarnate self has been appropriated by pleasure and pain"; Rām. 2, 21, 13 etc. *kāryākāryam*. Asyndetically coordinated nouns are not absent: KauśBU. 1, 4 *visukṛto viduṣkṛtaḥ* "freed from good and evil (deeds)". Being logically identical with "freed from the consequences of any deed (whether good or evil)" the bipartite assonant phrase and the repetition of the prefix *vi-* are very adequate means of making plain to an audience of average intelligence that any deed is, in this connection, equally important, that even the best and most excellent deed should not be excepted. Asking for an account of that reality which is free from all contingencies and externalities, which is beyond all phenomenal existence, Naciketas asks (Kathop. 1, 2, 14) *anyatra dharmād anyatrādharmād | anyatrāsmāt kṛtākṛtāt | anyatra bhūtāc ca bhavyāc ca yat tat paśyasi tad vada* "tell me what thou seest beyond right and wrong, beyond what has been done and what has not been done here, beyond past and future": the real is free from all happenings and phenomena, the eternal is without any duration etc.

In studying the function and stylistic value of these phrases in other languages we should not forget to take into account the existence of (logical) synonyms. We are always likely to make the mistake of thinking that the expressions of our own language are natural and may easily be paralleled in a foreign tongue. Yet the particular instances even of widespread features in any given idiom are by no means to be taken for granted. Neither in English nor in Sanskrit can the Dutch *etmaal* (in French: *jour complet, vingt-quatre heures*) be exactly translated: whereas the former language can manage with twenty four hour's day or natural day, Sanskrit has retained the analytical-complementary mode of expression: *ahar-niṣam, aho-rātrah, naktam-divam* etc. It follows that it would be a serious mistake to judge the stylistic implications of the Sanskrit phrases by the standards of a language which can express the same idea otherwise. However, the very frequency of the phrases *divā naktam ca* etc. (AV. 5, 7, 3; 30, 10; 6, 23, 1; 8, 55, 22 and often in the Ṛgveda¹⁸) and the contexts in which they occur make it clear that the Dutch "etmaal" would be no adequate translation: the waters flow on (AV. 6, 23, 1), guardian deities

¹⁸) See Vedic Concordance, p. 479.

are requested to watch (AV. 5, 30, 10), the gods to bestow their favours (RV. 1, 139, 5; cf. 7, 71, 1; 2), Agni, the fire, is born again (RV. 1, 144, 4), Sarasvatī yields strength and power (VS. 21, 36) "day and night", i. e. "always, at any time (restlessly and without intermission)". RV. 8, 61, 17 *viśvā ca no . . . ahā | divā naktam ca rakṣisaḥ* "protect us all days, day and night": i. e. "always, sarvadā.¹⁷⁾

As already observed in connection with the Dutch *heen en weer trekken* we may in many cases hesitate to view the analytical expression as an exclusively popular or colloquial synonym of a 'synthetical' term preferred by the standard language. In English also *to and fro*, *up and down*, *backwards and forwards* must be explained by "from one place to another"; there is no single word with exactly the same meaning. However, in English, Dutch and German the verb or noun accompanied by these phrases is, as a rule, expressed only once: *he walks to and fro in the room*; *hin- und her stossen*. In Sanskrit, however, the noun or verb is repeated: RV. 1, 28, 3 *yatra nāry apacyavam | upacyavam ca śikṣate . . .* Geldner's translation "wo die Frau das Hinstossen und Herstossen einübt . . ." is too 'literal', although it must be admitted that the aesthetic and verse-forming effect of the Sanskrit expression is lost if the normal German equivalent "Hin- und Herstossen" is preferred. Similarly, Adbh. sāg. p. 384 *pracalana-praticalana* — "moving backwards and forwards"¹⁸⁾; AV. 7, 60, 4 *akṣudhyā atṛṣyā* "without hunger and thirst". Compare also RV. 3, 2, 10 *sa udvato nivato yāti*; Manu 2, 203 *prativāte 'nuvāte ca* "to the leeward or to the windward" and similar expressions in which the second element is repeated; Mbh. 12, 113, 11 *ye namanty unnamanti ca*; Aśv. Bc. 4, 23 *nikṛṣṭotkrṣṭayor bhāvam*.

These remarks are however not to deny that also in the mantra literature the 'popular', graphic and emotional character of the phrases under discussion is often evident; if they agree in sound the assonance or paronomasia is not rarely functional. There can be no doubt that in AV. 2, 31, 2 — the text is to be used in a healing rite against worms — *drṣṭam adṛṣṭam atṛṣṭam* "the seen, the unseen one have bruised", "seen and unseen", though logically synonymous with "all", brings the idea of totality, of completeness more graphically and more explicitly to the minds of the audience than the short, pale and vague "all": "even those which remain unseen are bruised" gives an impression of great power wielded by the officiant pronouncing the formula. The effect of the paronomasia is enhanced by the repetition of the verb in the second pāda: *atho kurūrum atṛṣṭam*.

¹⁷⁾ Sāyana, on RV. 1, 144, 4. Also, of course, in post-Vedic texts, see e.g. Mbh. 1, 58, 23; Mārķ. Pur. 10, 86; 14, 35; 73, 78 (torments, hunger etc. day and night!). For the Greek *νύκτας τε καὶ ἡμέρας* see E. Kemmer, Die polaire Ausdrucksweise in der griech. Literatur, Diss. Würzburg 1900, p. 30.

¹⁸⁾ In other languages, where verbal compounds are unknown, two different verbs, expressing opposite ideas are combined to express movement with and against the current (Mal. *milir mudik*) etc.

(AV. 5, 23, 7 II a similar thought is expressed in a binary structure.) An interesting hemistich in the same incantation is 3 ab *algaṇḍān hanmi mahatā vadhena* | *dūnā adūnā arasā abhūvan* "I smite the *algaṇḍus*—obviously a special class of worms—with a great deadly weapon; burnt or unburnt, they have become sapless": all of them irrespective of their being burnt or not burnt¹⁹). AV. 6, 15, 2 a = 54, 3 a *sabandhuś cāsa-bandhuś ca* 'literally' "both kindred and not of kin" (Whitney—Lanman) conveys some such sense as "everyone, irrespective of relationship, anyone", but the 'Aufteilung' from the point of view of relationship, referring to social conditions, arouses emotions; similarly, RV. 4, 4, 5 *jāmim ajāmim pra mṛṇīhi śatrūn*; AV. 29, 2 b "thy two messengers . . . who come hither, dispatched or not (*aprahitaṁ prahitaṁ*), to our house": the implication seems to be "any dove or owl is inauspicious, even the 'undispatched' ones, which may appear to be harmless; they also are to be driven away". RV. 1, 127, 5 the function of the phrase is very clear: *bhaktam abhaktam aro vyantah* "(the flames of fire) desirous of favour (enjoyment, i. e. food), whether offered or not"; "any enjoyment" would hardly reveal the poet's intention to view the destructive power of fire in this particular aspect. AV. 4, 1, 1 d (mystic) = 5, 6, 1 d "the womb of the existent and of the non-existent" (*sataś ca yonim asataś ca*) is not to be regarded as an example of an "alogische Gegensatzverbindung"²⁰)—cf. Soph. Ant. 1108 f. *ἴτ' ἴτ' ἀπάρες* / *οἷ τ' ὄντες οἷ τ' ἀπόντες* i. e. "all of you, nobody excepted"—, because *asat* "non-being" was, or was to become, an important philosophical concept: the reality which is not to be understood as such being as is known to us by experience, that existence to which neither action nor quality can be attributed.

AV. 1, 8, 1 (part of a formula intended to discover sorcerers) *ya idam strī pumān akaḥ* "whoever, man (or) woman, has done this" is typically 'polair': cf. RV. 6, 68, 4 *gnāś ca yan naraś ca vāyrdhanta* / *viśve devāsaḥ* . . .; AV. 5, 14, 6; 30, 3; 7, 95, 3. This very obvious 'Aufteilung' of human beings into men and women is one of the most favourite instances of 'polarity' in many languages: δ 142 "never I saw one so like another whether man or woman": *οὐτ' ἄνδρ' οὔτε γυναικα*; OFr. *n'avons trouvé homme ne femme*; *plus bel ne voit ne hom ne femme*; Fr. *males et femelles, on se précipita vers la mairie*²¹); MHG. *noch wip noch man*. Gods and men are, naturally enough, also coupled: RV. 1, 35, 2 . . . *amṛtam martyaṁ ca*; 2, 27, 10 *tvaṁ viśveśāṁ varuṇāsi rājā* / *ye ca devā asurā ye ca martūh*.

An interesting type is AV. 1, 19, 2 *ye astā ya cāsyāḥ* "(let the shafts fly) those that are hurled and those that are to be hurled": i. e. all arrows irrespective of the moment of loosing them off; 5, 8, 7 *yān* . . . *cakāra*

¹⁹) See Bloomfield, *Sacred Books of the East* 42, p. 316; Kauś. 27, 14 ff. (but cf. Whitney-Lanman, p. 73).

²⁰) Havers, o.c., p. 161 f.

²¹) A. Risop, *Herrig's Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen* . . . , 150 (1926), p. 244.

kr̥ṇavac ca yān ; 2, 28, 3 *ye jātā uta vā ye janitvāḥ* ; ŚB. 2, 5, 2, 3 *yās cai-vāsya prajā jātā āsan yās cājātāḥ* ; AV. 6, 12, 2 *yad bhūtaṃ bhavyam* ; 19, 9, 2 *śāntaṃ bhūtaṃ ca bhavyaṃ ca*. Cf. also TĀ. 6, 12, 1 *ye jīva ye ca mṛtāḥ*, AV. 18, 4, 57 *ye ca jīvā ye ca mṛtāḥ* "the quick and the dead"; VS. 12, 45 *ye 'tra stha purāṇā ye ca nūtanāḥ* "both of you, the ancient and the recent".

'Analysis' from a geographic point of view: AV. 12, 1, 56 *ye grāmā yad aranyaṃ | yāḥ sabhā adhi bhūmyām | . . . teṣu* instead of "wherever" the poet prefers to enumerate villages, forest, assemblies etc. ; cf. VS. 3, 45; AV. 4, 16, 5 *yad antarā rodasi yat parastāt* "what is between heaven and earth, what beyond" ²² ; 1, 20, 3 *itaś ca yad amutaś ca yad* ; 18, 3, 38 ; RV. 1, 94, 9 *dūre vā ye anti vā ke cid atrinaḥ* "all Atrins whether they are far or near"; 9, 67, 21. ²³)

Sometimes these complementary phrases are together with other devices, e. g. repetition or cumulation of epithets, applied in detailed descriptions and circumstantial accounts: RV. 8, 70, 8 (Indra) *gādheṣu ya āraṇeṣu havyo | vājeṣv asti havyaḥ*. Other instances worth mentioning are: AV. 4, 20, 4 *yaś ca śūdra utāryaḥ*, cf. 8; 19, 62, 1; 4, 32, 1; 1, 19, 3; 7, 108, 1; RV. 6, 75, 19; AV. 3, 3, 6; 6, 43, 1. "Hunger and thirst": AV. 7, 60, 4; "asleep or waking, standing or moving": 7, 108, 2; RV. 1, 124, 6 *nār-bhād īṣate na mahaḥ*.

A protracted sequence of these bipartite compounds or word groups may help to suggest the ideas of "in all respects" "in any circumstances" etc. Mbh. 14, 19, 4 *jīvitaṃ maranaṃ cobhe sukhaduḥkhe tathaiva ca | lābhā-lābhe priyadveṣye yaḥ samaḥ, sa ca mucyate*—some of the 'pairs of opposites' (joy and sorrow, heat and cold etc.), are decidedly 'polar' *nirdvandva*—expressing the idea of "indifferent to the opposite pairs" - ; 4, 16, 57U. etc. etc. Cf. also ChU. 7, 2, 1; VaikhSS. 5, 1 *dharmādharmaṃ vā ūrdhvaḥ* *dhāvāś ca jñānā jñāne sukhaduḥkhe ca* ; Rām. 6, 12, 7 *priyāpriye sukhe duḥkhe lābhālābhe hitāhite* "in rain or shine, in joy and grief, in foul and fair you know your duty". Cf. also ibid. 2, 22, 22 *sukhaduḥkhe bhaya-krodhau lābhālābhau bhavābhavau* : "every state, anything (is the work of Fate)".

The element of 'Abundanz', of emotional superfluity inherent in many of these word groups does not prevent them from occurring also in didactic or more or less scientific contexts. Mbh. 12, 348, 1 ff. for instance Janamejaya inquires what is the end (*gati*-, the term is repeated twice) attained by brahmans who study the Vedas etc. Answering him Vaiśampāyana observes (st. 9) that "the end and not the end attained by persons of different character has been explained by the Bhagavat": *agatiś ca gatiś caiva . . .* Although Nilakaṇṭha's commentary correctly observes: *agatir gatiśūnyo jñānadharmaḥ gatir gatimān upāsanādharmaḥ*, the person answering, in using the pāda filling word group overdoes it. In an exclamation:

²²) Not: "what is between the two firmaments . . ." (Whitney-Lanman).

²³) Cf. in Greek, ε 117 οὔτε σχεδόν οὔτ' ἀποτηλοῦ; 280.

Mbh. 12, 145, 2 "I am fortunate because my husband praises my merits whether I have any or not" : *asato vā sato vāpi guṇān*.

It is not surprising that these phrases are not rarely heard in emotional and emphatic speech. They may even express a logical absurdity: cf., in Latin, Plaut. Trin. 360 *quin comedit quod fuit quod non fuit?* "(the waster) who devoured all he had, and had not?"²⁴). If a father in commanding his young son who is unwilling to come home commands that he must come, obedient or not (the other day I heard a Dutch father say: *gehoorzaam of ongehoorzaam, je komt binnen!*), he strictly speaking intends to say: "be obedient and come in!" If two terms are often coupled together the chances are that they lose part of their individuality, of their own sense; it may even happen that speakers do not only use the term which is appropriate to the occasion, but also its complement, which is not. The tendency to express ourselves in 'antithesis', to add logically superfluous elements may even induce us to insert whole clauses which strictly speaking do not suit the situation. "Ein Satz wird durch Beifügung seines Gegensatzes zu einer Antithese erweitert, obwohl für den Zusammenhang nur der Satz von Bedeutung ist"²⁵). In Aesch. Sept. 795 πόλις δ' ἐν εὐδία τε καὶ κλυδὼ νίου / πολλαῖσι πηγαῖς ἄντρον οὐκ ἐδέξατο "in tranquillity (fair weather) and many blows of the waves the city did not make water" even contains a completely 'illogical' element ἐν εὐδία²⁶). In explaining the yakṣa's entrusting a message to a cloud Kālidāsa, Megh. 5 observes that those sorely affected by love are not able to make a distinction between objects sentient and insentient (*cetanācetanēṣu*), although the statement made in the first three lives of the stanza might have been adequately explained by: "they address themselves even to insentient beings". In asking ourselves whether the international character of this phenomenon is also attested by the authors of the Veda, we should proceed with caution. At first sight AV. 2, 28, 3 d—part of a spell to be recited in order to secure a long life, probably for a child²⁷)—seems to contain a superfluous term: *memam mitrā vadhiṣur no amitrāḥ* "let not friends kill this one, nor enemies", the more so as the precedent pāda is filled up by the exactly parallel structure *memam prāṇo hāsīn no apānaḥ* (= 7, 53, 4): however, a "friend" may, by accident or otherwise, kill a boy or man. Similarly, 1, 19, 4 *yah sapatno yo 'sapatno yaś ca dviṣaṃ chapāti naḥ* "whatever rival, whatever non-rival, and whatever hater shall curse us"; however, TB. 3, 7, 6, 23 and other sources give the 'logically' more probable *yo naḥ sapatno yo 'raṇaḥ* "whatever rival, whatever foreigner . . ." In contradistinction to

²⁴) For similar cases in Balto-Slavonic: E. Fraenkel, I. F. 46, p. 47; Deutsche Lit. Zeitung 1930, 1696 f.

²⁵) Bruhn, Sophokles — Anhang, § 221.

²⁶) See U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, Aischylos. Interpretationen, Berlin 1914, p. 86, n. 2. Cf. also Kemmer, o.c., p. 103 f.; E. Norden, Die antike Kunstprosa, p. 99; W. A. A. van Otterloo, Beschouwingen over het archaische element in den stijl van Aeschylus, Thesis Leiden, 1937, who add other Greek instances.

²⁷) See Whitney-Lanman, o.c., p. 68; Kauś. 54, 13.

the vulgata (6, 71, 3 b) *dāsyann adāsyann uta saṃgrṇāmi* (cf. TĀ. 2, 6, 2 b) the Ppp. gives by omitting ("perhaps by accident" Whitney-Lanman) a more logical stanza. As the formula was used to avert the evil consequences of eating improper food we may expect the text to read: "what food I eat guilefully and (what) I promise without intending to give . . . let it be propitious food for me" (cf. AV. 6, 119, 1 *adāsyann agna uta saṃgrṇāmi*; TĀ. 2, 4, 1 *aditsan vā saṃjagara jānebhyah*; TB. 3, 7, 12, 3 *yad vādāsyān s. j.*); so *dāsyān* may have crept in under the influence of the frequent binary structures of this type. AV. 2, 31, 3 the illogical addition of *aśiṣṭān* may be regarded as certain: "I smite the worms, burnt or unburnt, they have become sapless; those left (or) not left I draw down by my spell, that no one of the worms be left": *śiṣṭān aśiṣṭān ni tirāmi vācā / yathā krimiṇām nakir ucchiṣṭai*²⁸). AV. 5, 23, 6 is remarkable in that "slayer of the unseen" (*adrṣṭahā*) in b, is in c repeated and amplified so as to become "slaying both those seen and those unseen" (*drṣṭāṃś ca ghnann adrṣṭāṃś ca*).

It seems worth while noticing the incidental occurrence of variation: AV. 8, 17, 18 *ajñātā jānīmaś ca yāh* and a special type represented by ŚSS. 15, 17 *ye ca jānanti ye ca na* "both they who know and they who do not" (cf. also the type Mbh. 1, 58, 21 *viprā mānavā ye pare* "brahmans and other people").

Passing mention may also be made of the construction exemplified by Mbh. 7, 185, 53 *vicerur na viceruś ca . . . naktamcarāḥ* "some of the night-rangers began to rove about whilst others desisted from doing so".

Attention has already been drawn to instances of cumulation: RV. 1, 114, 7, etc. In didactic verses they are not rare: BhG. 6, 7 *śitoṣṇasukhaduḥkheṣu / tathā mānāpamānayoh*; 12, 18. This repetition may be utilized as a means of suggesting ubiquity, everlastingness or other aspects of totality: Mr̥cch. 10, 19 *abbhūdā avasāṇe taheḥ lattiṃdivaṃ ahadamaggā* "in prosperity, in adversity, exactly in the same manner, with its course unimpeded day and night . . ."; Mbh. 1, 58, 21. We also know already that the idea of totality is, as another indication of the 'Abundanz' of 'natural speech', not rarely added: AV. 4, 20, 4 *sarvam . . . yaś ca śūdra utāryah*; 23, 7 etc.²⁹). Sometimes this addition is remarkable by its outward form: AV. 5, 23, 6 (a spell directed against worms) *drṣṭāṃś ca ghnann adrṣṭāṃś ca / sarvāṃś ca pramṛṇan krimiṇ* "slaying both those (sc. worms) seen and those unseen, and slaughtering all worms". AV. 5, 30, 2 the verb is in the plural: *yat tvābhiceruḥ puruṣaḥ / svo yad araṇo jānaḥ*, a line which caused some difficulties to Whitney-Lanman³⁰); if the verb is regarded as expressing the indefinite subject the meaning obviously is "if they have bewitched you, either one of your own people or a stranger . . ."

²⁸) Compare Kemmer's (o.c., p. 6) instance: *Was hast du denn gemacht? :: Allerlei Gemachtes und Ungemachtes.*

²⁹) Cf. also, in Malay, *malam siang sedekala* "day and night at all times".

³⁰) Whitney-Lanman, o.c., p. 276.

Sometimes the more or less fixed, or at any rate binary expression is extended. RV. 1, 58, 5 *sthātus caratham bhayate patatrinah* seems to have been correctly interpreted by Geldner ³¹: "es fürchtet sich, was steht und geht, (auch) die Vögel". "Everything stationary and movable (or inanimate and animate)" is in a variety of combinations a standing phrase: *sthāvara-jaṅgama-* etc. AV. 3, 16, 2 *ādhras cid yaṁ manyamānas turaś cid | rājā cid* "everyone who thinks himself weak (or) strong, even a king"; 6, 108, 5 *medhām sāyaṁ m. prātar | m. madhyandināṁ pari | m. sūryasya rasṁbhir varcasā veśayāmahe* "wisdom at evening, w. in the morning, w. about noon, w. by the sun's rays, by the spell, do we make enter into us". AV. 5, 13, 1 is not very clear ³²: *khātam akhātam uta saktam agrabham*. There are parallels in other languages, for instance Old German ³³.

From the examples quoted in this chapter it may have appeared that these phrases whether they are 'polar' or not, may be syndetic, asyndetic, or anaphoric. Different forms of the same expression sometimes occur in parallel texts: AV. 6, 115, 1 a, ĀpŚS. 3, 12, 1 a, etc. *yad vidvāṁso yad avidvāṁsaḥ* : PB. 1, 6, 10 etc. *y. v. cāv. ca* . . .

Not infrequently the usual bipartite structure increases in length so as to be distributed over more than a short unit of speech, or even to fill up two successive units: compare e. g. AV. 5, 23, 7 *dr̥ṣṭas ca hanyatām krimir | utādr̥ṣṭas ca hanyatām* "let the seen worm be slain, and let the unseen be slain" and 6 *dr̥ṣṭāms ca ghnann adr̥ṣṭāms ca*. The frequent twin formula "heart and mind" ³⁴ — e. g. AV. 3, 20, 9 *manasā hṛdayena ca* ; cf. also AV. 5, 21, 1 *vihṛdayaṁ vaimanasyam* — is 6, 74, 2 distributed over two pādas: *saṁjñāpanaṁ vo manaso | (a) tho s. hṛdaḥ*, where modern matter-of-fact style would have: "harmony of mind and heart". Beside the very frequent combinations *mitrāya varuṇāya ca* (e. g. RV. 9, 100, 5); *mitras ca no varuṇas ca* (RV. 5, 72, 3) etc. which do not exceed a single pāda in length, we find RV. 1, 2, 7 *mitraṁ huve pūṭadakṣaṁ | varuṇaṁ ca riṣādasam*. Beside the frequent word pair *divā naktam* (see above) we also find a 'distributed' *tad in naktam tad divā mahyam āhuḥ* (RV. 1, 24, 12). It is also interesting to compare a pāda such as AV. 7, 80, 1 a *pūrṇā paścād uta pūrṇa purastāt* with 7, 51, 1 a c *bṛhaspatir naḥ pari pātu paścād . . . / indraḥ purastād . . .* To the above pāda 6, 115, 1 we may compare Manu 2, 214 *avidvāṁsam alaṁ loke | vidvāṁsam api vā punaḥ | . . .* It may be taken for granted that a considerable part of larger binary structures containing, in this way, a more or less fixed word pair has originated in what may be called 'Formelverlängerung'. This process may be attributed to factors of a psychical or rhythmical character; tempo of speaking, versification and the mode of verbal expression adopted by the author

³¹) Geldner, Der Rig-Veda übersetzt, I, p. 75.

³²) See also Bloomfield, S.B.E. 42, p. 425; Whitney-Lanman, o.c., p. 242.

³³) Meyer, Die altgerm. Poesie, p. 281.

³⁴) Cf. also Petr. Diet. V, 519; e.g. RV. 1, 171, 2 *hṛdā taṣṭo manasā*; 10, 10, 13 *mano hṛdayaṁ ca*.

in general have no doubt made their influence felt also. Similar phenomena have been ascertained in other literatures: in MH German the formula *Got gesegen dich, sunne unde mon* could 'develop' into *Got gesegen dich, sunn, Got gesegen dich, mon.* ³⁵⁾

It is in the choice of words and in the structure of clauses and sentences that the difficulties in formulating thoughts, in abstracting and analysing are most evident. The untrained mind behind utterances like, in the African Kpelle: "come with a sheep, come with a goat, come with a hen" instead of "bring a sheep, goat and hen" ³⁶⁾ can hardly be mistaken. Partial repetitions are, for those who are not accustomed to keep their minds much on the strain, easier than comprehensive expressions. A certain predilection for this 'parallelistische Teilwiederholung' ³⁷⁾ seems to be one of those characteristics of 'primitive speech' or rather of the manner of speaking of the untrained. It is in any case a feature in many products of early efforts to put important thoughts in writing. In the ancient Javanese literature examples are numerous ³⁸⁾ : Koraw. 196, 9 *tan kaduṅkap deniṅ warna, tan kaduṅkap deniṅ rasa* instead of "outside the sphere of form and feeling", which may be paralleled by such Semitic parallelisms as for instance, in Hebrew, Gen. 37, 8 where the thought: "will you hold sway over us or have control over us" is expressed as follows: "and are you to be king over us? you to lord over us?" and Irish sentences such as *fo'cerded a liathróit ocus fo'cerded a loirg inna díaid* "he threw his ball and he threw his club after (it)" ³⁹⁾. The same schema is, as far as possible, repeated, but the object, subject, or another element changes. In archaic style these structures are often to a large extent mechanized. A literal translation into a 'modern language' is, again, as a rule not adequate, because the same mode of expression, though possible, is apt to suggest another stylistic colour and hence to convey another sense.

In the Vedic mantra and prose literature there is strong evidence to conclude that this principle of partial repetition in binary structures has left many traces: ŚB. 13, 1, 4, 1 it is related that the gods went in quest of the life-sap of the horse, following it, looking for it, finding it by means of offerings: *taṁ iṣṭibhir anuprāyujāta, taṁ iṣṭibhir anvaiçams taṁ iṣṭibhir anvavindan*; 12, 8, 2, 18 *sarvā āśvinyo bhavanti, sarvāḥ sārasyatyaḥ, sarvā aindryaḥ*; AV. 5, 29, 4 *akṣyaṁ nī vidhya | hṛdayaṁ nī vidhya | jihvāṁ nī tṛndhi pra dato mṛṇīhi* "pierce (his) eyes and heart, bore through his

³⁵⁾ P. Beyer, in the *Reallexikon der deutschen Literaturgeschichte*, Berlin 1925/6 I, 43.

³⁶⁾ Cf. D. Westermann, *Die Kpelle*, Göttingen-Leipzig 1921, p. 165 f.

³⁷⁾ See Havers, *Handbuch*, p. 170; cf. also R. Thurnwald, *Zs. für Ethnologie* 42 (1910), p. 145.

³⁸⁾ I also refer to my article in the *Bijdragen Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, 105, The Hague, p. 37, and *ibidem*, 107 (1951), p. 186 f.

³⁹⁾ J. Pokorný, *Zs. für Celtische Phil.* 16 (1927), p. 141 f.: "Der Sprecher ist eben nicht instande, über den Augenblick hinaus zu denken".

tongue, destroy his teeth" ; ṚV. 4, 17, 2 *tava tvīṣo janīman rejata dyau | rejad bhūmir bhīyasā svasya manyoḥ* (notice the position of the two parallel word pairs) "at the moment of thy birth heaven trembled for thy brilliance, the earth trembled for fear of thine anger" ; 2, 11, 6 *stavā nu ta indra pūrvyā mahāny | uta stavāma nūtanā kṛtāni || stavā vajram bāhvora uṣantam | stavā harī sūryasya ketū* ; 2, 22, 4 *vidād ūrjam śatakratur vidād iṣam*. Compare the well-known yajus TS. 1, 1, 1, 1 etc. *iṣe tvā ūrje tvā* (and not *iṣe ūrje ca tvā*) ; and formulas such as VS. 1, 3 *vasoḥ pavitram asi śatadhāram | vasoḥ pavitram asi sahasradhāram*. It should be realized that many examples contain complementary word pairs: heaven and earth, ancient and modern *iṣ-* "refreshing draught, refreshment" and *ūrj-* "forcing food, vigour" (cf., also VS. 3, 49) ; sun and moon (VS. 22, 28 *candrāya svāhā, sūryāya s.*) etc. Compare also: VS. 3, 43 *upahūtā iha gāva u. ajāvayah.*

Elsewhere a nominal predicate is in the same way repeated: ṚV. 3, 31, 3 *mahān garbho mahy ā jātam eṣām | mahī pravṛd dharyasvasya yajñaiḥ* ; 2, 16, 6. A typical stanza is also ṚV. 1, 191, 2 *adr̥ṣtān hantya āyaty atho hanti parāyati | atho avaghnati hantya atho pinas̥ti pīmsati* "kommend tötet sie die Unsichtbaren und gehend tötet sie, und sie tötet zerstözend und sie zermahlt zermahlend". The identical terms do not always recur in the same position: ṚV. 3, 25, 2 *agniḥ sanoti vīryāni vidvān | sanoti vājam amṛtāya bhūṣan*. Instructive is also the structure of stanzas such as VS. 1, 7 *pratyus̥tam rakṣaḥ pratyus̥tā arātayo | niṣ̥taptam r. n. arātayaḥ* "scorched are the fiends, s. the malignant beings; burnt are the f., b. the m. b.", or such as VS. 3, 58 . . . *yathā no vasyasas karad, y. naḥ śreyasas k., y. no vyavas̥yayāt*.

That this type of repetition was also determined by the author's wish to connect the same predicate with a masculine as well as a feminine representative of the same class may be exemplified from the mantras: TB. 3, 12, 6, 1 *sarvāḥ striyaḥ sarvān pūmsaḥ* ; ṚV. 1, 191, 8 *adr̥ṣtān sarvāṇ jambhayan sarvāḥ ca yātudhānyaḥ*. Frequently a repetition is conditioned by syntactic circumstances: ŚB. 12, 8, 2, 1 *tam āharat tenāyajata*.

It would however be incorrect to maintain that the Vedic poets were not able to express themselves otherwise: cf. ṚV. 1, 22, 12 *ihendranīm upa hvaye | varuṇānīm svastaye | agnāyīm somapitaye* ; 30, 7 ; 125, 2, etc. etc., where the verb is not repeated ; 2, 15, 2 *sa dhārayad pṛthivīm papra-thac ca* is even an instance of two verbs governing the same object and connected by *ca*.

The conclusion may therefore be that the device under consideration subserved, at least to some extent, the essential purposes of the poets' impressive effects. A line such as ṚV. 2, 16, 6 *vṛṣā te vajra uta te vṛṣā ratho vṛṣanā harī vṛṣabhāny āyudhā* "a bull is your bolt and your chariot is a bull . . ." could, especially if recited in the proper way, not fail to impress even an audience accustomed to 'parallelistische Teilwiederholung' in their daily parlance. The force and suggestion inherent in a

fourfold anaphoric repetition of an important term cannot remain unnoticed in any milieu: RV. 1, 125, 6 *dakṣiṇāvatām id imāni citrā | dakṣiṇāvatām divi sūryāsaḥ | dakṣiṇāvanto amṛtaḥ bhojante | dakṣiṇāvantah pra tiranta āyuh*. Part of the repetition occurring in liturgical texts were moreover functional, the mantras accompanying a series of ritual acts: cf. e. g. the repeated *upa hvaye* "I invoke" governing different names of gods in the āpri hymn RV. 1, 13. Even in the above brāhmaṇa passage ŚB. 13, 1, 5, 1 the threefold repetition of *īṣṭi*- "offering" is in that particular context—"when the sacrificer performs *īṣṭis* he thereby searches for a horse ..."—not immaterial. Without going so far as to suggest that this mode of expression is stylized and artificial, it may be maintained that the poets and their audience were conscious of its special stylistic value, that though highly traditional, it was retained and cultivated because it was felt to suit the contents of these hymns and formulas very well. Although these repetitions too were in principle based on natural speech they may in the particular form in which they appear in the Vedic literature not be considered true reflections of contemporary spoken idiom.

Nevertheless the fact remains that it essentially was 'primitive'—or if this term might be odious—untrained thought, that it was the difficulties in abstracting and analysing, the—comparatively speaking—easy accessibility to sensorial and emotional impressions, the lack of freedom from the hic-et-nunc reality and the events and phenomena of daily life, which time and again affect the literary expression of Vedic man. Popular menaces indicative of strong emotion such as, in Dutch, *ik zal hem z'n nek en z'n benen breken* "I shall break his neck and legs" are at the root of the ancient German curse *Got gebe sinem halse leit, Got gebe leit synne lyve*⁴⁰⁾ as well as the Atharvanic mantra AV. 2, 32, 2; 5, 23, 9 *śṛṇāmy asya pṛṣṭīr | api vṛścāmi yac chirah* "I crush its ribs, I hew at its head"; cf. also 6, 32, 2 (neck and ribs). This 'substitution' of limbs and parts of the body for the body itself or even for the person to whom it belongs is a feature of almost international occurrence: AV. 6, 6, 2 "smite his face with the thunderbolt"; 3, 6, 6 "split the head of my enemy". But this selfsame tendency to refer to parts instead of the whole, to manifestation instead of the idea, leads, again, to parallel enumerations⁴¹⁾. The poet of AV. 6, 9, 1—a collection of formulas to be recited to win the love of a woman—instead of saying simply "long for me"—which would be rather colourless—directs the woman's attention to body and feet, eyes and thighs: *vāñcha me tanvaṃ pādau | vāñchākṣyau vāñcha sakthyanu*. Cf. also 5, 4, 7. AV. 5, 19, 7 the brahman's cow, shaking the kingdom of the 'brahman-scather' is described as "eight-footed, four-eyed, four-eared etc." *aṣṭāpadī caturakṣī | catuḥśrotrā caturhanuḥ* etc. For similar reasons

⁴⁰⁾ K. Weinhold, Die altdutschen Verwünschungsformeln, Sitz. ber. Berlin 1895, p. 672.

⁴¹⁾ See also Thurnwald, Zs. für Ethnologie 42 (1910), p. 145; E. Abegg, in the Mitteilungen der geogr.-ethnogr. Ges. Zürich, 23, p. 44 ff.

such concepts as "the others" are often substituted for by an enumeration of some of their components: 5, 17, 9 f. a brahman alone is qualified to marry a brahman woman "not a nobleman, not a commoner" (*na . . . na . . .*); the gods, men, kings gave her back: *punar vai devā adaduḥ | punar manuṣyā adaduḥ . . .* A great calamity or similar occurrence is by preference envisaged as a coincidence of minor events: AV. 5, 17, 7 *ye garbhā avapadyante | jagad yac cāpalupyate | virā ye tṛhyante mithaḥ . . .* "the embryos that are aborted, the living creatures that are torn away, the heroes who have shattered each other . . .", a device much favoured and enlarged in later times. Cf. also instances such as AV. 2, 14, 5 ; 5, 5, 4. Not rarely this preference for analytical enumeration put into binary structures is not unmixed with juridical or magico-religious accuracy: AV. 1, 14, 2 (an imprecation directed against a girl⁴²) instead of "may Yama's snares bind her, wherever she is" has *sā mātur badyatām grhe | atho bhrātur atho pituh*.

⁴²) The interpretation proposed here differs from that given by Whitney and Lanman, o.c., p. 15.

XVIII

PERSEVERATION

However important the influence exerted by a certain schema on the expression of the following thoughts might have been, however important, too, the rôle of repetition may have been from the point of view of mnemonics and the structure of the texts in their entirety, it must be conceded that it often was a tendency to emphasize and an inclination to dwell upon the same subject which led these poets to repeat words and thoughts. Such cases of variation as AV. 3, 15, 5f. are in fact due to the author's desire to be clear and explicit: we might summarize the substance of the two stanzas in the following way: "may my possessions increase, O gods!" In formulating this wish the author twice says: "with what riches I practice bargaining, seeking riches with riches" (mark the suggestive triplicity of *dhana-*), adding "let that become more for me, not less"; this is a prayer addressed to Agni asking him to defeat the "gain-slaying" gods, and, in the corresponding part of the second stanza, an invocation of other gods. Similar persistence in the author's attempt to persuade the divine powers to give him active help is not rarely expressed ¹⁾: 5, 8, 1 f. . . . / *agne . . . / sarva ā yantu me havam || indrā yāhi me havam* / . . . (here stanza 1 invokes the gods in general, stanza 2, in the same schema, one of them); 6, 5, 1d-2a. . . / *prajayā ca bahum kṛdhi || indremam pratarām kṛdhi* / . . . Compare also the variation in AV. 3, 29, 4 and 5, the latter stanza being a sort of duplicate of the former. Other instances of a certain likeness of consecutive stanzas are AV. 2, 35, 1 : 2 ; 4, 7, 4 : 5 ; and also AV. 4, 26, 2a = 1c and 2d = 1d, 2bc interrupting the repetition by inserting epithets and an invocation; 2cd are, moreover, repeated, by way of refrain, in 3-6 and 1d re-appears at the end of the text (7), which constitutes a prayer to heaven and earth, asking them to be pleasant to the persons speaking and to liberate him from distress: *dyāvāprthivī bhavatām me syone / te no muñcatam aṃhasaḥ* (2c and 2d = 1d etc.). AV. 4, 29, praise and prayer to Mitra and Varuṇa, begins with an invocation: (1a) *manve vām mitrāvaruṇāv ṛtāvṛdhau*, adding the solemn and explicit statement that these gods, indeed, thrust away the malicious and favour the truthful one; the first stanza ends by invoking their aid. Then, 2ab = 1bc, 2d = 1d (refrain), and, in the following stanzas, an enumeration of the famous men upon whom these gods have already bestowed their

¹⁾ For phenomena of 'perseveration' — which also include the repetition of a word where an anaphoric pronoun would have been possible — compare, in general, H. Oertel, I.F. 31 (1912/13), p. 49 ff.

favours, intended to secure the effectiveness of this new invocation. Compare also, in the rain spell 4, 15, the varied repetition of the line: "let the clouds . . . (come etc.)" in 7 II, 8 II, 9 II.

In extolling Indra the poet of RV. 2, 16 apparently attaches importance to the god's being a bull, the words *vṛṣan-* and *vṛṣabha-* "bull"; occurring no less than seventeen times in the three stanzas 4-6; cf. 5 *vṛṣṇaḥ koṣaḥ pavate madhva ūrmir* / *vṛṣabhānnāya vṛṣabhāya pātave* / *vṛṣanādhvaryū vṛṣabhāso adrayo* / *vṛṣaṇaṁ somaṁ vṛṣabhāya suṣvati*. This is more than a "beliebte Spielerei"²⁾; these stanzas are a confirmation of the god's bulllike character, his attributes, his drink and the officiants worshipping him, being also bulllike, add to his bulllike potency.

A type of 'perseverance' of some frequency in the Vedic hymns is characterized by the repetition of the preverb occurring in the first word of the first line(s) concerned. An instance to go by is AthV. 3, 19, 1 *saṁśitaṁ ma idam brahma* / *saṁśitaṁ vīryaṁ balam* / *saṁśitaṁ kṣatram ajaram astu jiṣṇur* / *yeṣāṁ asmi purohitaḥ* (the person speaking is a brahman who wants to strengthen the military power of his noble patrons, by "sharpening" his brahman the strength and heroism of the patrons is also sharpened); now, the second stanza has: *sam aham eṣāṁ rāṣṭram śyāmi* / *sam oja vīryaṁ balam*: by sharpening his own strength (1b) the brahman sharpens the strength of his patrons (2b), the magic connection or correlation could not be more suitably expressed than by this repetition in the same part of the two succeeding stanzas. It may be noticed that this stanza is, apart from some details, also found in several other texts³⁾. Applying these formulas to this particular case the author adds a second stanza in which he not only repeats the verb, separating the preverb from the finite form, but also the preverb alone in 2b. This single *sam* is no doubt to suggest the idea expressed by *saṁśyāmi*.

An instance of varied repetition is AV. 4, 36, 7cd: 8 a-c; anaphora with climax: *piśācās tasmān naśyanti* / *yam aham grāmam āviṣe* // *yaṁ g. āriṣata* / *idam ūgraṁ saho mama* / p. t. n. This sort of repetition or epanalepsis is not necessarily artificial, nor even an exclusive peculiarity of poetry or versified speech. In emotive and pathetically concatenating utterances it is far from uncommon. "Emphasis may be obtained by placing the word to be emphasized at the end of one phrase and by beginning the next phrase with the same word."⁴⁾ Other forms of repetition are: AV. 1, 22, 1cd : 2ab; 4, 7, 4cd : 5ab; 4, 37, 9 d : 10a; 5, 22, 8d : 9a *anyakṣetrāṇi vā imā* // *anyakṣetre na ramase*. Repetition of a pāda with extension (in Ppp. with inversion!) : 6, 19, 1d : 2a. Recapitulation and at the same time a starting-point of an amplified communication: 5, 20, 1d : 2a (to the war-drum) *siṁha iva jeṣyann abhi taṁstanīhi* / *siṁha ivāstānīd druvayo vibaddhaḥ*. With an absolute: 4, 18, 8 ; 5, 17, 11. The verb is repeated and

²⁾ Thus Geldner, *Der Rig-veda übersetzt*, I, p. 296.

³⁾ See Whitney-Lanman, o.c., p. 119; Bloomfield, *Vedic Concordance* 949b.

⁴⁾ Boas, *Primitive art*², p. 318.

the utterance continued, the verb occupying the initial position: 4, 36, 3d : 4a *sarvāṃs tān sahasā sahe* // *sahe piśācān sahasā*. Cf. also 5, 26, 1 : 2 ; 6, 99, 2 : 3 ; 96, 1 : 2 ; 1, 28, 3 : 4 *tokam attu sā* // *putram a. yātudhāniḥ* ; 6, 101, 2 : 3 (= 4, 4, 6d : 7a) *dhanur ivā tānayā pasah* // *āhaṃ tanomi te pasah*. Chiastic repetition: 6, 89, 1d : 2a (the poet continues in the new order of words). A negative repetition of the same thought: 6, 27, 2d : 3a *pari hetih pakṣiṇi no vṛṇaktu* // *h. p. na dabhāty asmān*. Cf. 6, 33, 2ab. In 4, 35, 2a the verb is repeated from the preceding refrain 1d *tenaudanenāti tarāṇi mṛtyum* // *yenātaran bhūtakṛto 'ti mṛtyum* : in praising a rice-mess offering—which is expected to overcome death (refrain)—the poet states that it is that by which the makers of beings overcame death (2a): the well-known reference to a mythical event in order to cause its reproduction to manifest itself on behalf of the present generation. In AV. 6, 11, 2 the author repeating a name adds a new thought: *tat prajāpatiḥ abravīt* // *p. anumatiḥ . . . acikṣpat* : “that was said by P. // P., A . . . has shaped”. Similar structures are not unknown in popular ‘poetry’: in a children’s song: *Es kamen drei Kaninchen, fragten nach dem Josef ; J. ist der beste Mann, er hat die schönsten Kleider an*⁵⁾, in a song—with ceremonious significance, of the Pima Indians⁶⁾ : *The Black Snake Wind came to me / came and wrapped itself about, came here running with its song* ; cf. also, in Homer, Z 395f. Similarly, AV. 1, 7, 2d : 3ab ; 29, 5d : 6a⁷⁾ ; 4, 6, 4d : 5a ; 31, 1d : 2a ; 4d : 5a ; 6d : 7a ; 5, 17, 8d : 9ab. Compare also the construction of 6, 15, 1—3 . . . let him be subject to us who assails us ; 2 whoever assails us . . . of him may I be highest, as this one of trees ; 3 as of herbs soma is highest . . . : in the 3rd stanza inversion, a phenomenon not uncommon in repeating utterances of some extent: the last part of the communication is, especially if it is the more important one, repeated first⁸⁾. Other interesting passages are AV. 3, 28, 1d : 2a and d : 3a ; 4, 8, 5d : 6ab.

Another type of concatenation worth mentioning is represented by AV. 6, 107, 1ab *viśvajit trāyamāṇāyai mā pari dehi*, cd being a refrain: 2ab *trāyamāṇe viśvajite m. p. d.* ; 3ab *viśvajit kalyāṇyai m. p. d.* ; 4 *kalyāṇi sarvavide m. p. d.* This reminds us of children’s songs of the type, in Dutch, *een koe dat is geen kalf / een kalf dat is geen koe*⁹⁾, or magical recitations such as the ancient German ‘Wurmsegen’: *ut fan themo marge an that ben / u. f. t. bene at. flesget*.¹⁰⁾ Cf. also AV. 6, 114, 1cd : 2ab. In a prose text 4, 39, 2 it reads . . . *agnir vatsah / sā me 'gninā vatsena* ; cf. also st. 4 ; 6 ; 8. A word may be resumed after an interval: AV. 6, 42, 1b : 2b ; 47, 2c : 1d ; 54, 1a : 2d ; 3, 16, 4a : 5b ; 25, 1c : 2b. AV. 2, 10, 3b and 4a a concatenation of this

⁵⁾ O. Schell, Zs. d. Ver. f. Volksk. 5, p. 67.

⁶⁾ F. Russell, The Pima Indians, 26th Ann. Rep. Bur. of Am. Ethn. p. 324.

⁷⁾ Cf. H. Oldenberg, Die Hymnen des Rigveda, Berlin 1888, I, p. 243.

⁸⁾ Some examples in Wunderlich, Unsere Umgangssprache, p. 259 f.

⁹⁾ Cf. also Reinle, o.c., p. 34. In Italian: *Uno, due, tre, / il Papa non e Re, / il Re non e Papa* etc.

¹⁰⁾ See also Müller, Zs. Ver. f. Volksk. 5, p. 200 ; Schlossar, ibid. p. 286.

type is interrupted by a refrain, which being absent in parallel texts, is no doubt a later addition ¹¹⁾. At times it seems possible to consider the words repeated to be founded on the accompanying rite ¹²⁾: 3, 21, 8 and 9. Various types of concatenation may combine in the same *sūkta*: AV. 4, 7, cf. also 5, 4, 3 and 4.

Attention has already been drawn to the fact that a symmetrical pair of sentences is often not different in meaning; not rarely the only difference lies in the occurrence of synonyms. As the general public is often inclined to express itself with verbosity and fulness of details, to repeat what has already been said, to explain terms used in a preceding part of the utterance by synonyms, more special terms, or a slightly altered choice of words, a sort of interaction between this inclination and the desire for symmetry and parallelisms is always apt to occur. Although we should guard against generalizations ¹³⁾, the tendency to express oneself in binary parallel structures may safely be considered to have stimulated 'tautology' or, rather, the use of words related in meaning or slightly differentiated in usage. The preference of sacral language for repetition of related ideas is well-known. Thus we find AV. 5, 18, 10 *ye sahasram arājann / āsan daśaśatā uta* "they that ruled, a thousand, and were ten hundreds"; 30, 10 *ṛṣi bodhapratibhodaṁ* ¹⁴⁾ / *asvapno yaś ca jāgrviḥ*; 6, 21, 2 *śreṣṭham aśi bheṣajānām / vasiṣṭham virudhānām*; for Vedic man these binary structures were certainly no instances of mere 'tautology'. Compare also 5, 18, 9a *tikṣṇeṣavo brāhmaṇā hetimantaḥ*; *ibid.* c; 19, 3ab "they who spat upon a brahman, or who sent (their) mucus at him; 25, 8c *vṛṣāsi vṛṣṇyāvan*; 4, 38, 4c; 5, 30, 9a; with a simile 5, 29, 12cd; with resumption: 6, 27, 2d : 3a.

¹¹⁾ Cf. Bloomfield, S. B. E. 42, p. 293; Whitney-Lanman, o.c., p. 51.

¹²⁾ Cf. KauśS. 43, 16 ff. and Caland, on KauśS. 43, 20.

¹³⁾ Thulin, *Italische sakrale Poesie und Prosa*, p. 59 expresses the opinion that "diese überflüssigen Worte zum groszen Teil nur dazu dienen, das korrespondierende System der Glieder zustande zu bringen" with regard to a special case.

¹⁴⁾ Cf. Whitney-Lanman, on AV. 8, 1, 13.

XIX

AMPLIFICATION

(*Nachtragstil*)

Such must have been the general characteristics of a complex communication, i. e. of a somewhat complicated non-compound sentence ¹⁾. But before leaving this subject we must turn to a particular type of structure, which may be considered an enlargement of a simple schema. Very often a second object, or subject, or other important element of a sentence is, in the ancient Indo-European languages, not placed immediately after the element to which it logically belongs, but at the end of the sentence: that is to say there is a rather marked tendency to bring a communication to a temporary conclusion, and to add an element which might have been included, according to the rules of a logical syntax, in the schema on which this communication is modelled. It is evident that among the factors determining this at first sight unpractical idiom were: the predominant influence of the common simple schemata; a pronounced dislike of long, 'complex' and intricate structures; the desire to impart news or other interesting facts as soon as possible; the excessive confidence, proper to naive man ²⁾, in the interlocutor's knowledge and comprehension, corrected by the wish to give the complementary information as soon as possible.

Thus we find in Homer: *A* 45 τόξ' ὤμοισιν ἔχων ἀμφηρεφέα τε φαρέτην instead of τ. ἀ. τ. φ. ὤ. ἔ. "bearing on his shoulders his bow and close-covered quiver"; *50* οὐρῆας μὲν πρῶτον ἐπώχετο καὶ κύνες ἀργούς which may, of course, be literally translated by: "the mules he assailed first and the swift dogs", although "the mules" is probably more emphasized in the English version than in the original Greek, the usual order of words being "he assailed the mules"; *I* 4 χειμῶνα φύγον καὶ . . . ὄμβρον; *K* 550 ἀλλ' οὐ πῶ τοίους ἱπποὺς ἴδον οὐδ' ἐνόησα; *A* 389 ὥς εἰ με γυνή βάλοι ἢ παῖς ἄφρων; a perfectly natural construction like the English "... than if a woman had struck me or a foolish child". Interestingly enough, the use of particles or other syntactic devices not rarely shows that it was, already

¹⁾ Unfortunately, 'a complex sentence' is, in English terminology, one containing a principal clause and one or more subordinate clauses. We shall however, on the following pages, apply the term complex — between inverted commas — to those structures which contain a double subject, object, verb, or other important element.

²⁾ See e.g. R. Petsch, *Volksdichtung und volkstümliches Denken*, Hessische Blätter für Volkskunde II (1903), p. 192 ff.; F. Polle, *Wie denkt das Volk über die Sprache*³, Leipzig 1904, passim; Havers, *Handbuch*, p. 48.

before the completion of the schema proper, the speaker's intention to add another subject, verb or object: A 61 *ei dh̄ ōmoū pólemós te damā̄ kai loimós 'Aχαιοús*³⁾.

The almost universal occurrence of this phenomenon is largely attested by the Vedic authors: RV. 4, 26, 1 *aham manur abhavaṃ sūryas ca* "I became M. and S." (cf., in Greek, α 266 πάντες κ' ὠκύμοροι τε γενόλατο πικρόγαμοί τε); ChU. 8, 7, 1 *sa sarvāṃs ca lokān āpnoti sarvāṃs ca kāmān*; 3, 11, 5 *idaṃ vāva taj jyēsthāya putrāya pitā brahma prabrūyāt prāṇāyāyā vāntevāsine* "verily, a father may teach this brahma to his eldest son or to a worthy pupil"; GobhGS. 1, 4, 10 *sa kāmāya vā balir bhavati manyave vā*; 15 f. (cf. also 1, 1, 24 f.) *svayam . . . balin haret, api vānyo brāhmaṇaḥ* may be quoted to exemplify the rule that an alternative was to follow the uncomplicated schema; cf. also 2, 2, 3 *pūrvā mātā lājān ādāya, bhrātā vā, vadhūm ākrāmayet*; 1, 2, 32; 7, 1, 2, 9, 13. Counterparts of the above A 61 are not wanting: RV. 4, 51, 11 *tad dyauś ca dhattām prthivī ca devī*; cf. AV. 8, 1, 12; JB. 1, 117 *etasya ha vā idaṃ sāmnaḥ kṛte*⁴⁾ *varṣati ca pārjanya uc ca grhṇāti (ca . . . ca . . .)*; ChU. 8, 7, 3.

Some post-Vedic instances are: Manu 2, 76; 3, 54; BhG. 10, 2; 11, 24 *dhṛtiṃ na vindāmi śamaṃ ca*.

The addition is not necessarily limited to a single element: JB. 1, 105 *imāṃl lokān jāyemāsuraṇ spardhāṃ bhrātṛvyān* "möchten wir diese Räume ersiegen, die Asuras (besiegen), den Streit (gewinnen), die Nebenbuhler (erschlagen)" (Caland); 1, 68 where an element of the main schema has doubled: *sa śirṣata eva mukhatas trivṛtaṃ stomam asṛjata, gāyatrīṃ chando rathantarāṃ sāma . . .* "he created from his head, his mouth, the trivṛtstoma etc."; ChU. 1, 1, 10 *yad eva vidyayā karoti śraddhayopanīṣadā* "what one performs with knowledge, with faith and mystic doctrine"; ChU. 8, 12, 2 *martyaṃ vā idaṃ śarīraṃ āttam mṛtyunā*; Gobh. 1, 7, 16. See also RV. 2, 12, 1; 2, 35, 8; 4, 50, 6; 10, 14, 7. The amplification may even be very long: RV. 1, 35, 8; GobhGS. 2, 4, 2; cf. also the type GobhGS. 3, 2, 52 f. . . *ācāryaṃ sapariṣatkam bhojayet, sabrahmacāriṇas copasametān*; 1, 7, 5.

Sometimes the explanatory character of the addition is emphasized by the particle *eva*: JB. 1, 160 *ekarūpā ha vaiva te tataḥ purāsū: rohitā eva* "vorher waren sie ja nur einfarbig: rot gewesen" (Caland); 1, 97 *te devā vajram . . . asṛjanta puruṣam eva*.

There may be a considerable distance between the element added at the end of the utterance and the term with which it is syntactically coordinated: GobhGS. 2, 3, 8 f. they are separated by a series of formulas and a ritual direction; 1, 1, 24 (with variation).

Attributes or other qualifications are in a similar way often dismissed to the end of the utterance so as to follow the schema of a clause or sentence which would be complete by itself: RV. 3, 59, 2 *na hanyate na jīyate tvoto*

³⁾ In A 65 εἰτ' ἄρ' ὁ γ' εὐχολῆς ἐπιμέμφεται εἰθ' ἐκατόμβης the εἰτε . . . εἰτε prevents us from including this line in this enumeration; cf. also A 108.

⁴⁾ Caland's emendation.

"he is not killed, not conquered, who is favoured by Thee". These additions are often rather long: GobhGS. 1, 3, 6 *atha haviṣyasyānnasyāgnau juhuyāt, kṛtasya vākṛtasya vā* "sodann opfere er im Feuer von der opfermässigen Havisspeise, die eine zubereitete oder eine unzubereitete sein kann"; 5, 14. In this position we find, e. g., local or temporal adjuncts: ChU. 4, 11, 2; adverbs: RV. 3, 59, 2 *nainam amho aśnoty antito na dūrāt*; Gobh. 3, 8, 6; adverbial phrases: Gobh. 1, 3, 4. Similes: Manu 2, 112; 162; quotations (*iti* phrases): ŚB. 9, 1, 1, 1; GobhGS. 1, 7, 22. The additional element expresses a condition, special circumstances etc.: Manu 2, 24 *śūdras tu yasmin kasmin vā nivased vṛttikarsitaḥ* "a ś. may live anywhere, if he is . . ."; Gobh. 1, 6, 6. The general tendency is, in these cases, that an author completes the schema of a short sentence and then strings on one or more details or modifications.

These texts provide ample material to exemplify that an 'addition' often assumes the character of an elucidation, explication, or specification. Cf. e. g. RV. 2, 12, 8 *yam kṛandasī samyati vihwayete | pare 'vara ubhayā amitrāḥ*; ŚB. 3, 2, 4, 1 *ta ete māye asṛjanta, suparnīm ca kadrūṃ ca*; 3, 5, 1, 13 *devāyo ha vā idam agre prajā āsuh, ādityāś caivāṅgirasas ca*; JB. 1, 105 *devāsura vā eṣu lokeṣv aspardhantāsmiṃ bhuvane*; BārU. 1, 2, 1 *mṛtyunai-vedam āvṛtam āsit, aśanāyayā, aśanāyā hi mṛtyuḥ* "this (world) was covered by death, i. e. (or) by hunger, for hunger is death"; ChU. 8, 6, 2 *tad yathā mahāpatha ātata ubhau grāmau gacchatīmaṃ cāmuṃ ca*. JB. 1, 97 f. *tasmā etaṃ pāpmānam anvavādadhūḥ: svapnaṃ tandrīm manyum . . .* "they allotted this evil to him, viz. sleep, laziness, passion"; similar specifications: 1, 120; 181. GobhGS. 1, 4, 20 the term *sarva-* is explicitly stated also to comprise some categories the inclusion of which might have been a matter for doubt: *sarvasya tv evānnasyaitān balin haret, piṭṛyasya vā . . . vā . . . vā* "of all kinds of food he must present the oblations (also) of that which is consecrated to the Manes, or . . . or . . .". Very evident is the expegetical character of the 'addition' if there is question of an identification: JB. 1, 97 *te devā vajraṃ kṣurapaviṃ asṛjanta puruṣam eva* "the gods created the sharp-edged thunderbolt, viz. man"; ŚB. 9, 1, 1, 2 *tasmā etad annaṃ samabharaṇ chāntadevatyaṃ* "they gathered for him that food, viz. the ś." Or also when a name is added: ŚB. 9, 1, 1, 6 *tam eka eva devo nājahān manyur eva*; cf. also 15 *tasmād eṣa ekadevatyo bhavati raudra(h)*; cf. e. g. in Homer, *Δ* 51 f. An explication may consist of a word group: ŚB. 8, 2, 2, 4 *ta ete tān evaitad upadadhāti, tā etaḥ sarvāḥ prajāḥ* "it is them he thereby bestows, that is, all these creatures" (Eggeling); ŚB. 9, 1, 1, 3 *ubhayaṃ v etad annaṃ yaj jartilā yac ca grāmyaṃ yac cāranyaṃ*; *ibid. ubhayenai-vainam etad annena prīṇāti grāmyeṇa cāranyena ca*, or be accompanied by another amplification: JB. 1, 117 *tenābhyo 'nnādyam prāyacchad varṣam evāpanidhanena* "durch sie (diese Singweise) überreichte er ihnen Speise, nl. den Regen, durch die (Singweise jedoch) ohne ihr Schlusstück" (Ca-land).

It may therefore be concluded that terms complementing the statement

of the sentence are usually dismissed to the end. This is also a favourite position of the 'final dative': RV. 1, 154, 6 *tā vām vāstūny uśmasi gamadhyai* "we desire to go to those abodes of you two"; 10, 125, 6 *aham rudrāya dhanur ā tanomi brahmadviṣe śarave hantavā u*⁵⁾; cf. 1, 85, 1c; very frequently in prose texts: TS. 5, 1, 6, 1 f. *tenaivainam sam srjati śāntyai* "verily, with him he unites him, for atonement"; AiB. 3, 10, 3. An adj. conveying a 'final' nuance: GobhGS. 1, 1, 24 *apa āharet paricaranīyāḥ* "water . . . which is to be . . .".

This is also the natural position of amplifications containing a participle: RV. 1, 35, 8 . . . *deva āgād / dadhad ratnā* . . .; 1, 154, 1; 10, 34, 6; AV. 8, 1, 4.

It is evident that appositions can be subjoined in this way, after the main schema of the sentence: RV. 1, 1, 1 *agnim ile purohitam / yajñasya devam ṛtvijam / hotāraṁ ratnadhātāmam*. In many other cases, however, the apposition is added, within the schema of the sentence, to the word to which it belongs: ŚB. 8, 7, 4, 2 *tad icchata yathaiṣu lokeṣu rasam upajīvanam dadhāmeti* "seek how we may lay sap, the means of subsistence, into these worlds". Here the apposition is not explicative in character, it expresses identity: "the sap or means of s.", "the sap which is the m. of s.". Similarly 8, 4, 2, 2 . . . *sarvāṇi bhūtāni pāpmano mṛtyo sprṇavāni*, both nouns forming unity, being a frequent phrase; 8, 7, 4, 7 *tasmin devā etad amṛtam rūpam uttamam adadhuh* "the gods bestowed on him immortality, that highest form"; 9, 1, 1, 8 *svenaivainam etad bhāgena svena rasena priṇāti* "he thus gratifies him by his own portion, by his own life-sap"; 9, 1, 1, 43 *katham samvatsareṇāgninā sampadyate?*; 9, 1, 1, 19 *etāni ha jātāny ete rudrā anupraviviṣuh*; 9, 1, 2, 10. After quoting the formula *kāmadughā akṣiyamānāḥ* ŚB. 9, 1, 2, 19 continues: *tad enāḥ kamadughā akṣiyamānāḥ kurute*; the second adjective is not explicative. Side by side with the above structures we also find the type ŚB. 9, 1, 2, 10 *etad vā enam devāḥ śatarudriyeṇa cādbhiś ca śamayitvā* "now at that time, the gods, having appeared him by the Ś. and the water", both instruments being intimately connected. Cf. also 9, 1, 2, 16 *tathaivainā ayam etad avarārdhataś caiva parārdhataś ca parigṛhya*. ŚB. 3, 5, 4, 2 an apposition follows the subject, preceding the verb: *devāś ca vā asurāś ca, ubhe prājāpatyāḥ, pasprdhire*. Also in the mantra literature instances of a double object etc. within the schema do occur: AV. 8, 1, 6b *jīvātum te dakṣatātīm kṛṇomi*; 2, 1c *asum ta āyuh punar ā bharāmi*; cf. RV. 2, 12, 15 etc. etc.

Special attention may finally be drawn to the structure represented by ŚB. 9, 1, 1, 15 *tasmā etasmai kṣatrāyaitā viśa etam purastād uddhāram udaharan ya eṣa prathamo 'nuvākaḥ* "those peasants . . . assigned to that chief this as his special share, to wit, this first chapter . . ." (Eggeling), where the epexegetis⁶⁾ is introduced by the so-called relative pronoun

⁵⁾ See also Delbrück, *Ved. Syntax*, p. 147 ff.; A. A. Macdonell, *A Vedic grammar for students*, Oxford, p. 314 f.; 333 ff.

⁶⁾ For various phenomena under the heading 'epexegetis' see e.g. Leumann-

ya- which, in the opinion of the present author, originally was an explicative, defining, annunciatory includer, which only in the course of time assumed the character of a relativum proper ⁷⁾. Here we seem to have a clear indication of a special epexegetical construction as a source of relative subordination in the traditional sense of the term. It would however carry us too far if we prolonged this digression any further.

Hofmann, Lateinische Grammatik, p. 860, s.v.; cf. also O. Behaghel, Deutsche Syntax, IV, Heidelberg 1932, p. 251.

⁷⁾ See *Lingua*, 4 (1954), p. 1 ff.

IDENTIFICATIONS

It may be considered a matter of common knowledge that systems of classification play an important rôle not only in the thought of modern man, but also in that of his ancestors. As soon as man exercises his mental faculties, draws inferences and endeavours to obtain an insight into the processes of life and nature and the various phenomena surrounding him he comes to suppose connections between substances and processes to exist and to be of importance for himself. While trying to comprehend these connections from interested motives he proceeds to arrange them according to more or less systematic principles. In so doing he classifies, to the best of his knowledge, those categories of reality which are, or seem to be of consequence to him. The seasons, the quarters of the sky, the phases of the moon, some of the most important plants, animals, asterisms, the divine powers in nature, the mental faculties of man, the natural and social subdivisions of mankind are, somehow or other, distinguished and arranged in groups and classes. Those objects are phenomena which, though belonging to different categories, possess certain features or properties (e. g. number, similarity of effect etc.) in common and are moreover regarded as related and connected; their interrelations are studied and their subservience pursued by ritual or more or less mystical means. For it is believed that those who know the relevant interrelations by possessing, being, or imposing influence upon, a certain category are able, by means of a special technique, to exercise power over those categories which are connected with it. It hardly needs arguing that this mode of thought and the eminently practical aspects of this view of the world led man to enumerate the phenomena and the various classes to which they were supposed to belong, and to draw lists of parallel events and entities.

The 'philosophy' of the brāhmaṇas may be said to have resulted from, and to represent, in a sense, a hypertrophy of this mental structure ¹). The endless identifications, the dreary repetitions of formulas and lists of entities belonging to various classes, often arranged in such a way as to suit the requirements of the developed and intricate ritual considerably added to the natural tendency to parallelism in speech.

¹) The reader may be referred to H. Oldenberg, *Vorwissenschaftliche Wissenschaft*, Göttingen 1919, p. 110 ff.; S. Schayer, *Die Struktur der magischen Weltanschauung nach dem Atharva-Veda und den Brāhmaṇa-Texten*, in *Zs. f. Buddh.* 6, p. 259; J. Gonda, *Inleiding tot het Indische denken*, Antwerpen-Nijmegen 1948, ch. II.

AthV. 5, 9, 7 some constituents of the human person are, in an arid enumeration, identified with cosmic powers: *sūryo me cakṣur vātaḥ prāṇo 'ntarikṣam ātmā pṛthivī sarīram*; elsewhere a similar identification of earth, atmosphere and sky, to hearing, breath, sight and to the forest-trees, birds and asterisms respectively constitutes a complete text consisting of three almost entirely parallel utterances: *pṛthivyai śrotrāya vanaspatibhyo | 'gnaye 'dhipataye svāhā*, etc. (6, 10)²). An enumeration like 6, 97, 1 *abhibhūr yajño abhibhūr agnir | a. somo a. indraḥ* in which several powers which have a domineering character in common are grouped together, is likewise a parallelism. AV. 5, 24, 1-14 is an invocation addressed to various divinities which are all regarded as 'overlords'; the same prayer always recurring, the outward form of this section is that of varied identity or repetition; the varying names followed by "overlord of ..." (e. g. *savitā prasavānām adhipatiḥ*) constitute an enumeration of overlords³). So-called "aufzählende Variation"⁴) of this description in which, for instance, the subjects alone, or the subjects with an object or predicate, are, in succession, enumerated, is found among many peoples⁵).

The quarters of the sky are among those entities which are often found in these texts⁶): in AV. 3, 26 the gods of the quarters are, in parallel stanzas, invoked, being given epithets; their special arrows are indicated and homage is paid to them: *ye 'syām stha prācyām diśi hetayo nāma devās teṣām vo agnir iṣavaḥ* etc.; cf. 4, 14, 7-8 (parallel utterances with responsio); 5, 10, 1-7 (varied enumeration); 6, 98, 3. In AV. 4, 40, and in somewhat similar formulas occurring in TBr. 3, 11, 5 and ĀpŚrS. 6, 18, 3, which are likewise applied in rites directed against enemies advancing from the east, the south etc., these quarters of the sky are co-ordinated with Agni and other gods; the Atharvavedic text runs as follows: *ye purastāj juhvati jātavedaḥ | prācyā diśo 'bhidāsanty asmān | agnim ṛtvā te parāṇco vyathantām*... We may imagine that in these cases the same formula with alternating names of gods and quarters as required by the accompanying ritual act was repeated by officiants who while reciting turned towards the respective directions⁷). Here too parallel acts led to parallel utterances. Cf. also 6, 40, 3. — Compare also Mbh. 14, 26, 1-5.

²) According to Whitney-Lanman, p. 288 this text is a prose hymn. The possibility of consistent metrical analysis is, however, not essential. As to stanza 2, which does not begin with *antarikṣāya*, but with *prāṇāya*, the same authors remarked "it is strange that in this verse the sphere is placed after the human faculty". It would, however, appear to me that the tendency to place the shortest word first, in addition to metrical considerations, has induced the poet to deviate from the order of words adopted in the stanzas 1 and 3. If so rhythmical tendencies have prevailed over the logical order.

³) Compare also the introductory remarks by Whitney-Lanman, p. 263.

⁴) Werner, Ursprünge der Lyrik, p. 89.

⁵) See e.g. R. Thurnwald, Forschungen auf den Salomoinseeln usw. I, p. 18.

⁶) See also Werner, o.c., p. 90 f.

⁷) See e.g. W. Caland, Altindisches Zauberritual, Amsterdam 1900, KauśS. 49, 13.

XXI

EPIPHORA

Epiphora or antistrophe, i. e. the repetition of words or phrases at the end of a succession of clauses or sentences¹⁾ is, generally speaking, less frequent than anaphora²⁾. One of the factors to which we may ascribe this difference is, to all appearance, the often emotional character of anaphora: emotional elements very frequently tend to occupy a place at the beginning of a unit. Yet, epiphora, which can be considered an over-complete rhyme, will not infrequently appear where identity of sound between final groups of syllables in general is to be expected. Moreover, a hard-and-fast boundary between epiphora and refrain cannot always be drawn, a short sequence of repeated words at the end of a series of stanzas, like the repetition of definite rhymes, constituting a variety of epiphora. In ritual and liturgic formulas, spells, incantations and other compositions mainly consisting of parallel groups of words epiphora is indeed a widespread phenomenon. There, it is felt as a means of intensifying the magic effect³⁾. When a Malay magician has to annihilate the efficacy of poison he repeats the words *ta'ada bisa* "not venomous" every time at the end of a series of parallel groups, consisting of 7-9 syllables each: *uparpun t. b. / upaspun t. b. / racunpun t. b.* etc. "your cobra is not venomous, your dart-poison is n. v." ⁴⁾. In the popular poetry of Baluchistan epiphora like *responsio* in general is very common: "Come out to the watered land, Mastāni; be my butterfly, M.; . . . long may live my M.; much gold is thine, M." ⁵⁾.

Thus, epiphora may turn up in emphatic duplications: ChU. 3, 13, 7 . . . *viśvataḥ prṣṭheṣu, sarvataḥ prṣṭheṣu* . . . "above all, above the universe"; in parallel clauses: BārU. 2, 4, 14; BhG. 3, 37 *kāma eṣa krodha eṣa*; in paratactic enumerations: ChU. 1, 13, 1; 7, 9, 1; BārU. 3, 4, 1; 6, 3, 2; Mbh. 14, 24, 6 *śukrāc . . . pūrvam prāṇaḥ pravartate / prāṇena . . . tato 'pāṇaḥ pravartate*; in a string of predications or identifications: 6, 3, 4; in a series of religious formulas: Gobh. GS. 3, 8, 5; BārU. 6, 3, 2; 4, 25; in analytical expressions of complementary or antithetical thoughts:—cf. a Malay proverb *badannya bolèh di-milik, hatinya tiada di-milik* "one's

¹⁾ We leave undiscussed here . . . *ca . . . ca* and similar cases.

²⁾ Cf. also Boas, *Primitive art*, p. 326.

³⁾ The reader might be referred to Bijleveld, o.c., p. 33 f.

⁴⁾ Skeat, o.c., p. 638, where other instances may be found.

⁵⁾ M. Longworth Dames, *Popular poetry of the Baloches*, London 1907, I, p. 168; II, p. 190.

body may be owned, one's heart is free" — ; ŚB. 3, 5, 1, 24 *yugena yatra haranti śamyayā yato haranti*; in a liturgic 'double' formula: GobhGS. 3, 2, 41 *svar abhivyakhyam jyotir a.*; also in a long series: ŚB. 3, 3, 3, 4 *candram te vastram te chāgā te dhenus te mithunau te gārau tistras te 'nyah* (notice the increasing length of the last elements); Mbh. 14, 28, 2; in underlining a contrast—cf. B 527 f.; in the expression of a condition or stipulation: Mbh. 14, 19, 19 *sa cec caknoti . . . yoktum ātmānam ātmani / tatah. . . sa paśyaty ā. ā.*; in similes and comparisons, helping to emphasize the similarity: Mbh. 14, 42, 53 (with *responsio*); in blessing or addressing a number of persons: the speaker takes care not to discriminate against one of them, not to forget any name: AV. 6, 10 . . . *agnaye 'dhipataye svāhā / . . . vāyave a. s. . . . sūryāya a. s.*; BārU. 4, 19; cf. in Malay⁶⁾ *Isa, karun! Musa, k.! Jusuf, k.! Daud, k.!*; in prayers: Avestan, Yt. 5, 18 *anumatē daēnayāi anuxtē d. anuvārštē d.* instead of "to think, speak and act in accordance with religion".

Since the last element of a clause or sentence may attract the hearer's attention a little more than the other words epiphora often helps to express a motivation or the idea conveyed by our "also, indeed": ŚB. 3, 3, 3, 4 *mahito vai somo devo hi somo*. In this way it often occurs in archaic descriptive and narrative 'carmen' style, although in translating "also" may be omitted or replaced by "and" and a shorter construction: often in the Avestan Yašts: 10, 85 . . . *ava pairi imam zam jasaiti, vi hapta karšvan jasaiti* "... goes all over this earth, spreads unto the seven regions"⁷⁾; in co-ordinating two adjectival ideas qualifying the same substantive the latter is in the archaic parallelisms often repeated: Av. Yt. 10, 96 *amavastēmam zaēnqm, varəθravastēmam zaēnqm* where we would prefer "the strongest and (also) most victorious of weapons".

The body of the Atharvaveda contains with regard to epiphora striking counterparts of the above Malay magic text⁸⁾: 2, 31, 2 I *dr̥ṣṭam adr̥ṣṭam at̥ṣham / atho kurūrum at̥ṣham* "The seen, the unseen one have I bruised, also the kurūru have I bruised". From the point of view of the magician the repetition at the end of the parallel sequences was no doubt a potent element in the incantation⁹⁾. At the end of 3, 18 which is directed against a rival wife it reads: *mām anu pra te maṇo ! vatsam gaur iva dhāvatu / pathā vār iva dhāvatu* "after me let thy mind run as a cow after her calf, run as water on its track", by the double *iva dhāvatu* the combined power of the two mighty similes is made active for the benefit of the woman who wishes

⁶⁾ See Skeat, o.c., p. 616.

⁷⁾ Cf. 89 where in the narrative part the verb is in the 'Anschlussstellung' and the adjective "seven" being placed at the end, preceded by the isolating and annunciatory includer *ya-*.

⁸⁾ Cf. also R. M. Meyer, *Die altgermanische Poesie*, p. 323; *Deutsche Stilistik*², p. 103 f.

⁹⁾ With regard to this epiphora of verbal forms one might compare . . . *gesworn wart . . . geporn wart* and similar instances (see e.g. Schönbach, *Anal. Graec.*, p. 31, no. 6). For ancient Italy see Tab. Iguv. 1, 13.

to get the better of her rival, whose mind is compelled to run also. Compare also: 6, 29, 3fg. 2, 11, 1 I is an instance of a less pronounced variety: *dūṣyā dūṣir asi | hetyā hetir asi | menyā menir asi* (cf. also st. 2 etc.), the paronomasia striking the ear of the hearer more than the repetition of the verb, although this lends a monotony to the composition which was no doubt highly valued. Besides, 2, 30, 3 I¹⁰).

We not infrequently come across instances of epiphora accompanied by a tendency to a gradual intensification of the utterance: AV. 4, 24, 1a *indrasya manmahe śaśvad id asya manmahe* "we reverence Indra, we constantly reverence him"; 3, 10, 7 *pūrṇā darve parā pata | supūrṇā punar ā pata* (but cf. RVKh. 10, 184, 1 without a climax: *nejameṣa parā pata | suputraḥ p. ā. p.*); cf. 6, 67, 3.

The suggestive force of this stylistic device was also appreciated by poets of the post-Vedic period: in the Mṛcchakaṭika the gambler Darduraka is made to praise his daily pursuits as follows: 2, 8 *dravyaṃ labdhaṃ dyūtenaiva dārā mitraṃ dyūtenaiva | dattaṃ bhuktaṃ dyūtenaiva sarvaṃ naṣṭaṃ dyūtenaiva* "money is obtained by gambling alone, wives and friends by g. a.; one gives or enjoys by g. a., everything (likewise) is lost through g. a."

The epiphora can also serve to emphasize polarity or antithesis: AV. 6, 13, 2 which is addressed to the ministers and instruments of death: *sumatyai mṛtyo te namo | durmatyai ta idaṃ namaḥ*, "favour" and "disfavour" being one of the 'polar pairs' by means of which Vedic man endeavoured to formulate the different aspects and properties of 'abstract entities' (cf. also 7, 43, 1a). The same construction can, on the other hand, be instrumental in demonstrating identity, aim, agreement, harmony, correspondence: Mṛcch. 8, 3 (Prākṛt stanza) *jāha una a citta na muṇḍide | śāhu suṭṭhu śila tāha muṇḍide* "but the head of that (man) is well shaved, whose mind again is properly shaved".

Epiphora also occurs in non-successive units: AV. 1, 31, 4a : c; 4, 11, 8b : d ... *vaha āhitah | ... samāhitah*; 5, 18, 1c : 3c (2a); 7, 50, 1 etc.

In the case of epiphora also the monotony may be mitigated by variation: Mbh. 14, 43, 21 *ahiṃsā paramo dharmo | hiṃsā cādharmalakṣaṇā | prakāśalakṣaṇā devā | manusyāḥ karmalakṣaṇāḥ*. It can even be avoided and replaced, for metrical causes or otherwise, by internal correspondence: Mbh. 14, 44, 19 *sarve kṣayāntā nicayāḥ patanāntāḥ samucchritāḥ*.

Freer forms of epiphora are also: AV. 1, 25, 3 *yadi śoko yadi vābhiśokaḥ* ... (gradation); BhagG. 5, 5 II *ekaṃ sāmākhyaṃ ca yogaṃ ca | yaḥ paśyati sa paśyati* "that reason-method and discipline are one Who sees, he (truly) sees" (Edgerton): although the last pāda cannot syntactically speaking be disconnected from the preceding one, it may from the rhythmical point of view be regarded as impressing the hearer as an independent unity, as a representative of the well-known fourfold structure with

¹⁰) Cf. Whitney-Lanman, o.c., p. 72.

epiphora; the repeated verb is however by its very position weightily pregnant: "... he truly sees". Similarly 13, 27 ¹¹).

It seems worth while to examine the main peculiarities of these parallel lines more closely, especially with regard to the various types of vertical correspondence.

Striking instances of symploke ("intertwining or complication"), viz. anaphora and epiphora (repetition of words at the end of a succession of clauses) are AV. 5, 17, 10 *punar vai devā adaduh | punar manuṣyā adaduh* (cf. RV. 10, 109, 6 p. v. d. a. p. *manuṣyā uta*); 23, 3 *yo akṣyau parisarpati yo nāse parisarpati*; 6, 57, 2 *jālāṣenābhi śiñcata jālāṣenopa śiñcata*. The same phenomenon may occur in pādas which do not come in immediate succession: AV. 6, 58, 1a and c: *yaśasaṃ mendro maghavān kṛnotu* and *y. m. devaḥ savitā k.*; 62, 2a and 3a *vaiśvānarīm sūnṛtām ā rabhadhvam* and *v. varcasa ā r.*; Mbh. 14, 19, 27.

In other instances the middle and end of the corresponding pādas are identical: AV. 6, 57, 3 *viśvaṃ no astu bheṣajaṃ | sārvaṃ n. a. bh.* Cf. also Mbh. 14, 36, 31 I and II. Cases of a special character are of course not wanting: AV. 5, 18, 15 *iṣur iva digdhā nṛpate | prdākūr iva gopate* ¹²). Cf. also 5, 20, 6a — 8a.

In the instances now to be mentioned the parallelism is often less rigorous. There are cases in which the verb appears only once; elsewhere *ya-* is accompanied by its antecedent in only one of the members.

Sometimes the responsio concerns two halves of a stanza containing a main and a subordinate clause: AV. 1, 2, 4 *yathā dyām ca pṛthivīm cāntas tiṣṭhati tejanam | evā rogaṃ cāsrāvaṃ cāntas tiṣṭhatu muñca it* "as between both heaven and earth stands the t. (according to the commentary: bamboo), so let the reed-stalk (the instrument to ward off injury and disease) stand between both the disease and the flux". The *yathā-evā* (*evam*) similes of which this stanza is an instance appear to express in the first instance agreement in essence between the processes denoted in both members. This agreement may even develop into complete identity ¹³). In the magical texts of the Atharvaveda these similes — which may under other circumstances be didactic in character — are an important element in the magic ritual. Occurring in exactly formulated sentences, they were no doubt consciously employed in order to achieve, whether or not in harmony — at least as far as we can prove — with the ritual, an incantatory effect. By means of this type of similes an event in cosmic, ritual, or divine sphere, expressed in the *yathā* protasis, and the aim or object of the incantation, expressed in the apodosis, are put in parallelism. The magical character of these formulas is also apparent from the predilection for the imperative in the apodosis. Cf. e. g. AV. 6, 70, 1 intended to attach

¹¹) For emphasis of the last word cf. also BhagG. 11, 40.

¹²) Should *iva* in a be *va*?

¹³) See the author's Remarks on similes in Sanskrit literature, Leiden 1949, p. 102 ff.

a cow to her calf: *yathā māṃsaṃ yathā surā yathākṣā adhidevane | yathā pumso vṛṣanyata striyāṃ nihanyate manah | evā te aghnye mano 'dhi vatse ni hanyatām* "as flesh, as spirituous liquor, as dice on the gambling-board, as the mind of a lustful man is fastened on a woman, so let your mind, O inviolable one, be fastened on your calf". It is evident that the repetition of words, especially of the verb (cf. e. g. AV. 1, 11, 6; 5, 25, 2) and to a still higher extent any phenomena of vertical correspondence were felt to add by enhancing or emphasizing the closeness of the correspondence between the processes to the efficacy of these formulas. In 6, 102, 1 *ya-thāyaṃ vāho aśvinā samaiti saṃ ca vartate | evā mām abhi te manah samaitu saṃ ca vartatām* "as this draught-horse, O Aśvins, comes together and moves together (with his mate), so let your mind come together and move together unto me": in this formula used in a rite instituted to win a woman the union and companionship of two horses put to the same carriage should exert a magic influence on the parallel of human love. In 6, 139, 5 *yathā nakulo vicchidya saṃdadhāty ahiṃ punah | evā kāmasya vicchinnaṃ saṃ dhehi vīryāvati* "as a mongoose, having cut apart, puts together again a snake, so, O powerful (herb), put together the divided of love". Cf. e. g. also AV. 7, 50, 1.

Similar stanzas occur also in the R̥gveda and those authors who have considered them to be instances of poetical finery¹⁴) are no doubt in the wrong. Cf. R̥V. 8, 47, 17 *yathā . . . yatha ṛṇaṃ saṃnayāmasi | . . . evā . . . saṃ nayāmasi*. Nor is this mode of expression foreign to prose texts either, the correspondences being sometimes fairly close: TS. 7, 5, 9, 2 *yathā bandhān mumucānā utkrodaṃ kurvata evam eva tad yajamānā utkrodaṃ kurvate* "as men being freed from bonds exult, so then the sacrificers exult". This archaic structure was preserved in many languages especially in formulas and in those texts in which an exact wording is appreciated. In Manu there are many instances: 2, 218; 6, 90; 7, 129; 8, 44, etc. Cf. also Mbh. 14, 19, 45 f. *yathā svakoṣṭhe prakṣipyā bhāndaṃ bhāndamanā bhavet || tathā svakāye p. mano dvārair anīscalaiḥ | ātmānaṃ tatra mārgeta . . .* Two subordinate clauses in succession: Mbh. 14, 22, 24 *yathā hi śiṣyaḥ śāstāraṃ śrutartham abhidhāvati | tataḥ śrutam upādāya ś. upatiṣṭhati || . . .* "as a pupil goes to a teacher for the sake of the holy lore, (and) then after having acquired the holy knowledge lives on h. k."

In other cases also a main clause and a subordinate part of the sentence often have one or more terms in common: JBr. 1, 296 *yat pratyavakṣyaḥ, katham pratyavakṣya iti* "wenn du geantwortet hättest, wie würdest du g. haben?" (Caland); ibid. *iti pratyavakṣyaṃ yat p.*; 2, 123 *sa ye dve avaciccheda, bhrātrvyalokam eva tad a.*; 1, 291 etc.

Incidentally such cases of symploke combine with a case of anaphora: AV. 6, 58, 1. Complicated stanzas are e. g. AV. 1, 2, 1 *vidmā śarasya pitarāṃ | parjanyaṃ bhūridhāyasam | v. śv asya mātaraṃ | prthivīm bhūri-*

¹⁴) See e.g. R. Hirzel, *Der Eid*, Leipzig 1902, p. 30, n. 16. See also A. Bergaigne, in the *Mélanges-Rénier* (1886), p. 76, n. 1.

varpasam (anaphora, rhyme, or symploke); a and b (with another adj.) are made the model on which 1, 3, 1—5 were composed in fivefold variation. Cf. also 3, 20, 5.

Cases are not wanting in which entire stanzas correspond in the above way: AV. 6, 90, 1 and 2; 1, 21, 2 and 3 (anaphora, responsio, assonance). In 4, 15, 2 and 3 we find anaphora (different verb form), rhyme and refrain. Cf. also 1, 34, 3; 4, 16, 8 (3 *pādas*); 6, 53, 2 (enumeration).

This is a convenient place to return to the frequent epiphoric repetition of conjunctions¹⁵). Most Vedic instances concern ... *ca* ... *ca* groups, though other repetition is not wanting: RV. 8, 11, 1 *deva ā martyeṣv ā*; cf. also MS. 2, 11, 5 *samā ca mā indraś ca me*; AV. 15, 10, 3 *ato vai brahma ca kṣatram codatiṣṭhatām*. Ancient Greek instances, often showing a perfect isosyllabism are numerous: Δ 68 *πατήρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε*; E 742; β 281; δ 224. Γ 167 *ἀνὴρ ἦς τε μέγας τε*; such recurring phrases (cf. I 500; Ω 70) which convey closely related ideas are counterparts of the Indian ŚŚ. 8, 21, 1 *brahma ca kṣatram ca*; RVKh. 10, 85, 1 *tejasvī ca yaśasvī ca*, and the Avestan Y. 54, 1 *nərəbyasčā nāiribyasčā*.

Beside these groups we find prepositional groups: RV. 10, 17, 6d = AV. 7, 9, 1d *ā ca parā ca (carati prajānan)*; RV. 1, 76, 4 *ā ca huve ni ca satsi* ...; AV. 7, 25, 2 *pra cānati vi ca caṣṭe śacibhiḥ*, and the type AiB. 3, 4, 5 *atha yad uc ca hr̥ṣyati ni ca hr̥ṣyati* "further, in that he leaps up and down": whereas in the English equivalent the verb is expressed once and the adverbs ('prepositions' in Sanskrit) are co-ordinated the verb is repeated and the preverbs are connected by the 'complementary' *ca* in the archaic mode of expression. From the occurrence of similar cases of 'tmesis' in the Avesta it is obvious that it was, indeed, an element of prehistoric syntax: Av. Yt. 10, 120 *aiwiča vaēdayānte frača yazānte*¹⁶).

¹⁵) See above and the author's paper in Vāk, vol. 5.

¹⁶) For other instances see Chr. Bartholomae, Altiranisches Wörterbuch, Strassburg 1904, p. 570. Cf. also Mnemosyne 4, 7, p. 291 f.

XXII

ETYMOLOGIES

Another source of assonance and paronomasia in the literary legacy of the Indians is their inclination to study the origins of, and relations between, words and to make etymologies, an inclination which they have in common with many other peoples all over the earth. It seems however to be hardly disputable that the often almost innate or spontaneous practice of tracing the source and connections of words was always greatly stimulated by the undeniable and striking partial outward identity of many vocables in actual use. The very frequency of the 'stylistic figures' consisting of repetition of roots and stems must have contributed much to arousing the interest of early 'philosophers' in the relations between words in general. The very existence of inflectional and derivational classes and of etymologically related groups ('families') of words could not fail to catch and hold their attention, inducing them to what has, by many authors, it is true, but in many cases incorrectly, been called puns, quibbles or "puérils jeux de mots" ¹⁾. This concern in attempting for useful purposes to discover the essential meanings and interrelations of words must not, of course, be mistaken for a really scientific interest in etymology ²⁾, which however has arisen from it ³⁾. This chapter will be exclusively occupied with the stylistic and syntactic consequences of this 'etymologic' pursuit.

Names and objects being, in the view of natural man, closely related entities ⁴⁾, the former are often considered to owe their existence to the source of the latter, or to find their explanation or justification in the circumstances under which the latter came into being, the more so as man has generally been inclined to give appropriate names to animate and

¹⁾ Thus P. Masson-Oursel, *Esquisse d'une histoire de la philosophie indienne*, Paris 1923, p. 42. See the present author's article "The etymologies in the ancient Indian brāhmaṇas", *Lingua* 5 (1955), p. 61 ff.

²⁾ It may be recalled to memory that this term originally meant: "the lore of the true (*ἔτυμος*) sense of a word according to its origin".

³⁾ See e.g. also P. Chakravarti, *The linguistic speculations of the Hindus*, Calcutta Univ. 1933, passim, and S. Varma, *The etymologies of Yāska*, Hoshiarpur 1953, ch. I. For the history of etymological science now see V. Pisani, *L'etimologia*, Milan 1947 (with bibliographical notes, p. 185 ff.).

⁴⁾ The reader may, for the character of etymologies in the Veda, be referred to the paper by the present author entitled "The etymologies in the ancient Indian brāhmaṇas".

inanimate beings and objects ⁵). According to the Stoics for instance the etymological aspect of a word would therefore explain the essence of the ideas and objects symbolized by it. The Indian king *Āsvapati* called his daughter *Sāvitrī* because she was given by the goddess of that name whom he had propitiated by means of the prayer which is also known as *sāvitrī*: Mbh. 3, 293, 24 *sāvitrīyā prītayā dattā | sāvitrīyā hutayā hy api | sāvitrīty eva nāmāsyās | cakrur viprās tathā pitā*; and it is no coincidence either that the children born to king *Bhīma* after his giving hospitality to *Damana* were—as we know already—called *Damayantī*, *Dama*, *Dānta* and *Damana* (3, 53, 9). The tirtha *Vinaśana* ("Disappearance") owed its name to the fact that there the river *Sarasvatī* disappears (Mbh. 3, 82, 111). The ministers of *Janamejaya* told him that *Parikṣit* had got his name because he was born *parikṣiṇeṣu kuruṣu* (1, 49, 15, with partial anaphora). It would be incorrect to regard the paronomastic figures occurring in these explanations, as puns ⁶). In a similar way *Hector's* son was called by other people *Ἀστυδάκτ' ὀλοῦ γὰρ ἐγένετο Ἴλιον Ἑκτορος*, because his father "was lord and protector of the city" ⁷). The habit of giving nicknames after conspicuous peculiarities was likewise not foreign to the ancient Indians: Dkc. 91 *Daṇḍin* comes to speak of two rivals: *vairūpyād mama virūpaka iti prasiddhir āsit. anyas cātra sundaraka iti yathārthanāmā ... abhavat*.

Hence the inclination proper to *homo sapiens* in general to investigate the origin and real sense of those names which have already been given by others, of the words for the things in general; the inclination, too, to discover familiar sounds or meanings in the terms with which one comes to be acquainted, to re-interpret or transform words and names which are not at first sight plain to the intelligence, to link the unknown with the known ⁸). This so-called popular etymology reaches back to the dim ages of antiquity.

⁵) For practices of namegiving in general see M. R. P. Masani, Customs, ceremonies and superstitions connected with the naming of children in India, as compared with those prevailing in other countries, in the *Actes du XVIII^e congrès international des orientalistes*, Leyden 1931 (1932), p. 145 ff. who, once again emphasizing the belief that the name is an essential part of the personality, draws the following list of motives underlying the choice of a name: gratifying religious sentiments, esteem or affection, 'superstition', custom, qualities of mind or body, etc. See also P. V. Kane, *History of dharmaśāstra*, II, Poona 1941, Index, p. 1323; A. Bähnisch, *Die deutschen Personennamen*, Leipzig-Berlin 1914; F. Solmsen, *Indogermanische Eigennamen als Spiegel der Kulturgeschichte*, Heidelberg 1922.

⁶) It may be parenthetically remarked that the authors did, of course, not always seize the opportunity to express an explanation of a name in the form of a paronomasia, e.g. Rām. 1, 66, 14 *kṣetram śodhayatā labdhā nāmnā sīteti vīśrutā* (k. ś. *sītāyā lāṅgalapaddhater mayā labdhā*, comm.).

⁷) The reader may be referred to L. Ph. Rank, *Etymologiseering en verwante verschijnselen bij Homerus*, Thesis Utrecht 1951.

⁸) For this so-called popular etymology see, e.g., L. H. Gray, *Foundations*

'Etymologies' are, indeed, very frequent in most of the ancient and 'primitive' writings which have come to my knowledge. Geographical names are for instance explained by supposed historical occurrences: in Javanese works we come across records of the travels of religious men, enumerating the resting-places and giving an account of their names: e. g. Tantu Panggelaran, p. 110 "Ragēḍang was the locality where he left dried dog's flesh (*gěrañ*, *r* and *ḍ* interchange), Pacelengan was the locality where he ate pork (*celeñ* "hog"), Untehan was the locality where he twined (*unte-unte*) . . . , Canggangan was the locality where he fastened a hog . . .". A nobleman was called Aya-Tular, the Jav. Kidung Pamancañgah 1, 94 says, because he was an object of yearning (*ayam-ayam*) when he was a child. The name of Odysseus was, by Homer himself, in a comparable way connected with *ὀδύρομαι* "to mourn for" or *ὀδύσσομαι* "to be wroth against", cf. e. g. τ 270 ff. ὥς ἦδῃ Ὀδυσῆος ἐγὼ περὶ νόστος ἄκουσα . . . ὀδύσαντο γὰρ αὐτῷ / Ζεὺς τε καὶ Ἡέλιος⁹).

Similar 'etymologies' are also found in Indian works written in languages other than Sanskrit. The mountain Isigili near Rājagṛha came by its name because it was supposed to have swallowed up a number of sages who had resided there: Pali *isī gilati iti* = *Isigili*¹⁰). The thera Khānu was called "stump" because a pack of thieves, mistaking him for the trunk of a tree, piled their sacks on to his head and body and slept around him. The river Kimikālā was supposed to owe its name to its abounding in black worms (Udāna comm. 217 *kālakimīnam bahulatāya*) etc. etc.

Thus historical or pseudo-historical facts were likewise already at an early period explained by means of (pseudo-) etymologies. AV. 15, 8, 1 so *'rajjyata tato rājanyo 'jāyata* "he became impassioned (*raj-*); thence was born the noble (*rājanya-*)" is an attempt to clarify the essence of nobility by a 'historical' and 'etymological' method. In describing the origin of the syllable (*akṣara-*) the Śat. Br. 6, 1, 3, 6 related: "now that which was created was flowing; and in as much as it was flowing, a syllable resulted from it: *tad yad akṣarat tasmād akṣaram*¹¹). ŚB. 9, 1, 1, 6 the Rudras

of Language, New York 1939, p. 270. Some of the older books and papers out of the very large literature on the subject may perhaps be mentioned here: K. S. Andresen, *Über deutsche Volksetymologie*³, 1878; K. Nyrop and H. Gaidoz, *L'étymologie populaire et le folk-lore*, Melusine 4 (1888-9), p. 506; K. Nyrop, *Forblommene Ord*, Norsk Tidsskrift for Filologi 1885; J. B. Greenough and G. L. Kittredge, *Words and their ways in English speech*, 1902, p. 331 ff.; J. Schrijnen, *Nederlandsche Volkskunde*², 1933, II, p. 321 ff. See also F. Böhl, *Volksetymologie in Genesis-verhalen*, Amsterdam 1925; I. Goldziher, *Arabische Beiträge zur Volksetymologie*, Zs. f. Völkerpsychologie und Sprachwissenschaft 18, 1.

⁹) Cf. Rank, o.c., p. 51 ff.

¹⁰) G. P. Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pāli proper names*, London 1937, I, p. 319; 716; 604.

¹¹) "parce qu'elle o-scilla, elle est (dite) *sylla-be*", A. Minard, *Trois énigmes sur les Cent Chemins*, Paris 1949, p. 152, § 420.

are said to be roarers because they had their origin in crying (*rudita-*): *tad yad ruditāt samabhavaṃs tasmād rudrāḥ* ¹²).

The very nature and essence of divine powers and important phenomena is believed to be expressed by their names whether these are from the point of view of modern scientific etymology correctly interpreted or not. The god Yama, "the lord of the deceased" is conceived as "the one who restrains or subdues", a sense suggested by his name, the root *yam-* meaning "to hold, subdue". Hence, in numerous texts such paronomastic word combinations as ŚB. 7, 2, 1, 10 *agnir vai yama iyaṃ yamy ābhyāṃ hīdaṃ sarvaṃ yatam* "Yama verily is Agni, and Yamī is this earth, and by these two everything here is kept in check"; Manu 9, 307 ... *yamaḥ priya-dveṣyau prāpte kāle niyacchati* "Yama at the appointed time, subdues both friends and foes"; Mbh. 3, 297, 34 *prajāś tvayaiva niyameṇa saṃyatā, niyamyā caitā nayase nikāmayā / tato yamatvaṃ tava, deva (= yama)* ¹³. The sun was believed ¹⁴ to have appropriated the dominion of the stars (*kṣatram nakṣatrāṇām*, notice the assonance); hence the etymology of its name *āditya-* given in the Nirukta, 2, 13 *ādityaḥ kasmād? ādatte rasān, ādatte bhāsaṃ jyotiṣām* "why (is it called) āditya? he takes the liquids, he takes the light of the heavenly bodies".

In the magical-religious sphere these etymologies were of great importance. As the real or supposed meaning of a term imparts knowledge of (i. e. power over) the beings and objects denoted, and an insight into the connections between words reveals the connections between objects and events, 'etymology' is a mighty means of effecting his purpose and attaining to power for "the man who knows thus": the frequent formula *ya evaṃ veda* ¹⁵. In AthV. 3, 13, which was, according to the KauśS. 40, 1 ff., used in a rite for directing water into a certain course, according to the commentary served the purposes of a man who desires rain—in both cases control over the water was the object in view—, we come across, in st. 1—4, four etymologies of "water" and "river": 1 *yad adaḥ ... / ahāv anadatā hate / tasmād ā nadyo nāma stha*: the mighty event, the slaying of the dragon imparts power to the rivers which resounded at that very moment; 2 */ yad āpnod indro vo yatis / tasmād āpo anu sṭhana*: because (the mighty) Indra obtained them, they were called *āpaḥ*; 3 ... */ avivarata ... / indro vaḥ ... / tasmād vār nāma vo hitam*, "because the same god hindered (*var-*) you, therefore the name "water" (*vār*) was given to you"; 4 *udāniṣur mahīr iti / tasmād*

¹²) For the attempts to discover the etymology of this name see M. Mayrhofer, ZDMG. 103 (1953), p. 140 ff.

¹³) That this derivation is not in keeping with the original character of the god — it is therefore rejected by modern etymology — must not prevent us from using it in studying the ideas fostered by the Indians at a later period with regard to this deity. Cf. also *Lingua* 5, p. 75 f.

¹⁴) Cf. JB. 2, 26.

¹⁵) I refer to St. Schayer, in the *Zs. f. Buddhismus*, 6, p. 290 f. and R. M. Meyer, *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte*, 1910, p. 21 f.

udakam ucyate. In 1d the poet observes "these are your names, O rivers": Whitney and Lanman are right in saying that this pāda sets forth, as it were, the offices of the first four verses, but wrong in using the term "punning etymologies". Like the identifications in st. 5 ("the waters were ghee") etc., by means of which the poet expresses, in a comparable way, his knowledge of the nature and essence of the water, these 'linguistic interpretations' constitute one of the keystones of his pretended command over that element.

Nor is the 'etymological argument' in 3, 16, 3 f. a play upon words either: in 3 the divinity Bhaga, who presides over the distribution of wealth and other auspicious activities, is no less than five times invoked for increase of possessions, in 4a it reads: *utedānīm bhagavantah syāma* "now may we be fortunate". These stanzas were recited in all seriousness, the person speaking being impatient for sharing in the god's liberality. — 4, 12, 1, the famous text used in healing serious wounds: *rohany asi rohany / asthnaś chinnasya rohani / rohayedam arundhati* "grower are you, grower; grower of severed bone; make this grow, O arundhati": here Whitney-Lanman may again be misunderstood in observing that "there is evident punning upon the name (*arundhati*) and the causative *rohaya-* "make grow" " ¹⁶⁾: the plant *arundhati* is said to be, and is, a *rohani*, it heals wounds, it is requested (1c) to do so, because this activity lies in its very nature: *rohani (ruh-, rudh-): arundhati*.

We had already occasion to notice that the recollection of the former successful activities of a divine power, and, especially, the repetition of the mythical 'Urbild' possesses a stimulating and decisive power. The "re-iterated presentation of some event replete with power" ¹⁷⁾ not only conjures up the force inherent in the person speaking and fortifies his self-reliance, it is believed to strengthen the powers which are invoked for help or stimulated into activity. Cf. e. g. AV. 5, 8, 8; 17, 1 f.; 6, 6, 85, 3 "as Vṛtra (whose name means "who encompasses") stopped the waters . . . so do I ward off your *yakṣma*" (*yakṣmaṃ . . . vāraye*) ¹⁸⁾. AV. 1, 24 is recited in a remedial rite against white leprosy (Kauś. 26, 22 ff.); the medicinal plant used in the accompanying rite is called *sarūpaṃkaraṇi* "uniform-making", i. e. "restoring the natural healthy appearance to the skin" (4): when the asura woman first made this remedy for leprosy it made the skin *sarūpām* (2d), therefore: *sarūpam idaṃ kṛdhi* (3d). The last-mentioned pāda is preceded by *sarūpā nāma te mātā / s-o n. te pitā* (= TB. 2, 4, 4, 2) "your parents are called *sarūpa*", i. e. "you are as to your origin *sarūpa-*, you are *s.* by nature". The name of the father is often mentioned in such passages: 4, 9, 8; 19, 5; 5, 4, 9; 6, 46, 1, the name of

¹⁶⁾ Whitney-Lanman, o.c., p. 167.

¹⁷⁾ See e.g. G. van der Leeuw, *Religion in essence and manifestation*, London 1938, esp. ch. 60; the same, *L'homme primitif et la religion*, Paris 1940, esp. p. 128 ff.

¹⁸⁾ Compare, in medieval European incantations, the stagnation of the river Jordan.

the mother 6, 16, 2 etc.; by showing knowledge of these names one affirms one's acquaintance with the origin of the plant which is a means of wielding influence over it ¹⁹). Here the origin is *sarūpa-*; as the activity of the beings and entities in nature is in harmony with their nature and origin, in harmony with their name, these plants shall restore healthy colour to the patient's skin ²⁰). Let us add some passages by way of illustration: AV. 1, 34, a love-spell, also used in a rite for superiority in disputation, was recited while chewing a sweet plant: 1a *iyam vīrun madhujātā*, pāda d *sā no madhumatas kṛdhi*; 2I my tongue is covered with honey, II may you (i. e. my love) be in my power. In dwelling upon the honey-character of the plant and the honey-character assumed by himself, the person speaking tries to reduce his sweetheart (or his rival) to such a state as to become "candied": he intends to 'get round' her, for in 5 he performs a circumambulation with a sugar-cane. — Interesting is also the use of the verb *apa-vas-* (*uchati*) which means "to drive off by (excessive) light or brightness" ²¹): cf. RV. 1, 48, 8 *apa dveṣo maghonī duhitā diva | uṣā uchad apa sridhaḥ* (adnominatio); it is, in perfect harmony with her name, Uṣas' function to shine (RV. 1, 113, 13 *śaśvat puroṣā vy uvāsa devy | atho adyedaṁ vy āvo maghonī | atho vy uchād uttarāṁ anu dyūn*, i. e. "as she has shone in former days, so she shines now and will shine in future" ²²); she dispels the hated darkness and the evil spirits (6, 64, 3; 65, 2; 7, 75, 1). Now, AthV. 6, 83, 1 the moon drives away by shining a class of beings, called *apacits* ²³), i. e. "adenoid growths"; 2, 8, 2 "let this night fade away, let the bewitchers fade away, let the kṣetriya-effacing plant fade the kṣ. (which may have been a kind of incurable leprosy ²⁴) away (*apa-uchatu*)". According to Kauś. 26, 42 this text accompanies a dousing of the diseased person with prepared water; this is to be done, with this stanza, at the end of the night. The implied meaning of the stanza appears to be this: at dawn, when the night fades away, the witches, being afraid of light, too, disappear; then the right moment has come for the medicinal plant to exert its beneficial influence ²⁵). This activity of the herb could also be denoted by the verb *apa-uchati*, because it was supposed to share in the function of the light-giving heavenly phenomena (in st. 1 two stars

¹⁹) For the interpretation of various relations by means of the terminology of consanguinity see my treatise 'Some observations on the relation between 'gods' and 'powers' in the Veda', The Hague 1957.

²⁰) Cf. also AV. 2, 8, 1. — Other instances are given by H. Oldenberg, *Die Religion des Veda*, p. 513, n. 2; cf. also M. Bloomfield, o.c., p. 505 (*varaṇa-*), p. 507 (*yava-*), p. 337 and 481 (*viṣāṇa-*).

²¹) See also M. Bloomfield, *Amer. J. of Phil.* 11, p. 322 ff.

²²) For Uṣas in the Rgveda see A. A. Macdonell, *Vedic mythology*, p. 46 ff.

²³) See Bloomfield, o.c., p. 327 f.; J. Filliozat, *La doctrine classique de la médecine indienne*, Paris 1949, p. 91 f.

²⁴) See Filliozat, o.c., p. 93 ff.

²⁵) See e.g. Uhland, *Schriften zur Geschichte der Dichtung und Sage* III, 1866, p. 245.

called the unfasteners are said to have arisen and invoked deliverance from the kṣetriya-disease). A relation is supposed to exist between the natural phenomenon at daybreak and the process of healing in human society, which the operator wishes to promote or to accomplish. The power inherent in the former is effective for the benefit of the man who knows the connections and the correspondence between the processes concerned. By the repetition of the verb this correspondence or identity is emphasized. Cf. also 3, 7, 7 *apavāse nakṣatrāṇām / apavāsa uṣasām uta / apāsmat sarvaṃ durbhūtam / apā kṣetriyam uchatu* "in the disappearance (lit. extinction) of the asterisms, in the d. of the dawns also, make disappear (extinguish) from us all that is of evil nature, (make d.) the kṣetriya" (in c supply *uchatu*).

A final comment upon AV. 6, 131, 2 *anumate 'nv idaṃ manyasva* "O Anumati, assent to this". This pāda is no pun, for it is Anumati's ("Assent's") nature to assent or to permit²⁶). Her name, which is *suhava-* i. e. "easily invoked", is called *anumata-* "possessed of assent" (7, 20, 4). RV. 10, 59, 6 and 167, 3 she is besought to be propitious; her protection is referred to. Those desirous of *sarvakāma-* ("all kinds of benefits") must, according to Kauś. 59, 19, recite 7, 20 (and other texts), in which Assent, Anumati, is besought to acquit herself of her task: 1 I *anv adya no 'numatir / yajñam deveṣu manyatām*; 2 I *anv id anumate tvam / mamsase*²⁷). In st. 3a Anumati is already active: *anu manyatām anumanyamānaḥ* (TS. 3, 3, 11, 4 has preserved the feminine form -ā²⁸) "being engaged in assenting, let her assent to . . .". While st. 1 asks her to approve the sacrifice, 5a states that she has come to it. In 6 II the author recommends himself to her favour: *tasyās te devi sumatau syāma / anumate anu hi mamsase naḥ*. Thus the text is a conjuration of the 'divinity' called Anumati. Every repetition of the verb *anu-man-* stimulates her to a display of her power. In studying the function of these repetitions the element of auto-suggestion, to which natural man, especially when he is overwhelmed by his emotions, is very susceptible, may not be neglected²⁹).

Turning now to a brief discussion of the syntactic and stylistic effects of the predilection for grouping words according to 'etymologic' principles it should first be observed that it is not always possible to distinguish between assonant phrases of a predominantly syntactic and stylistic significance and word combinations determined by the author's desire to shed light on a hidden connection between ideas or phenomena by bringing their names into contact. Such groups of words as, e. g., RV. 2, 13, 7

²⁶) See e.g. Keith, Religion and philosophy, p. 211; 445; Macdonell, o.c., p. 119.

²⁷) Instead of *manyatām* (1d), Paipp. has *yachatām*, missing the point. St. 1 and 2 I are found in various other texts (see Whitney-Lanman, o.c., p. 402).

²⁸) "The change of our text to masculines seems a mere corruption", Whitney-Lanman, p. 402.

²⁹) See also J. Filliozat, Magie et médecine, Paris 1943, p. 104: "Il est remarquable que la seule affirmation du succès soit crue suffisante pour assurer ce succès".

urur ūrvān are distributed over a considerable number of passages in the mantra literature, but do they always attest the view of the author that the ideas or objects for which they stand are closely related or even essentially identical? Being in serious doubt about the correctness of Geldner's opinion ³⁰) — "Wortspiel" — we would leave room for the supposition that, in this case, the poet by combining these words — of which the former refers to the god Indra, who is "broad" ³¹), and the latter denotes the seas, created or spread by that god — would suggest considering broadness to be an outstanding characteristic of the oceans. A similar observation might be made in connection with 2, 17, 5 where the same god is stated to have "originated the action of the waters" (i. e. to have made the rivers to flow): *akṛṇod apām apaḥ*. Did the poet want his audience to view the flowing rivers as typically active? Or another place where a pseudo-etymology would not be devoid of sense: 4, 55, 5 *pāt patir janyād amhaso naḥ* "the Lord (shall, may, will) protect us against distress on the part of strangers": proper protection of his subjects was indeed a lord's first duty ³²). In other cases it is difficult to see in what direction the etymological speculations of the poet, if he fostered any idea in the matter of 'philosophy' would go: 10, 40, 3 *prātar jarethe jaraṇeva* "in the early morning ye (the Aśvins) wake up, like two old men". If however words are combined which in other texts are explicitly regarded as etymologically related, we may suppose the poet to have referred to a connection, of an 'etymologic-philosophical' order, between ideas. R.V. 5, 43; 12 *brhantam / brhaspatim* may therefore, in view of 5, 85, 1 *brhad . . . brahma*; Mbh. 12, 336, 2 "the words *brhat-*, *brahman-* and *mahat-* express the same idea; the wise Brhaspati was gifted with all these attributes" and other passages mostly dating, it is true, from later periods ³³) may therefore have been something more than another instance of mere assonance, incidentally connecting words and quarters of a stanza ³⁴).

One interesting instance may be discussed at some length. If it is not entirely incorrect to maintain that one of the outstanding features of the character of the god Viṣṇu was his pervasiveness, involving power, protection, beneficence, transmission of heavenly blessing to the earth, an aspect which was especially emphasized by the Indians themselves ³⁵),

³⁰) K. F. Geldner, *Der Rig-Veda . . . übersetzt*, I, Harvard Univ. 1951, p. 292.

³¹) For the important idea of broadness in Vedic thought see the author's *Aspects of early Viṣṇuism*, Utrecht 1954, p. 61 ff.; 68 ff. etc.

³²) See the author's article on Indian kingship in *Numen*, International review for the history of religions, 3 (1956), p. 36 ff.

³³) See the author's *Notes on brahman*, Utrecht 1950, p. 37 ff.

³⁴) For obvious reasons such real or supposed etymological allusions as e.g. R.V. 5, 2, 12 *aryaḥ sam ajāti vedaḥ* — where *ajāti* has been regarded as an indication of the poet's intention to derive the name of the god Agni (to whom the hymn is devoted) with the root *aj-* "to drive" (V. Pisani, *L'etimologia*, Milan 1947) have been left undiscussed here.

³⁵) See *Aspects of early Viṣṇuism*, p. 61 ff.

it is highly remarkable that early Viṣṇuism had, in its literary remainders, a marked predilection for compounds beginning with the prefix *vi-* which expresses such ideas as "being apart, asunder, division, distribution, being or going between or through etc.". The god's important activity, his striding, for instance, is generally denoted by the compound *vi-kram-* "to traverse etc." and the derivative *vikramaṇa-* "striding, bold advance, supernatural power etc." accounts, according to Mbh. 5, 70, 13 for his very name: *viṣṇur vikramaṇād devāḥ*. Already in the R̥gveda compounds or combinations with *vi-* are grouped together with the god's name: RV. 4, 18, 11; 8, 100, 12 etc. *viṣṇo vitaram vi kramasva* "O Viṣṇu, traverse farther" — a formula used by Indra to urge his companion on to renewed activity. There are many references to the extent or spaciousness of the god's striding: SV. 5, 38; 41 etc.³⁶⁾ *uru viṣṇo vi kramasva, uru kṣayāya naś krdhi* "O Viṣṇu, stride thou widely out, make ample room for our abode". AV. 12, 1, 10 describing the earth states that the Aśvins measured her, that Viṣṇu strode out on her etc.: *viṣṇur yasyām vicakrame*. ŚB. 1, 9, 3, 9 f. whilst explaining the significance of the Viṣṇu-strides observes that Viṣṇu being the sacrifice, obtained the all-pervading power called *vikrānti-*; this same power, the author adds, is acquired by the god, as the sacrifice, for the sacrificer: *etām v evaiṣa etasmai viṣṇur yajño vikrāntim vikramate*. In later times the name of the god was often brought into connection with the root *viś-* "to enter, to pervade". VāP. 5, 36 *viṣṇuḥ sarvapraveśanāt*. Already in the Yajurveda (VS. 23, 49) it is asked whether Viṣṇu has pervaded this whole universe in the three strides: *yeṣu viṣṇus triṣu padeṣv eṣṭas teṣu viśvaṁ bhuvanam āviveṣa*.

The name of the god Pūṣan — who is RV. 6, 48, 14 described as bringing an abundance of food³⁷⁾ — was in a similar way connected with the root *puṣ-* "to be nourished, thrive, flourish, prosper", — an etymological suggestion which is not beyond the bounds of possibility.³⁸⁾ Yāska, Nir. 12, 16 was of the opinion *yad raśmipoṣaṁ puṣyati tat puṣā bhavati*: Pūṣan was also a god of solar affiliations. RV. 4, 3, 7 he is explicitly called a bringer of a well-nourished condition (*puṣti-*), and the alliteration is, no doubt, not devoid of some 'deeper' sense: *kathā mahe puṣṭimbharāya pūṣne*. In the brāhmaṇas he is stated to represent this *puṣti-*: cf. ŚB. 3, 1, 4, 9 *paśavo vai pūṣā puṣtir vai pūṣā puṣṭiḥ paśavaḥ* "P. is cattle, P. is a well-nourished condition, cattle is a w. n. c.". As has already been pointed out elsewhere³⁹⁾ there could for the ancients themselves hardly have

³⁶⁾ See Bloomfield, Vedic Concordance, Harvard 1906, p. 275 f.

³⁷⁾ For this god see S. D. Atkins, Pūṣan in the R̥g-veda, Princeton 1941.

³⁸⁾ This derivation may even be said to be traditional, cf. e.g. A. A. Macdonell, Vedic Mythology, Strassburg 1897, p. 37; M. Bloomfield, The religion of the Veda, New York 1908, p. 170; A. Walde-J. Pokorny, Vergl. Wörterbuch, II, Berlin-Leipzig 1927, p. 2; J. Wackernagel-A. Debrunner, Altindische Grammatik II, 2, Göttingen 1954, p. 176, and especially Atkins, o.c., p. 26 f.

³⁹⁾ Lingua 5, p. 69 f.

existed any difference between figura etymologica in the strict sense of the term, paronomasia, alliteration etc., because it was the mere repetition and similarity of sounds which would strike them in the first place and which made the greatest appeal to their imagination. They could however easily be led astray by assuming the relations between the members of any assonant group to be completely identical with those existing between the members of an etymological group proper. The relation between *vana* "forest" and *vanoti* "to win" accepted by Yāska, Nir. 8, 3 — *vanam vanoteḥ* "forest comes from winning" — may indeed have been inferred from RV. 6, 6, 3 *tuvimrakṣāso divyā navagvā vanā vananti* "the greatly injuring (flames) conquer the wood like the celestial Navagnas". The frequent alliterative combinations of *madhu* "soma" with derivatives of the root *mad-* "to be drunk, to intoxicate" — cf. RV. 2, 19, 2 *mandāno madhvaḥ* "being intoxicated on soma"; 8, 38, 3 *madhvā madema* etc.⁴⁰) — cannot be considered foreign to Yāska's explication: *madhu . . . mādyaṭeḥ* "madhu from mad-". For the ancient poets the phrases VS. 1, 13 *vṛṇīta vṛtratūrye . . . avṛṇīdhvam vṛtratūrye* could do duty as well as RV. 6, 20, 2 *vṛtram apo vavrivāmsam*, in spite of the fact that the former is merely alliterative ("has, have, chosen in the conquest of Vṛtra") and the second has been endorsed by Yāska, Nir. 2, 17 as well as by modern scholars.

For the authors of the brāhmaṇas and the allied literature these 'etymologies' were an important means of discovering the connections between the phenomena, explaining the origin of things and constructing arguments about, or theories of, the significance of rites, life, and universe, and thereby to acquire power, to dominate the unseen powers, to have control over one's own destiny⁴¹). A small collection chosen at random may suffice to exemplify this statement. ŚB. 2, 1, 4, 15 *rakṣas* "harm, a special class of evil beings" is connected with *rakṣ-* "to protect": *tān asurarakṣasāni rarakṣuḥ . . . tad yad arakṣams tasmād rakṣāṃsi*; 1, 1, 2, 17 etc. *savitā vai devānām prasavitā* "Savitar (an aspect of the sun) is the impeller of the gods"; 6, 2, 1, 4 *yad apaśyat tasmād ete paśavas* "because he saw (*paś-*) them, therefore they are animals (*paśu-*)"; 2, 2, 2, 2 *tad yad enam dakṣiṇābhīr adakṣayaṃs tasmād dakṣiṇā nāma* "because they invigorated it (the sacrifice) by the dakṣiṇās (an offering presented to the officiating priests), therefore they are called d."; 1, 3, 39 *edho 'si edhiṣīmahi* "you are a fire-stick, may we prosper with you", the ritual fire-stick appears to have been considered a source of prosperity; TS. 1,

⁴⁰) For other instances see P. Poucha, in the Archiv Orientální 7 (1935), p. 429: Vedische Volksetymologie und das Nirūktam.

⁴¹) See e.g. H. Oldenberg, Vorwissenschaftliche Wissenschaft. Die Weltanschauung der Brahmana-Texte, Göttingen 1919, p. 118 f.; W. Ruben, Über die Debatten in den alten Upanisaden, ZDMG. 83 (1929), esp. p. 254; S. Schayer, Die Struktur der magischen Weltanschauung, Zs. für Buddhismus 6, p. 298 ff.

3, 6 *yavo 'si, yavayāsmad dveṣaḥ* "you are barley, bar from us hostility (enemies)"; TB. 3, 10, 9, 2 *vṛṣṭir asi, vṛṣca me pāpmānam* "you are rain, cut down my evil", etc. etc.; TB. 3, 3, 9, 10 *vedena vediṃ vividuḥ pṛthivīm* "with the broom the gods acquired the vedi (the so-called altar), i. e. the earth" characterizes the ritual broom. As an example of a very frequent formula AiB. 5, 7, 3 may be quoted, where the meaning of the term *śakvarī*—a kind of ritual verse—is explained as follows: "having created these worlds Prajāpati had all power . . . In that he had all power . . . they become the Śakvarī verses; that is why the Śakvarī verses have their name": . . . *yad imāṃl lokān p. sṛṣṭvedam sarvam aśaknod . . . tac chakvāryo 'bhavāms, tac chakvarīṇāṃ śakvarītvam*. The last word group, being a paronomastic figure, is a standing phrase in this literature. Cf. e. g. also AiB. 2, 1, 1 *taṃ vai yūpenaivāyopayāms. taṃ yad yūpenaivāyopayāms tad yūpasya yūpatvam* "they obstructed them by means of the sacrificial post (*yūpa*); in that they obstructed them by means of the *yūpa*, that is why the post has its name" (lit. that is the being *yūpa* of the *yūpa*). A longer and more complicated instance is a passage in JB. 1, 223 which may be quoted in full: *idaṃ vaso sutam andha iti gāraṃ. devebhyo vā asurā garān prākīraṇ. tān avidvāṃso 'girann annam eva manyamānāḥ, te garagiro manyanta. te 'kāmayantāpēmān garān gīrṇān hanīmahīti. ta etat sāmāpaśyan. tenāstuvata, tenemān garān gīrṇān apāghnata. ta evame girāyo 'bhavan. tad yad garān gīrṇān apāghnata, tad eva gārasya gāratvam* "On the verses "here, O beneficent one, the soma plant is pressed" the *gāra* (*sāman* is sung). The asuras (once) strew poisonous beverages before the gods. Not knowing that they (were poison) they swallowed them, believing them to be food. (Thereupon) they believed themselves to have swallowed a poisonous drink. They wished: "may we sweep away these swallowed poisonous drinks". They saw this *sāman*. They praised with them. Thereby they swept away these swallowed poisonous drinks. They became these mountains. Because they had swept away the swallowed poisonous drinks, the *gāra* (*sāman*) is called *gāra* (that is why the *g.* has its name)". Similar views and traditions are embodied in the upaniṣads: BārU. 1, 2, 1 *so 'rcann acarat. tasyārcata āpo 'jāyanta: arcate vai me kam abhūd iti. tad evārkaśyārkātvam* "then he went on praising; from him while he was praising, water was produced. Verily he thought while I was praising, I had pleasure. That is why *arka-* (explained as *arc-* and *ka-*) is *arka-*". Other types of 'paronomastic' definition are BārU. 1, 4, 1 *sa yat pūrvo 'smāt sarvasmāt sarvān pāpmana auṣat, tasmāt puruṣaḥ* "because before (*pūr*) all this he burnt (*uṣ-*) all evils, therefore he is a person (*puruṣa-*); 1, 6, 2 *etat eṣāṃ brahma: etad hi sarvāṇi rūpāṇi bibharti* "it is their brahma, for it sustains all manifestations"; 3, 9, 4 *tad yad rodāyanti, tasmād rudrāḥ* "because they make (us) weep, therefore they are called Rudras" (see above); 5, 7, 1 *vidānād vidyut, vidyaty enaṃ pāpmanāḥ ya evaṃ veda* "(it is) lightning, because it unlooses; lightning unlooses him from evil who knows thus"; 5, 12, 1 *vi iti, annaṃ vai vi: anne hīmāni sarvāṇi bhūtāni*

viṣṭāni. ram iti, prāṇo vai ram : prāṇe himāni sarvāni bhūtāni ramante ⁴²).

That this etymologic paronomasia was not limited to the early Indian literature may appear from some such instances as: Mbh. 1, 3, 31 *vidāry-otthitah : uddālakah* (*dal-* = *dar-*); Pañc. 33, 12 K. *asārah saṃsārah*; Hariv. 14421 *pudas trāṇāt tatah putram . . . icchanti*. For the ancient Greek scientists and Indian philosophers the study of the origin of names remained a source of knowledge, 'etymologies' being adduced as arguments ⁴³).

⁴²) We need not dwell here on the 'principle' laid down PB. 22, 10, 3 "what presents itself in a visible way to men presents itself in a cryptical way to the gods and vice versa: hence the name *indra-* instead of *indh-* because the gods love the cryptic or mystic" (see ŚB. 6, 1, 1, 2).

⁴³) C.f. e.g. Śaṅkara, B. S. Bh. 1, 1, 1 *brahmaśabdasya hi vyutpādyamānasya nityaśuddhatvādayo 'rthāḥ pratīyante bṛhater dhātor arthānugamāt*.

XXIII

ENUMERATION

Now we shall examine the rôle of enumeration as a syntactic and stylistic element. As is well known 'primitive' man is as a rule inclined to prefer analysis and enumeration to synthesis and abstraction. K. von den Steinen already observed that so-called primitive people like to express themselves in "ein anschauliches Nebeneinander", a term which he used in contrast to "ein begriffliches Übereinander"¹⁾, and C. Meinhof rightly added that among them "möglichst grosse Komplexe aus der Anschauung direkt im Denken und in die Sprache hinübergenommen (werden)"²⁾. Often arising as a result from a trend of thinking which cannot neglect details, enumerative expression of thought is, in a variety of circumstances, cultivated by those who attach importance to exactitude and unambiguous diction: teachers, scholars, but also by those who have not learned to express themselves in the abstract: children, uneducated people. When expressed in speech, recited and repeated in conversation, formulas or oral traditions, enumerations of names, substances, qualities, events, facts or phenomena, in short all analytical expressions of thought constitute word groups and, hence, syntactic phenomena. From the point of view of stylistics they are generally speaking far more interesting than abstract modes of expression. They are, for instance, liable to particular arrangements in which alliteration, rhyme, or the number of syllables have a function; they easily come to assume an impressive element in the narrative; detailed accounts of single entities, accumulations of similar substances, processes or qualities not rarely suggest such ideas as fullness, completeness, extensiveness, comprehensiveness. In many respects they are syntactically speaking closely related to repetitions. They may for instance be expressed by means of a sequence of identical structures: "*Voici le roi! Voici la reine! Voici les ministres!*"³⁾. They may also arise under the influence of strong emotions and remind us, in their outward form, strongly of emotional repetitions in general: (a Dutch girl bursting

¹⁾ K. von den Steinen, Verh. des 8. deutschen Geographentages, Berlin 1889, p. 29.

²⁾ C. Meinhof, cited by A. Knabenhans, Zur Psychologie des primitiven Menschen, Archives suisses des traditions populaires, Basel 23 (1920), p. 142. Cf. also R. Thurnwald, in the Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte, vol. 10 (1928), p. 313.

³⁾ Cf. also Ch. Bally, Linguistique générale et linguistique française, Berne 1944, p. 60.

into angry speech) . . . *naarling! ellendeling! . . . schoft! schoelje! schob-bejak!* Even the scornful address of Hector in Homer *I* 39 ff. contains, in the two opening lines three binary structures of increasing length, the last of which is at the same time a case of symploke *ἀγρός τ' ἔμεναι ἀγρός τ' ἀπολέσθαι*. They are also valued as an emotive and suggestive device, as a connective element in the structure of clauses and sentences. A. Gide, *Les faux-monnayeurs* (ed. 1925), p. 27 *mais il y sent du dépit, du défi, de la jactance*; Th. Mann, *Doktor Faustus* (ed. 1947), p. 84 *das mag man wohl weilläufig, wohl wundersam, fremd und exzessiv grossartig nennen*. Such arrangements of coordinated vocables are on the other hand also a mnemonic device of considerable importance: in the OJav. Calon Arang, ch. 9⁴) the names of some authoritative books are, not I am sure by accident, enumerated as follows: *Dewaśāsana, Rājaśāsana, Rājanīti, Rājakapa-kapa, Manuśāsana, Ṛṣiśāsana, Adhigama*, the compounds beginning with *Rāja-* being subjoined to *Rājaśāsana* before *Manuśāsana* etc.; in a Balinese manuscript⁵) the divine beings who conduct the soul in the hereafter are *Aṅgapati, Prajapati, Banaspati* and *Banaspatiraja*. A Latin instance is Plautus, *Cure.* 442 ff.

The Indians always retained a predilection for enumerative expression of thought, for combining and arranging concepts and entities of various categories. Even in those spiritual and intellectual activities which considerably differed from the sphere of action in the Vedic ritualists and other theorists for whom exactitude and minute distinctions were vital questions, this kind of analytical expression was often preferred to a general but abstract comprehensive term. In arranging a number of words referring to similar concepts or objects, various principles of classification were applied. Not infrequently they were grouped according to logical or internal criteria; GobhGS. 1, 7, 20 *sarpis tailaṃ dadhi payo yavāguṃ vā* "clarified butter, sesamum oil, coagulated milk, milk or rice-gruel". But even then incidental instances of assonance are far from rare: JB. 1, 142 "all what exists on earth" is described as Vedic stanzas, chanted texts and formulas, cow, horse, goat, sheep, rice, barley and the four social divisions: *ṛcaḥ sāmāni yajūṃsi gām aśvam ajām aviṃ vrihiṃ yavaṃ brāhmaṇaṃ rājanyaṃ vaiśyaṃ śūdraṃ*. The order of the entities is 'logical', but the shorter word for "cow" precedes, here and elsewhere, the longer word for "horse" (cf. the compound *goaśva-*, e. g. ŚB. 14, 9, 1, 10, from which derives the adjective *goaśvīya-*), goats and sheep are constant companions, but it was no doubt a piece of luck that their names were isosyllabic and alliterative (cf. the collective *ajāvika-*); cf. also 1, 181 *gām cāśvaṃ cājām cāviṃ ca vrihiṃ ca yavaṃ ca*. In a similar way such sequences as JB. 1, 233 *prajāyā paśubhir annādyena* "(rich in) offspring, cattle, food" are perfectly logical, but a and b are connected by the initial

⁴) See Bijdragen Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde 82, The Hague 1926, p. 134.

⁵) Edited by K. C. Cruick, Thesis Leiden 1928, p. 15 ff. (see p. 17).

p. and c is the longest term. Cf. also BārU. 3, 8, 3 *yad bhūtam ca bhavac ca bhaviṣyac ca* "the past, the present, and the future"; or, in versified texts ŚvU. 1, 12 *bhoktāram bhogyam preritāram*. In other circumstances however we find much the same modes of word combination: JB. 1, 242 *gāyatrī brhātī kakup triṣṭubh* ... (four metres); GobhGS. 2, 1, 4 *vedyāḥ sitāyā hradād goṣṭhāc catuṣpathād ādevanād ādahanād irināt* "from the sacrificial elevation, a furrow, a pool, a stable, a crossway, a place for playing, a place for burning (dead bodies), barren soil". Pāli instances are likewise numerous: Mil. p. 26 in a long enumeration of the 32 forms of organic matter in the human body not only *aṭṭhi* and *aṭṭhimiñjā*, "bones" and "marrow" and *antaṃ antagūṇaṃ* "the intestines" are placed together, but also *sedo* and *medo* "sweat" and "fat", and the end is heterogeneous but assonant and ponderous: *muttam matthake matthalungaṃ* "urine and the brain in the head". Similar observations may be made with regard to the structure of compounds: GobhGS. 1, 5, 18 (grasses) *śukatrṇa-śara-śīrya-balbajamutava-nala-śuntha-*; 4, 4, 30 *sitāyājña-khalayājña-pravapaṇa-pralavana-paryayaṇeṣu* "on the occasions of the sacrifice offered to the furrow, that performed on the threshing-floor, sowing, reaping, and the circumambulation of the field"⁶); Manu 3, 9 *ṛkṣa-vṛkṣa-nadī-nāmnīm* "called after a constellation, a tree, a river"; 196 *daitya-dānava-yakṣāṇām* (*d. d.* being a very frequent combination); in Pāli, Mil. p. 2 T. *bahuvidha-khajja-bhajja-leya-peya-* ... "solid and other food, food to be licked and drunk of every kind".

It may a priori be expected that these tendencies playing a part in coordinating a plurality of entities have left their traces also in versified works. The poets of the epics and allied classes of literature have often availed themselves of the opportunities offered by common usage and scribal tradition to connect those words which have part of their sounds in common or to arrange the elements of an utterance in accordance with the number of their syllables, although instances of a consistent adherence to one or more of these principles are comparatively rare. In the Bhagavadgītā (Mbh. 6, a. 25-42) and the Anugītā (14, a. 16 ff.) those enumerations of a certain extent which do not show any tendency to an arrangement suitable for mnemonics, euphony, rhythm, and easy versification are, on the other hand, obviously in the minority: cf. e. g. Mbh. 14, 20, 19; 21, 2; 22, 2; 25, 4 f., etc. Even in the series of 13 participles, expressing functions of the human body (BhG. 5, 8 f.), *unmiṣan* and *nimiṣan* at the end form not only a pair of opposite ideas but at the same time a kind of paronomastic figure. Cf. also 9, 18 *prabhavaḥ pralayaḥ* in the midst of a series of 12 nouns denoting aspects of the Supreme Being; here the last of them is, moreover, accompanied by an adjective. In a similar way the opposite and often connected ideas *kāma-krodha-* (cf. e. g. 16, 12; 18;

⁶) See J. J. Meyer, *Trilogie altindischer Mächte und Feste der Vegetation*, Zürich 1937, III, p. 157 ff.

21; Mbh. 14, 42, 60) are in sequences of any order and composition, kept together, the poets being, as a rule, averse to deviating too much from common usage: BhG. 16, 18 *ahamkāraṃ balaṃ darpaṃ / kāmaṃ krodhaṃ ca* ...; Mbh. 14, 42, 13 "hands" and "feet" are separated, but two alliterative and isosyllabic terms closely connected: *pādaṃ pāyur upasthaś ca / hastau vāg* ...

Very illustrative are in a great variety of texts such sequences of nouns, epithets or qualifications as e. g. ŚvU. 5, 19 *niṣkalaṃ niṣkriyaṃ śāntaṃ / niravadyaṃ nirañjanaṃ*; BhG. 5, 7 *yogayukto viśuddhātmā / vijitātmā jīten-driyaḥ* "disciplined in discipline, with purified self, self-subdued, with senses overcome": b and c are connected by alliteration, c and d by paronomasia; Manu 2, 179 *dyūtaṃ ca janavādaṃ ca / parivādaṃ tathānṛtaṃ*; 3, 7 *hinakriyaṃ niṣpuruṣaṃ / niḥchando romaśārśasaṃ*; 227 *bhakṣyaṃ bhojyaṃ ca vividhaṃ / mūlāni ca phalāni ca*; 225 ... *tilāḥ / sṛṣṭir mṛṣṭir dvijāś cāgryāḥ* ... "... sesame grains, liberality, the preparation of food, distinguished brahman ...".

Very often indeed—but, of course, by no means always—a series of coordinated entities is arranged in such a way as to form assonant pairs or groups: BhG. 9, 26 *patraṃ puṣpaṃ phalaṃ toyam*; 16, 21 *kāmaḥ krodhaḥ tathā lobhaḥ* (cf. st. 12; 18; 18, 53; Manu 2, 178 etc.); Manu 3, 148 *mātā-maḥ, mātulaṃ ca svasṛiyaṃ* ... and in these genres of literature too our natural inclination to connect opposites or related ideas and the very structure of Sanskrit often help to achieve this effect: BhG. 10, 4 *buddhir jñānaṃ asaṃmohaḥ / kṣamā satyaṃ damaḥ śamaḥ / sukhaṃ duḥkhaṃ bhavo 'bhāvo / bhayaṃ cābhayaṃ eva ca, dama-* "control, self-command" and *śama-* "peace" being, like *sukhaṃ duḥkhaṃ* "pleasure and pain" (cf. 13, 6) frequent phrases (cf. also 18, 42), not to speak of combinations such as *bhayaṃ abhayaṃ* (cf. 13, 7); 18, 30 *pravṛttiṃ ca nivṛttiṃ ca / kāryākārye bhayābhaye* ... "activity and cessation from it, things to be done and not to be done, danger and security ..."; 42 ... *jñānaṃ vijñānaṃ āstikyam* ...; Manu 3, 8 ... *na rogiṇīm / nālomikāṃ nātilomāṃ ca* ...

It may indeed be said that a casual occurrence of alliteration, homoioteleuton, assonance, isosyllabism etc. in the rather frequent enumerations and series of similar words found in these epic texts and other compositions of this kind is normal. Cf. BhG. 13, 6 *sukhaṃ duḥkhaṃ* after *icchā dveṣaḥ* (opposites) and before *saṃghātaś cetanā dhṛtiḥ*; 7 *amānitvaṃ adambhitvaṃ* (closely related) before *ahiṃsā kṣāntir ārjavam* etc.; 16, 1 ff. *dānaṃ damaś ca yajñaś ca* among 23 other qualities; Mbh. 14, 36, 12 we find, in a series of about 30 qualities, *saṃmoho 'jñānaṃ atyāgaḥ* in the 1st pāda, *karmaṇām avinirṇayaḥ* in the 2nd, *svapnaḥ stambho* ... in the 3rd, *asmṛtiś cāvipākāś ca* in the 5th, *akṛte kṛtamānitvaṃ / ajñāne jñānamānitā* in the 9th and 10th; in 20 *ativādo 'titikṣā ca* open a series of 5 nouns the other components of which have 3, 5, and 6 syllables respectively. Similar accumulation: BhG. 18, 30 (pairs of opposites) *pravṛttiṃ ca nivṛttiṃ ca / kāryākārye bhayābhaye / bandhaṃ mokṣaṃ ca* ... "activity and cessation from it,

what is to be done and not to be done, danger and security, bondage and release . . .”

In the structure of shorter enumerations alliteration (BhG. 9, 26; all. and isosyllabism 4, 34), homoioteleuton (BhG. 10, 4; 18, 28 the former containing some pairs of opposites which, being kept together, carry this ‘figure’ with them, the latter running as follows: -aḥ -aḥ -aḥ / -o -o -aḥ / -ī -ī), and often also Behaghel’s ‘rule’ (BhG. 11, 39 *vāyur yamo ’gnir / varuṇaḥ śaśāṅkaḥ / prajāpatis tvam prapitūmahāś ca*; Mbh. 14, 18, 15; 19, 20; 43, 3; cf. also 28, 23; 35, 13; 43, 5; cf. 11, 34; 18, 18 a; Mbh. 14, 31, 2 a; 35, 41 I; with all. 31, 1 *praharsaḥ prītir ānandaḥ*; 43, 14; cf. also 17, 23 *sa nirūṣmā nirucchvāso / niḥśriko hatacetanah* “he devoid of heat, devoid of breath, devoid of well-being, bereft of sense”; 19, 10 *agandham arasa-sparsam / aśabdham aparigraham / arūpam anabhijñeyam*) play a part. Sometimes a more complicated arrangement is found, e. g. the above BhG. 5, 7; cf. 11, 10 f.

That such devices of assonance were much in vogue among those poets who strained after euphonious or sonorous effects is too well known to need illustrating. But also in composing prayers, eulogies, and other religious texts—intended to be sung or recited the preference for assonance, rhyme and alliteration often was one of the main factors determining the order of words. The style of many parts of this genre of literature will be sufficiently exemplified by a passage chosen at random from a nāmastotra or “praise of (divine) names” in honour of Śiva occurring in the great epic: Mbh. 12, 284, 96 ff. *namaḥ . . . vibhīṣaṇāya bhīṣmāya bhīmavratadharāya ca || . . . / namo vṛṣāya vṛṣyāya govṛṣāya vṛṣāya ca / kamaṅkatāya daṇḍāya namaḥ pacapacāya ca || namaḥ sarvavariṣṭhāya varāya varadāya ca . . . || namo raktaviraktāya bhāvanāyākṣamāline / sambhinnāya vibhinnāya chāyāyātopanāya ca || aghoraghorarūpāya ghoraghoratarāya ca / namaḥ śivāya śāntāya namaḥ śāntatamāya ca / . . . namo yajñāya yajine hutāya prahutāya ca*, etc. “adoration to thee who art dreadful, horrible, and who art an observer of dreadful vows and practices, . . . adoration to thee who makest rain, who helpest the cause of righteousness, who appearest in the form of the bull Nandin, and who art dharma . . .”⁷⁾

It is no great surprise to see that this device found its way also into the mantras of the Veda: GobhGS. 2, 7, 12 *vīrasūr jīvasūr jīvapatnī* (a b: -sūr, b c: jīva-) “the mother of a hero, the mother of living children, the wife of a living (husband)”; Kauś. 70, 1 *prajāṃ paśūṃs tejo rayim asmāsu dhehī*; 76, 27 *prajāṃ paśūn dīrgham āyus ca dhattām*; ĀśvSS. 3, 10, 8 *prajāṃ puṣṭim rayim asmāsu dhehī* “give us offspring, a well-nourished condition, property”; RV. 8, 59, 7 p. p. *bhūtim a. dhattām*; AV. 8, 17, 11 *gām aśvaṃ puruṣam paśum* “cow, horse, man, beast” (but the corresponding line TĀ. 6, 5, 3 g. a. p. *jagat* forms a climax); AV. 16, 1, 2 f. *rujan parirujan mṛṇan pramṛṇan || mroko manohā khano nirdāha ātmadūṣis tanūdūṣiḥ*

⁷⁾ In translating the second line we followed the commentator Nilakaṇṭha.

"breaking, breaking from all sides, killing, slaughtering, dimming, mind-slaying, digging, out-burning, self-spoiling, body-spoiling". In an enumeration of 14 entities *tapah* and *tejah*, *dhrtih* and *dharmah* are placed side by side, just like *vāk* and *manah*, *ātmā* and *brahma*: SMB. 2, 4, 5.

That lines of this character were recited already in prehistoric times may appear from a comparison with Avestan: Yt. 10, 15 *avi arəzahi savahi*, *avi fradaδaḥšu vīdaδaḥšu*, *avi vouru.barəšti*, *vouru.ḡarəšti*, *avi imat karšvarə yaḥ ʔvaniraθəm* ... "in the western region and in the eastern, in the south-east region and in the south-west, in the north-west region and in the north-east, in the central region which ...": here enumerating in the geographical order results in a balanced and assonant structure. A similar harmony of sense and outward phenomena seems to exist in the rather obscure passage Yt. 5, 95 ... *nivayaka nipašnaka apa.skarakā apa.ḡraosaka* "frightening, envious, scornful, slanderous (?)". Cf. also, e. g. 10, 30. Similar enumerations may be noticed in the medieval poems of the West: Chrétien de Troyes, Er. 1334 *mout buens, mout riches et mout biaux*.

Special attention may therefore be drawn to the enumerations occurring in the at least in part very ancient and 'popular' formulas of the Atharvaveda.

Many spells, formulas, prayers, incantations, mythical narratives of various peoples contain more or less extended enumerations. Such 'lists' which sometimes appear to be out of place to a modern mind, must not be omitted in reciting, for to make changes in texts of this description is to destroy their efficacy. Names of gods and divine powers are quite naturally among those which are most frequent. In medieval European incantations Jesus, the angels, archangels, saints, apostles and evangelists were often invoked or merely enumerated⁸⁾, in ancient Assyria and Babylon the authors of comparable texts went through lists of divinities which seldom occur in other documents⁹⁾. The Indian priests and magicians put together the names of Indra and Agni, of the Ādityas and the Rudras (AthV. 5, 3, 10); of Aryaman, Pūṣan, and Brhaspati (28, 12), of Indra, Mitra, and Varuṇa (6, 85, 2). In an ancient Roman invocation (Liv. 8, 9, 6) the opening words are: *Jane, Jupiter, Mars pater, Quirine, Bellona, Lares, divi Novensiles, di Indigetes, divi* ... The so-called "Herrechnen" or "magisch umsichtige Aufzählung" was, in India and elsewhere, a well-known practice¹⁰⁾. The names of the divine powers possessing great power or representing important natural phenomena or collections of ideas, essentially add to the efficacy of the text. Names of diseases, ailments, demons, evil spirits or malignant powers, like those

⁸⁾ See e.g. A. E. Schönbach, in *Analecta Graeciensia*, Graz 1893, p. 32; H. B. Schindler, *Der Aberglaube des Mittelalters*, 1858, p. 111.

⁹⁾ G. Contenau, *La magie chez les Assyriens et les Babyloniens*, Paris 1947, p. 142.

¹⁰⁾ F. Ohrt, in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens*, VII, 1588.

of remedies and other beneficial substances, have to be rehearsed in order to enable the practitioner to apply the formula under all circumstances.

The outward form of these enumerations is, again, a more or less consistent balanced structure or 'parallelism'. In AV. 2, 33, 1-6 the places in the human body which may be occupied by the illness called *yakṣma*, i. e. in all probability, consumption, are circumstantially enumerated: *akṣibhyām te nāsikābhyām | karnābhyām chubukād adhi | yakṣmaṁ śir-ṣaṇyaṁ mastiṣkāḥ | jīhvāyā vi vrhāmi te* "forth from your eyes, nostrils, ears, chin, brain, tongue, I tear away for you the *yakṣma* of the head"; in st. 2 a similar group of other parts of the body is collected in connection with the *yakṣma* to be ejected from the arms, etc. Each second half of the stanzas 1-6 (which with variations correspond to most of RV. 10, 163 and Āpast. MP. 1, 17, 1 ff.) begins with *yakṣma* and ends in *vi vrhāmi* "I tear away" preceded by the name of the part of the body concerned. After mentioning about 40 limbs and organs the author, however, proceeds to a recapitulation which serves as an introduction to the final and pretended complete ejection of the *yakṣma* which is now regarded as residing in the covering of the whole of the human body, the skin: *aṅge-aṅge lomni-lomni | yas te parvaṇi-parvaṇi | yakṣmaṁ tvacasyaṁ te vayas kaśyapasya | vibarheṇa viṣvaṇcam vi vrhāmasi*. The structure of the latter half of this stanza is different, broader (*vayam*, Kaśyapa's ejector forms an instance of paronomasia with the verb, and *viṣvaṇcam* "all-pervading, general") and in harmony with the concluding character of the thought expressed.

AV. 8, 7, according to the commentator, is a spell for restoration to health and for bestowing longevity, "the divinities to whom it is addressed are the herbs mentioned in the mantras" (i. e. the component parts of the texts serving as sacral formulas)¹¹). The Kauśikasūtra and Keśava, commenting on the proper use of this text, say that it was used in a remedial rite against *yakṣma*, "together with a gilt and lacquered amulet of splinters from ten kinds of trees", no doubt the plants mentioned in the text. *Yakṣma* being a rather vague but comprehensive term for "an anonymous collection of malignant forces which causes the ailing person to languish"¹²), the full treasury of healing forces in the vegetable kingdom is invoked to destroy it. "The gathering together of all plants and herbs existing on earth by the enumeration and description of their characteristics and forms", Zimmer appositely observes¹³), "is one of the *Leitmotive* of the hymn". The syntactic form in which these enumerations are moulded is, in general, the asyndeton, modified by some more or less rudimentary cases of balanced binary structure, alliteration, homoioteleuton etc.: cf. st. 1 *yā babhravo yāś ca śukrā | rohiṇīr uta prśnayaḥ |*

¹¹) This text has recently been discussed by H. R. Zimmer, *Hindu Medicine*, Baltimore 1948, p. 10 ff.

¹²) Zimmer, *o.c.*, p. 16.

¹³) Zimmer, *l.c.*

asikñih kṛṣṇā oṣadhīh "the brown and the white, the red and the spotted, the swarthy, the black herbs"; 4; 20; 27 *pūṣpavatīh prasūmatīh* / *phalinir aphalā uta*. — In a remedial rite, apparently for stopping the flow of blood a series of stanzas (AV. 1, 17) is used, the second of which runs as follows: *tiṣṭhāvare tiṣṭha para* / *uta tvam tiṣṭha madhyame* / *kanīṣṭhikā ca tiṣṭhati* / *tiṣṭhād id dhamanir mahi* "stop, lower one! stop, upper one! and do you stop, midmost one! if the smallest stops, shall stop the great tubular vessel": the poet refers to the tubes and vessels of the body which should be stopped (notice the repeated *tiṣṭha* "stop"; the grouping "lowest, uppermost, midmost" — a precursor of the favourite classification of later times —, etc.) — AV. 6, 93 invokes the Maruts, Agni-and-Soma, Varuṇa and other gods for protection against a number of evil powers a list of which is given in the first stanza; 5, 5, 5 a number of plants is mentioned from which a healing herb, the *lākṣā*, is said to have arisen; 6, 125, 2 and 3 other residences and forms of power are enumerated in connection with the war-chariot. The outward forms of these lists, which are different, will be studied further on. Residences of sin or guilt are mentioned 6, 116, 3: *yadidaṃ mātur yadi vā pitur naḥ* / *pari bhrātuh putrāc cetasa ena āgan* "if from mother or if from our father, forth from brother, from son, from thought this sin has come . . .", asyndeton and in part anaphorical. 2, 10, 1 constitutes the beginning of a text which was recited for release from various evils: the outward form of the list of evil powers which it contains is worth mentioning: *kṣettriyaṭ tvā nirṛtyā jāmīśamsād* / *druho muñcāmi varuṇasya pāśāt* / "from kṣettriya, from perdition, from imprecation of sisters, from hatred I release you, from V. 's fetter", in the next pāda the construction changes: *anāgasam brahmaṇā tvā kṛṇomi* "free from guilt I make you by my brahman". Now, b c are also found elsewhere (e. g. TBr. 2, 5, 6, 1 bc) in the beginning of spells to be recited for recovery from an illness; according to the Kauśikasūtra 26, 1 n. it belongs to the spells used in rites for the annihilation of takman; the commentary — which is, to be sure, of little importance¹⁴) — holds it to be intended against kṣettriya¹⁵) alone; if so the form would, in this enumeration, have had influence upon the subject-matter.

Other instances are AV. 5, 23, 1 a-c (= 6, 94, 3 a-c) *ote me dyāvāprthivī* / *otā devī sarasvatī* / *otau me indras cāgniś ca*; 6, 3, 1 *pātaṃ na indrāpūṣaṇā* / *adītiḥ pāntu marutaḥ*; 89, 3 *mahyaṃ tvā mitrāvaruṇau* / *mahyaṃ devī sarasvatī* / *mahyaṃ tvā madhyaṃ bhūmyā* / *ubhāv antau samasyatām*; cf. 6, 132 constituting a set of 5 stanzas which are identical with the exception of the names of the divinities; cf. also such cases as 5, 9, 1-6; 30, 12; 6, 20, 2 which are commented upon in another section of this book. 5, 23, 11 ff. some categories of worms, against which the spell is directed are said to

¹⁴) See W. D. Whitney, in the Festschrift-Roth, 1893, p. 89 ff.

¹⁵) "The disease may have been of the scrofulous or syphilitic order", M. Bloomfield, Atharvaveda, p. 60.

be killed: anaphora, chiasmus (11), asyndeton of similar compounds (11d *hatabhrātā hatasvasā*), the simplex-compound figure (12 I *hatāso asya veśaso / hatāsaḥ pariveśasaḥ*) etc. In 5, 25, 3 etc. a number of deities is invoked to perform deeds which are expected to lead to the same result: parallel utterances with anaphora, responsio, instances of Behaghel's 'rule', distribution of paired names over two successive pādas etc.: *garbham dhehi sinivāli / garbham dhehi sarasvati* "place the embryo, O S., p. the e., O S.". Elsewhere a complex conception is first analysed and afterwards represented as a whole: 1, 15, 4 *ye sarpiṣaḥ saṃsṛavanti / kṣīrasya codakasya ca / tebhīr me sarvāḥ saṃsṛāvair* "the portion of butter which flows together, and of water and of milk, with all those confluences . . .": the thought expressed covers 3 pādas; cf. 5, 4, 10; 23, 5; cf. 30, 13; 6, 86, 1.

Mention may finally be made of RV. 4, 25, 8 *pare 'vare madhyamāsaḥ* "those who are for, who are near, and those who are in the middle" which preludes to the well-known tripartite expressions *ādimadhyānta-*, *kaniṣṭhamadyottama-* etc. in later times; cf. also ChU. 6, 5, 1 *yāḥ sthaviṣṭhaḥ . . . , yo madhyamaḥ . . . , yo 'niṣṭhaḥ*; ŚāŚS. 14, 72, 1 *jyēṣṭha-*, *madhyama-*, *kaniṣṭha-* and especially RV. 1, 24, 15 *ud uttamaṃ varuṇa pāsam asmad / avādhamam vi madhyamaṃ śrathāya*. In RV. 4, 25 we also find, 8 *yānto 'vasitāsaḥ* "those who travel and those who have put up somewhere", 6 *na . . . āpir na sakhā na jāmiḥ* and similar "énumérations de caractère amplificatoire"¹⁶).

Instances of enumeration are not limited to the above. In AV. 1, 20, 1cd = 5, 3, 6cd etc. different subjects are connected with the same predicate: *mā no vidad abhibhā mo āśastir / mā no vidad vṛjinā dveṣyā yā*. Cf. also 1, 23, 3; 6, 100, 1; 103, 1; 108, 3 *yām medhām ṛbhavo vidur / y. m. asurā v.*, likewise parallelism in the expression and repetition of words as a reflection of parallel actions, whether they are actually stated or only of mental existence¹⁷). Enumeration combining, not only with symmetry, but also with paronomasia: AV. 6, 56, 3 *saṃ te hanmi datā dataḥ / sam u te hanvā hanū*¹⁸). An accumulation of adjectives, invocations, etc. can occasion repetitions — AV. 6, 14, 1 *asthisraṃsaṃ paruḥsraṃsam* — as well as identifications of the type AV. 5, 5, 1 *rātri mātā nabhaḥ pitā*; 5, 4, 9ab.

Finally, such structures as AV. 1, 6, 4 may briefly be discussed: *saṃ no āpo dhanvanyāḥ / sam u santv anūpyāḥ / saṃ naḥ khanitrimā āpaḥ / sam u yāḥ kumbha ābhṛtāḥ / śivā naḥ santu vārṣikīḥ*; the last pāda, which is characterized by variation, occurs only here; the other pādas may be compared to 19, 2, 1 and 2 where the enumeration is still more extended. Cf. also TĀ. 6, 4, 1; AV. 1, 6, 4a; KS. 2, 1a etc. the schemas beginning with *saṃ te*, *saṃ naḥ*, *sam u* are very frequent. AV. 19, 2 was used in

¹⁶) L. Renou, *Études védiques et pāninéennes*, I, Paris 1955, p. 68.

¹⁷) See Matthews, *The night chant, a Navaho ceremony*, Mem. Am. Mus. of Nat. Hist. VII (1902), p. 282 f.

¹⁸) Cf. Whitney-Lanman, o.c., p. 323.

addressing waters brought from streams and other sources for a ceremony of appeasement (śānti) ¹⁹); all sorts of water known to the author are enumerated with anxious carefulness: 'all waters of whatever origin' would have been a logical equivalent, but the mind of speaker and hearer would not have been satisfied by this formulation. AV. 2, 31, 5 is directed against the worms ²⁰): "the worms which are in the mountains, in the woods, in the herbs, in the cattle, in the waters, which have entered ourselves . . .".

¹⁹) Cf. Whitney-Lanman, p. 899, for 1, 6 see ibidem, p. 4 ff.

²⁰) "... the greatest variety of diseases are regarded in the naive view of folk-medicine as due to the presence of worms", Bloomfield, Atharvaveda, p. 61.

XXIV

PROPER NAMES

In this connection proper names must be considered too. As is well known, a name is for 'primitive man' no label; no mere specification, but as much the person himself as are his body and its limbs and organs. A name is "an actuality expressed in a word" ¹⁾, "deckt sich mit dem Wesen und ist die Offenbarung des Wesens" ²⁾, is part of the complete man. Name and essence of the bearer of the name are at least closely connected ³⁾; the former, being a component of the complete personality, may at any moment be felt to be pregnant with the full significance of the latter ⁴⁾. Among the Indians and many other peoples the idea expressed by the Skt. adjective *yathārthanāman*- "with an appropriate name" is widespread: a famous king of Magadha was called *Paramtapa* "true to the sense : "vexing (his) enemies" ", Kāl. Kum. 6, 21 (*paramtapo nāma yathārthanāmā*). In popular and mythopoeic thought the name is also a force within a person or object propelling them to a certain activity. Hence the widely distributed belief that there is a close relation between name and origin or character, between name and normal or supranormal bodily or mental faculties ⁵⁾. The physician Suśruta, in order to explain why the malignant and poisonous spiders are called as they are, to wit *lūta*-, tells the story that they came into existence upon grass which was freshly cut (*lūna*-) by Vasiṣṭha, after it had been moistened by this saint's perspiration, while he was glowing with wrath ⁶⁾. To get rid of troublesome ants the use of a ladle of *bādhaka* wood is valuable, the name of this material meaning "repelling" ⁷⁾. The lord of the deceased is commonly regarded

¹⁾ G. van der Leeuw, *Religion in essence and manifestation*, London 1938, p. 147.

²⁾ W. Schulze, *Kuhn's Zs.* 40 (1907), p. 411, n. 1.

³⁾ See e.g. K. Birket-Smith, *Geschichte der Kultur*, Zürich 1946, p. 333 f.; G. A. Reichard, in F. Boas, *General Anthropology*, Boston 1938, p. 450 f.; L. Lévy-Brühl, *Les fonctions mentales dans les sociétés inférieures*⁹, p. 45 ff.; R. Thurnwald, *Des Menschengeistes Erwachen, Wachsen und Irren*, Berlin 1951, p. 149 f.

⁴⁾ H. and H. A. Frankfort, *Before philosophy*, Harmondsworth 1949, p. 21.

⁵⁾ For the name of the plant *apāmārga* see e.g. H. Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, Berlin 1879, p. 66; V. Henry, *La magie dans l'Inde antique*, p. 181; H. Oldenberg, *Die Religion des Veda*³, p. 327; 489; p. 513 n.; A. B. Keith, *The religion and philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads*, p. 265.

⁶⁾ H. R. Zimmer, *Hindu medicine*, Baltimore 1948, p. 103 f. Now see also my article 'The etymologies in the ancient Indian brāhmaṇas', *Lingua* 5 (1955), p. 61 ff.

⁷⁾ In a comparable way the Christian saint Rosa was invoked by people suffering from dandruff which, in Dutch, is called *roos*. For other such instances see e.g. K. Nyrop and H. Gaidoz, in the *Melusine*, vol. 4 and 5 (1888-1891).

as the "restrainer" (*Yama*) or the god "who brings to an end" (*Kṛtānta*). The lunar asterism Rohiṇī was believed to exert a favourable influence on growth (*roha-*, see ĀpSS. 5, 3, 5). Hence also the conviction that to know a person's name means to have power over the bearer; cf. AthV. 7, 12, 2, which was used in a rite for being successful in the assembly (*sabhā*): *vidma te sabhe nāma*. When name and object named are one and the same or when they are intimately connected an entity can also bear more names than one, because it may have many aspects, because its essence and character are not covered by a single designation. Hence the accumulation of names and epithets in prayers and magic formulas to be on the safe side, and the conviction expressed by the ŚatBr. 6, 1, 3, 9 : that by one name one drives away evil, by a plurality of names one drives it away time after time ⁸⁾.

To possess a similar name means to be partly identical with another being. The name being an object of individuality and of power, close relationship or similarity of character, appearance or activity is very naturally expressed by partly identical appellations. Demons of various kinds, though usually conceived as forming an indefinite crowd, are sometimes regarded as living and acting in pairs. Whereas, for instance, an anonymous pair of kimīdins is mentioned in the Rgveda (7, 104, 23; 10, 87, 24), the Atharvaveda (2, 24) gives, in two sequences of 4 verses, which are for the rest identical, four pairs of masculine and four single feminine names. Now, these names are *śerabhaka-* and *śerabha-*, *śevṛdhaka-* and *śevṛdha-*, *mroka-* and *anumroka-*, *sarpa-* and *anusarpa-* respectively, and, in addition to these, *jūrṇī*, *upabdi-*, *arjuni*, *bharūjī* ⁹⁾. May we, by the way, conclude from these lists that the female kimīdins were regarded as possessing a more distinct personality than their male partners, or, rather, that the male demons were, in contradistinction to the females, thought of as twins (see further on) or closely related pairs? AV. 3, 9, 1 *karṣapha-* and *viśapha-*, probably two, or two classes of, disease-producing demons; 4, 15, 15 *khaṇvakhā* and *khaīmakhā*, according to the commentary names for kinds of she-frogs (or perhaps for other rain demons); 6, 16 is a rather obscure composition addressed to a number of powers called *alaśālā*, *silāñjālā*, *nilāgalasālā* (perhaps demons or divinities residing in plants, as the accompanying rite requires the use of a mustard-plant); in st. 1 even *ābayu-* and *anābayu-* seem to be a pair of names: "ā. and non-ā." (if we may understand them in this way); 5, 13, 5 and 6 *kairāta-* and *taimāta-*, 7 *āligi* and *vīligi* may be regarded as snake-demons, the text being brought into connection with a ceremony for healing poisoned wounds (Kauś. 29, 1-14); the much discussed *tābuva-* ¹⁰⁾ and *tastuva-* in st. 10 and 11 may perhaps

⁸⁾ Compare, in a Latin carmen intended to cure a horse: *remediasti si frequentius incantaveris* (Pelagonius 19).

⁹⁾ Cf. Whitney-Lanman, o.c., p. 64 and the readings of the Paippalāda text.

¹⁰⁾ Now see also my short note in H. Wagenvoort, *Roman dynamism*, Oxford 1947, p. 8, n. 2; M. Mayrhofer, *Kurzgef. etymol. Wtb. des Altind.*, p. 494 f.

be put on a par; in 8, 6, 2 we come across *palāla-* and *anupalāla-* (for *anusee* further on), which may be interpreted as “straw” and “after-straw” respectively, but in this text seem to be names of evil beings; in a similar way 10: *ye śālāḥ parinṛtyanti sāyaṃ . . . / kusūlā ye ca kuṣṣilāḥ / kakubhāḥ karumāḥ śrimāḥ* the first of which means “granaries”, the second “paunchy”, the third “lofty”¹¹); in st. 11 the *kukundhāḥ* and *kukūrabhāḥ* (in Paipp. *kakundhāḥ karūrabhāḥ*) are added to the above. In an enumeration of the powers to be invoked for the sake of successful conception *Sinivālī* and *Sarasvatī*, who are both engaged in “placing” the embryo, are mentioned in the same (strictly parallel) pair of *pādas* (5, 25, 3). In 7, 12, 1 *sabhā* and *samiti-* “assembly” and “gathering” are called the two daughters of Prajāpati¹²). The name *diti-* which is 5 times found in the AthV. is always accompanied by the more frequent *aditi-*; in the RV. it occurs twice with *aditi-*, once alone¹³): the shorter name has repeatedly, and to all appearance correctly, been regarded as merely an antithesis to *Aditi*, formed from the latter to express a positive sense, as *sura-* “god” developed from *asura-*¹⁴).

As already appears from the last instance, some names of “higher divinities”, which, as a rule, are formed differently, show the same feature: *Yama* and his sister *Yamī*, the former being the Avestan *Yima*, and conveying the sense of “twin”; the daughter of *Savitar* or *Sūrya* is *Sūryā*, etc. Apart from such cases as *Dhātār* and *Vidhātār*, “the establisser” and “the disposer”¹⁵); *Upendra* = *Viṣṇu* beside *Indra*. We find many other mythological figures the names of which rhyme, alliterate or derive from the same stem: the *daityas* and *dānavas*, children of the sisters *Diti* and *Dānu*, are very often mentioned together; *Vala* and *Vṛtra* are the two demons conquered by *Indra* (*Indra valavṛtrahan-*); in post-Vedic literature they are regarded as brothers; *Kumbha* and *Nikumbha*; *Puloman* and *Asiloman*; *Nāraka* and *Kālaka*¹⁶); *Sunda* and *Nisunda* or *Upasunda*¹⁷); *Vinda* and *Anuvinda*, *anu-* meaning “(born) after”; *Anuhrāda*, *Hrāda*, *Prahrāda* and *Samhrāda* are the four sons of *Hiraṇyakaśipu*,

¹¹) The commentary holds *kus.* to mean *kusūlākṛtayas*, *kuṣṣ.*: *brhatkuṣṣayas*, and the third word: *arjunavṛkṣavad bhayaṃkarākṛtayas*. For the last words it has *kharumāḥ śrumāḥ*; in the Paipp. text the line runs as follows: *kuṣūlāyaś ca kuṣūlā kakubhā svarasā sumā*.

¹²) They are even *duhitarau samvidāne*, the “names” and the adjective beginning with the same sound.

¹³) See also A. A. Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, Strassburg 1897, p. 123.

¹⁴) See Max Müller, in the *Sacred Books of the East* 32, p. 356; A. Bergaigne, *Religion védique* III, p. 97; Macdonell, o.c.; Keith, o.c., p. 218, and a treatise (on the relations between power and divine beings in the Veda) by myself which is to be published elsewhere.

¹⁵) I refer to Macdonell, o.c. p. 115. They are mentioned in the same context AthV. 3, 10, 10; 5, 3, 9.

¹⁶) See J. Gonda, *Agastyparwa*, The Hague 1933–1936, p. 179.

¹⁷) See E. W. Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, Strassburg 1915, p. 199 f.

mentioned, in this order, in some purāṇas¹⁸); *Viśvācī* and *Ghṛtācī*; the sisters *Ambikā* and *Ambālikā* and so on. The frequent use of such combinations of names is in many passages in a great variety of literary works a device of assonance: Mbh. 3, 55, 11 *dharmātmānaṃ mahātmānaṃ dāitya-dānavamardanam*.

The same phenomenon also occurs in the mythology of other peoples¹⁹): in the Avesta we come across two birds, *Amru* and *Ūmru*; in Norse mythology two dogs, *Ruska* and *Luska*; in Greek we find *Koῖόν τε Kῆῖόν τε...* / *Θεῖαν τε Πεῖαν τε* (like the Sanskrit *viśvācī ca ghṛtācī ca*); *Ἀγαρόχη τε καὶ Ἐδαρόχη*; *Πουλυρόχη τε καὶ Ἀύτορόχη* (Hes. Theog. 135; 257; 258); the angels of the Hebrews are called *Malchidael*, *Asmodel* etc.

The wide distribution of this phenomenon, while illustrating the frequency and the almost universal character of alliteration, homoioteleuton, and paronomasia, gives ample evidence of the importance of similarity of sound in the sacral terminology of various peoples. That, in India and elsewhere, part of the names concerned stand for more or less 'unreal' beings, for 'doubles' and 'complementary divinities' is in this connection a matter of indifference. The very fact that an antithesis, double or complement, is given a rhyming or alliterating name shows the influence exerted by the various kinds of partial homophony over human thought and human speech²⁰).

Yet the phenomenon is not limited to the language of myth and religion, of epics and traditions. It is, on the contrary, usual in many countries to emphasize the close relationship of, and the real or supposed resemblance between brothers or sisters, especially when they are twins, not only by dressing them in the same way, but also by giving them similar rhyming or alliterating names. In modern Dutch families a pair of twin sisters is in the domestic circle called, e. g. *Nini* and *Rini*; a brother and sister, of the Christian names *Cornelis* and *Gezina*, are called *Keesje* and *Geesje*; another brother and sister *Keesje* and *Koosje*; two sisters *Saartje* and *Sientje*. An engaged couple, before their engagement going under the names of *Dirk* or *Dick* and *Wicky*, was conceived as the 'dualité-unité' *Dicky* and *Wicky*. In popular songs, titles of books etc. the same tendency often manifests itself: *Louis* and *Louisje* (street-song), *Tilly* and *Willy* (two girl-friends, in an advertisement), *Bert* and *Bram* (title of a book), etc. In Malay historical romances we come across the friends *Lekir* and *Lekiu*; in the Javanese *Calon Arang*²¹) the four pupils of a witch are called *Lēndē*, *Larung*, *Guyang*, *Gandī*; in the Babad Tanah Djawi, p. 214 (220)²²) two brothers, both of them being headman in the same village,

¹⁸) See e.g. W. Kirfel, *Das Purāṇa pañcalakṣaṇa*, Bonn 1927, p. 165.

¹⁹) H. Güntert, *Von der Sprache der Götter und Geister*, Halle 1921, p. 67 f. has collected a number of instances.

²⁰) The Christian Saint List owed his very existence to his being a rhyme to Christ (see Schönbach, o.c. p. 41).

²¹) See *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 82, (1926), p. 121.

²²) The Hague, 1941.

go by the names of *Sara-Dentā* and *Sari-Denti*; three Buginese executioners²³: *Muhaliike*, *Mukatile*, *Mutaine*; four relatives in a Yami legend (Botel Tobago island)²⁴: *Sjapunmuakal*, *Sjamanmanato*, *Sjamanrivu*, *Sjamandjagalit*, etc. etc.²⁵. In Roman history or tradition *Romulus* and *Remus*, *Gaius* and *Gaia* are well-known couples, in Greek *Hippias* and *Hipparchus*, *Βῑονης* and *Χειωνης* (the two girls in the Iliad, A 182 and 184); in French *Basanz* and *Basilies*; *Florient* and *Florette*; in the Muslim *Hassan* and *Husain* etc. The same predilection for partial homophony is found in India: in the AitBr. 7, 15, 7 *tasya ha trayah putrā āsuh*: *Śunah-puchah Śunahśepah Śunolāngūla iti*; Bhīma's children, Mbh. 3, 53, 9, were named after the ṛṣi Damana: *damayantīm damam dāntam damanam ca suvarcasam*, the names forming a double pāda rich in alliteration and assonance; the three daughters of the king of Kāśi: Mbh. 1, 102, 64 f. . . . / *anujāñe tadā jyesthām ambām kāśipateḥ sutām | ambikāmbālike bhārye prādād bhrātre* The Kuru warrior *Śatāyus* is always mentioned together with *Śrutāyus* and their names may easily assume the form of a balanced binary structure filling up a quarter of a śloka, *ca* *ca* emphasizing the complementary character of the two components of the unity: *śatāyus ca śrutāyus ca*; 9, 2, 19 *śrutāyus cācyutāyus ca | śatāyus cāpi viryavān* are among the slain; Nala and Damayanti's children, 3, 57, 46 *indrasenam sutam cāpi | indrasenām ca kanyakām* and 60, 23 *i-am ca tām kanyām | i-am ca bālakam* (notice the balanced structures); apart from Diviratha and Rēika, Bhumanyu's sons were (1, 94, 24) *suhotraś ca suhotā ca | suhavis sujayas tathā*, the first of them marrying Suvarṇā. The sister of *Rukmin* (Kṛṣṇa's wife) was *Rukminī*; Virāta's children were *Śaṅkha*, *Uttara* and *Uttarā*; Yayāti's sons were *Yadu*, *Turvasu*, *Druhyu*, *Anu* and *Pāru*: Mbh. 1, 75, 35 *devayānyām ajāyetām | yadus turvasur eva ca | druhyus cānuś ca pūruś ca sarmiṣṭhāyām ca jāññire*. Dīrghatamas' sons, the eponymous heroes of five adjacent countries were *aṅgo vaṅgaḥ kalīṅgaś ca | puṇdraḥ suhmaś ca* . . . (1, 104, 53)²⁶. The puranic genealogies, the inscriptions and other more or less historical documents also give many instances: Matsya Pur. 46, 27 *tantipālāś ca tantiś ca nandanasya sutāv ubhau*; 47, 15 ff. *rukminī janayāmāsa putrān . . . | cārudeṣṇam raṇe śūram | pradyumnam ca mahābalaṃ | sucāruṃ bhadracāruṃ ca | sudeṣṇam bhadram eva ca | paraśuṃ cāruguptam ca | cārubhadram ca cārukam || cāruhāsam kanīṣṭham ca | kanyām cārumatiṃ tathā*²⁷; BḍPur. 2, 71, 249 f. and VāPur. 96, 241 enumerate the children of Jāmbavati: *bhadraś ca bhadraguptaś ca | bhadravindas tathaiva ca | bhadrabāhuś ca vikhyātāḥ | kanyā bhadravati*

²³ Indjilal, 16 Br.

²⁴ E. Asai, A study of the Yami language, Thesis Leyden 1936, p. 63.

²⁵ Other Indonesian instances are discussed by B. J. Bijleveld, Herhalingsfiguren in het Maleisch, Javaansch en Soendaasch, Thesis Utrecht 1943, p. 111 ff.

²⁶ For particulars see S. Sørensen, An Index to the names of the Mahābhārata, London 1904, p. 198.

²⁷ The text is quoted after Kirfel, Purāṇa Pañc., p. 477 f. In this book many other instances may be found.

tathā, adding that *saṃgrāmaḥ ca śatajit | tathaiva ca sahasrajit* are the sons of Sudevi and Viṣvaksena, that *vrko vrkāśvo vrkaḥ | vrjini ca varāṅganā* are among the children of another woman, and so on, and so on. The authors of tales and romances borrowed this method of name giving from actual life: Daṇḍin, Dkc. p. 216 three brothers: *sphitasāradhanāḥ sodaryā dhanakadhānyakadhanyakākhyāḥ*; p. 107 two sisters: *kāma-mañjaryāḥ svasā yavīyāsī rāgamañjarī nāma*; Vetālap. ed. Uhle four brothers: *Haridatta, Somadatta, Yajñadatta, Brahmadatta*²⁸); in Kathās. ch. 2 *Varṣa* and *Upavarṣa* (brothers)²⁹).

Names often have a 'genealogical' signification, that is to say: in forming the names of new-born children elements are taken from the names of the forefathers, usually from that of the father. The relation of the borrowed part and the new is pretty well the same as that between family and Christian names in our modern Western system of name giving³⁰). Thus, *Gandhadatta's* son is, in the Vetālap. ed. Emeneau, *Dhanadatta*; *Vasudatta's* daughter is *Vasumatī*; *Upavarṣa's* daughter is (Kathās. 4, 4) *Upakośā*; *Govindadatta's* sons were *Devadatta* and *Somadatta* (his wife was called *Agnidattā*; ibid. ch. 7, 51 and 108); *Pratāpamukuta's* son was *Vajramukuta* (75, 61; 62); *Dharmadatta's* daughter *Vasudattā* (she was given in marriage to *Samudradatta*; 78, 48 f.); *Vīravara's* son was *Satyavara*, his daughter *Vīravatī* (79, 8 f.); and so on. In the Mahābh., 13, 2, 38 king *Oghavat* is father of a son *Oghavatha* and a daughter *Oghavatī* (*athaughavān nāma nṛpo ... | tasyāthaughavatī kanyā | putrāś caughavatho bhavat*); *Samyāti* is father of *Ahamyāti* (1, 95, 14); *Śrutāyus'* and *Acyutāyus'* sons are: *niyatāyus ca ... | dīrghāyus ca ...* (7, 93, 27). In the purāṇas we find such genealogies as *Kuśadhvaḥ*, father of *Dharmadhvaḥ*, father of *Kṛtadhvaḥ* (and *Mitadhvaḥ*), father of *Keśidhvaḥ*³¹).

This usage is likewise widespread: in OH German *Hiltibrant* is *Heribrant's* son³²); *Sigfrid's* parents were *Sigmund* and *Siglinde*; *Thusnelda* was mother of *Thumelicus*³³); alliteration which played such an important

²⁸) See also J. A. van Velze, Names of persons in early Sanscrit literature, Thesis Utrecht 1938, p. 24 f. and 135.

²⁹) For Iran see A. Christensen, Études sur le zoroastrisme de la Perse antique, Dansk Vid. Selsk., Copenhagen 1929, p. 17 ff. ("les fils d'un même père portent souvent des noms composés, dont ou le premier ou le second élément est le même"). Other instances and particulars may be found in R. Hirzel, Der Name. Ein Beitrag zu seiner Geschichte im Altertum, Abh. sächs. Ges. d. Wiss., Phil.-Hist. Kl. 36 (1918), II, p. 32 f. (with references to other works); W. Riese, Alliterierender Gleichklang in der französischen Sprache, Thesis Halle 1888, p. 12; Kriete, Die Alliteration in der italienischen Sprache, Thesis Halle-W. 1893, p. 14.

³⁰) For Iran see F. Justi, Iranisches Namenbuch, Marburg 1895, p. VIII.

³¹) The reader might be referred to F. E. Pargiter, Ancient Indian historical tradition, London 1922, p. 95.

³²) See also O. Schrader-A. Nehring, Reallexikon d. indogerm. Altertumskunde, II, p. 106. For Greek instances see J. Classen-J. Steup on Thucydides I, 29.

³³) See also G. T. Flom, Alliteration and variation in Old-Germanic namegiving, Mod. Lang. Notes 32 (1917).

rôle in the ancient German idioms was a frequent means of marking relationship: we only recall the Merovingian kings *Childerich*, *Chlodwig*, *Chlodomer*, *Childebert*, *Chlothar*. The practice is, however, not foreign to non-Indo-European languages: in the Malay Hang Tuah, p. 92 VL. *Parmadiwan's* sons are called *Parmadisa*, *Parmadingka*, and *Parmadiran*.

In this connection mention must also be made of the very frequent use of patronymics and similar words³⁴). They gave occasion for various kinds of partial homophony: MatsyaPur. 45, 22 *satyakas tasya putras tu / sātṛyakis tasya cātmajah*; VāPur. 97, 8 *vasudevakule dhīmān / vāsudevatvam āgatah*; Mbh. 3, 297, 60 (sons begotten on Mālavi) *mālavyām, mālavā nāma*.

'Primitive' mentality, also outside those societies, which are, roughly speaking, not markedly characterized by a modern or rationalistic mentality, involves the conviction that terminology is not due to chance or accident: PB. 14, 9, 27 " . . . by means of the santani-sāman the gods connected it, by the saṃkṛti they brought it into good order" (*santaninā samatanvan, saṃkṛtinā samaskurvan*), that the name describes the character of its bearer³⁵)—cf. e. g. also Mbh. 3, 294, 13 (a boy) *citre 'pi vili-khaty aśvāṃś / citrāśva iti cocyate* "he painted horses; therefore he is called 'Picture-horse'"; that identity or partial identity of names points to common origin, community of interests, behaviour³⁶), occupation or residence³⁷). Persons with the same name belong together: the epic story of Jaratkāru who promised his ancestors to marry if he might get a wife of the same name as his own (Mbh. 1, 13, 29; 14, 3 f.; 6 *jaratkāro jaratkāruḥ / svaseyam anujā mama*)—afterwards it appears that such a girl has been "held in reserve" for him (1, 14, 6)—, may be paralleled by similar tales in other literatures: when in Samoa *Matatalalo* and *Mataiteite* have met they decide to marry: "I have found my husband, for our names are in harmony"³⁸). It has often been supposed that for the new-born children rhyming or alliterating names were chosen in order to make them fit for use in poetry³⁹): in my opinion, this was, in actual life, no more than a more or less casual or accidental motive. What poets invented for the sake of assonance or versification is another matter. To all appearance, the fundamental idea was this: what essentially belongs together, has a similar name. Hence also the widely distributed inclination to study etymologies.

³⁴) For Sanskrit patronymics in general see Th. Grubler, *Die Patronymica im Alt-Indischen*, Thesis Basel, Göttingen 1903; L. Renou, *Grammaire sanscrite*, Paris 1930, p. 236 f.

³⁵) See the ample discussion by V. Larock, *Essai sur la valeur sacrée et la valeur sociale des noms de personnes dans les sociétés inférieures*, *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 51 (101), p. 27 ff.; 101 ff.

³⁶) Cf. also Eusthatius on Homer, *P* 720 in connection with the two Ajasses: *Ἴσον θυμὸν ἔχοντες δμῶννυμοι*; cf. also the same on *Σ* 251.

³⁷) Herod. 5, 113 makes mention of two kings of Cyprus, called *Φιλόκυπρος* and *Ἀριστόκυπρος*.

³⁸) See O. Stübel, *Samoanische Texte*, IV, p. 64.

³⁹) See A. Heusler, in Hoops, *Reallexikon d. germanischen Altertumskunde* IV, 231 ff., § 17. Heusler himself holds this view to be "nicht ganz . . . sicher."

SENTENCE CONTRACTION

It will be convenient here to mention also the frequent phenomenon of 'abridgment' or sentence contraction, — terms which might easily, but unjustly, make the inadvertent reader indulge in the thought that one of the units forming the utterance has actually been abridged or shortened ¹⁾. From the very numerous instances in Vedic prose the following may be quoted to give an idea of the character of these pairs, or groups, of clauses. A very simple type is JB. 1, 6 *ahar vai śabalo, rātriḥ śyāmaḥ* "ś. indeed (is) day, ś. night" (here the particle *vai* in the second word group has certainly not been omitted; when it belongs to the utterance in its entirety it is not repeated and is preferentially placed after the first word of a sentence). If the verbal idea of two successive units is identical the verb is very often not repeated: AV. 15, 10, 4 (prose); JB. 1, 118 *ekaikasyai devatāyai hotā vaṣaṭkaroti, sarvābhya udgātā* "for every single deity the hotā pronounces the exclamation *vaṣaṭ*, for all (of them) the *udgātā*"; 1, 259 *mithunād anyaj jāyate, yajñād anyat*; JB. 1, 5 *tayor vā etayor atyayanam asti, yathā vaiśāmyam* ²⁾ *vā syāt, setor vā saṁkramaṇam* "es gibt ein Mittel über die beiden (Seeen) hinüberzukommen, wie eine Erhebung (über dem Wasser) oder das Betreten eines Dammes sein würde". The verb and one or more pronouns or particles are not repeated: AiB. 3, 13, 1 *sa gāyatrīm evāgnaye . . . prātaḥsavane 'bhajat, triṣṭubham indrāya . . . madhyamdine . . .*; 17, 4; GobhGs. 2, 10, 1 ff. In other cases the verb and another identical idea are left unexpressed: JB. 1, 161 *sa yo ha sma dakṣiṇe samudre sūyate, yaḥ pūrve, yo 'pare, tam . . .* "(the soma) which was pressed at the southern sea, which at the eastern, which at the western, that . . .". Or it is a genitive which is for similar reasons omitted: JB. 1, 258 *katarad yajñasya pūrvam, katarad aparam* "what (is) the beginning of the sacrifice, what the end?" Or the subject: JB. 1, 258 *yad ūrdhvo yajñas tāyeta devā eva jīveyur na manuṣyāḥ, y. arvān t. manuṣyā e. j. n. devāḥ*; GobhGS. 2, 10, 12. Subject and predicate are not repeated: GobhGS. 2, 10, 4 *ā ṣoḍaśād varṣād brāhmaṇasyānatitah kālo bhavaty, ā dvātriṁśāt kṣatriyasyācaturviṁśād vaiśyasya*. The predicate: GobhGS. 3, 1, 5 ff. *gomithunam dakṣiṇā brāhmaṇasya, aśvamithunam kṣatriyasya . . .* Verb and object: AV. 15, 12, 5; GobhGS. 4, 3, 10 . . . *iti prathamam pīḍam nidadhyāt, . . . iti dvitīyam* (the adj. being repeated) " . . . saying: . . . he should lay down the first ball

¹⁾ See also ch. II.

²⁾ Thus Caland; see also Raghu Vira and Lokesh Chandra, *Acta Or.* 22 (1955), p. 56.

of rice . . . , saying: . . . the second". One or more other elements of the utterance: AV. 15, 3, 4 (prose) *tasyā grīṣmaś ca vasantaś ca dvau pādāv āstām, śarac ca varṣāś ca dvau*; 5 etc. GobhGS. 2, 7, 2 *caturthe māsi śaṣṭhe 'ṣṭāme vā* "in the 4th month, in the 6th, or in the 8th"; 2, 8, 8 *jananād daśarātre vyuṣṭe, śatarātre saṃvatsare vā* "ist von der Geburt ab der 10. Tag oder der 100. oder auch das 1. Jahr angebrochen . . ." (Knauer).

These quotations which could be multiplied indefinitely lead to three observations: first, all superfluous elements are as a rule omitted in the second (or: in the later) units; in the second place: the order of the words which are repeated undergoes no change, the original schema is, as much as possible, maintained; lastly, in these points, the idiom of these texts is in perfect harmony with modern usage (e. g. in Dutch). This implies that the usual attendant phenomena, such as anaphora or epiphora, are far from absent.

For the sake of completeness some other instances may—in addition to the relevant passages quoted in other sections of this book—be borrowed from mantras: a subst. and a pronoun are left unexpressed: ĀśvŚS. 5, 19, 4 *yat te cakṣur divi yat suparṇe*; the subject: AV. 4, 16, 8 *yo daivo varuṇo yaś ca mānuṣaḥ*; a vocative is not repeated: TB. 3, 10, 3, 1, a pronoun: VS. 6, 15 *yat te krūrāṃ yad āsthitaṃ* (cf. Kauś. 102, 2 *yat te ghorāṃ yat te viṣaṃ*). In post-Vedic texts we find: BhG. 15, 6 *na tad bhāsayate sūryo, na śaśāṅko na pāvakaḥ*; Manu 2, 72 *savyena savyaḥ spraṣṭavyo | dakṣiṇena ca dakṣiṇaḥ*; 2, 133 *pitur bhaginyām mātus ca*; 2, 155 *viprāṇām jñānato jyaishṭhyaṃ | kṣatriyāṇām tu vīryataḥ | vaiśyāṇām dhānyadhanataḥ | śūdrāṇām eva janmataḥ*; 2, 170; BhG. 14, 10, and with a different order of words: BhG. 7, 12 *ye caiva sāttrikā bhāvā, rājasās tāmasās ca ye*; cf. 14, 17.

There would be no point in enumerating a large number of passages in order to show the possibilities of variation offered to the composers of verses by this essentially natural mode of expression: Manu 2, 52 *āyuṣyaṃ prāṇmukho bhuṅkte | yaśasyaṃ dakṣiṇāmukhaḥ | śriyaṃ pratyaṇmukho bhuṅkte | ṛtaṃ bhuṅkte hy udamukhaḥ* "(his meal) will procure / long life, if he eats facing the east . . .": c repeats the schema of a completely, in b the verb is for reasons of versification omitted, in d the order of words is different; 101 *pūrvām saṃdhyām japaṃś tiṣṭhet | sāvitṛm ārkadarsanāt | paścimām tu samāsinaḥ | samyag ṛkṣavibhāvanāt*: the subst. *saṃdhyām* is not repeated, instead of *japaṃś samāsita* we find (*japet*) *samāsinaḥ*. With synonyms and chiasmic order of words: Manu 3, 174 *patyau jīvati kuṇḍaḥ syān | mṛte bhartari golakaḥ*; cf. e. g. also 2, 169; 174; 3, 76 *ādityā jāyate vṛṣṭir | vṛṣṭer annaṃ tataḥ prajāḥ* like the English "from the sun comes rain, from rain food, from that the living creatures". Very frequently adverbs, particles etc. which whilst belonging to every division of the utterance could have been inserted in the first clause are for reasons of versification introduced into one of the following clauses: Manu 3, 81 *svādhyāyenārcayetarṣiṇ | homair devān yathāvidhi | pitṛṇ śrāddhais ca nṛṇ annair | bhūtāni balikarmaṇā*.

In illustration of the reverse phenomenon, viz. the suppression of an element in the first member RV. 10, 103, 3 (= AV. 19, 13, 4 etc.) may be quoted: *sa iṣuhastaiḥ sa niṣaṅgibhir vaśi* "he with the arrow-armed, he with the quiver-hung, (is) controller" (Whitney-Lanman). Cf. also BhG. 10, 20 *aham ādiś ca madhyaṃ ca | bhūtānām anta eva ca*. Cf., in Latin, Plaut. Ps. 440 *nam tu quod damni et quod fecisti flagiti*.

There are, of course, also many exceptions, verbs or other elements being used beyond requirements: cf. Manu 2, 201 which is a fine example of balanced structure: *parivādāt kharo bhavati, śvā vai bhavati nindakah | paribhoktā krmir bhavati, kīto bhavati matsari*.

It may safely be assumed that these types of 'abbreviated repetition' were already a mark of pre-historic expression of thought in the Indo-European communities. Here too, there does not seem to be a convincing argument in favour of the supposition that "in the beginning" or "initially" — whatever it may be that authors understand by this oft-used phrase — a consistent repetition of the same schema was obligatory. Compare, in the Avesta, Yt. 10, 11 *zāvarə ʔaidyantō hitaēibyō, drvatātəm tanubyō* "asking vigour for their teams, health for themselves"; 5, 8 *kō mām stavāṭ kō yazāitē . . .*; 10, 2 etc.; in Greek, *K 84 ἥ ἐ τιν' οὐρήων διζήμενος, ἥ τιν' ἐταίρων*; *B 202 οὔτε ποτ' ἐν πολέμῳ ἐναρίθμιος οὔτ' ἐνὶ βουλῇ*; *B 90 αἱ μὲν τ' ἐνθα ἄλις πεπονήσεται, αἱ δέ τε ἐνθα*; Hes. O. 825 *ἄλλοτε μητρὶνὴ πέλει ἡμέρη, ἄλλοτε μήτηρ*; with variations: *A 9 ἡρορέη πύσνονοι καὶ κάσσει χειρῶν*; *I 45*; *A 76*; cf. in Latin, Plaut. Poen. 674 *neque nos hortari neque dehortari decet | hominem peregrinum*.

What must, further, have been a common feature in the syntax of the prehistoric I.E. languages is the occurrence of enclitics and certain particles after the first word of the sentence, i. e. in the first member of a sequence of clauses composing a sentence (Wackernagel's 'law'³⁾); cf. in Vedic, RV. 10, 82, 3 *yo naḥ pitā janitā, yo vidhātā*; in Latin, Ter. Andria 279 f. *ut neque me consuetudo neque amor neque pudor | commovent . . .*; Plaut. Poen. 674 (see above). A similar remark must be made with regard to emphatic elements: RV. 6, 9, 2 *nāhaṃ tantuṃ na vi jānāmy otuṃ* "nicht verstehe ich den Faden noch den Einschlag" (Geldner); in Latin, Plaut. Amph. 531 *non ego te hic lubens relinquo neque abeo abs te*⁴⁾; Poen. 332.

³⁾ See J. Wackernagel, I.F. 1, p. 333 ff.

⁴⁾ For *aham, ego* etc. see Acta Or. 19, p. 211 ff.

INDEX

- a privativum, 94 f.; 97 f.; 102; 254; 340.
 abbreviated repetition, 399.
 ablative combinations, 242.
 ablativus comparationis, 18.
 abridgment, 67; 144.
 absolutive, 317 ff.; 321 ff.; 329.
 abstract entities, 364.
 abstract formulations, 337 f.
 abstraction, 380.
 absurdity, logical, 344.
 abundance, 142 f.; 214; 216; 233; 278; 328; 330; 343; 345.
 abuse, terms of —, 178.
 accumulation, 214; 380; 383.
 accumulation of adjectives, 388.
 accumulation of sibilants, 191.
 accumulation of similar phrases, 104; 136.
 accuracy, 180; 338; 350.
 accusative, 278 f.; 286.
 accusative, cognate, 273.
 accusative, etymologic, 273 f.
 actual past, 299.
 additions, 357.
 adhortation, 295.
 adjective, 240 f.
 adjective combining with its opposite, 340.
 adjective and derivative combined, 256.
 adjective duplicated, 328.
 adjective in paronomasia, 265.
 adjective repeated, 305.
 adjectives, alliterative, 194.
 adjectives, co-ordinated, 363.
 adjuncts, 357.
 adnomination, 152 f.; 179; 326; 332; 373. See also paronomasia.
 adornments, poetical, 120; 128; 147.
 adverb, 143; 240 f.; 245; 319; 322; 328 f.; 332; 398.
 adverb-preverb, 140 f.
 adverb, suggestive force of —, 185.
 adverbs and adjectives, combinations of —, 197.
 adverbs repeated, 140.
 aesthetic appreciation, 25.
 aesthetic effects, 229; 233; 341.
 aesthetic value, 223; 225; 253; 297.
 agitation, 211.
 agreement, 243.
 agreement in essence, 365.
 alamkāras, 8; 13 ff.
 alliterating names, 393.
 alliteration, VIII; 10 f.; 24; 45 f.; 69; 74; 79; 153; 201; 219; 229; 233; 239; 253 f.; 256; 258; 259; 268 f.; 274; 283; 326; 332; 336; 376 f.; 381; 383 f.; 386; 392; 393 f.
 alliteration, complicated, 187 f.
 alliteration, connective force of —, 183; 187; 193.
 alliteration, exaggerated, 186; 187.
 alliteration, internal, 198.
 alliteration, interrupted, 187; 195.
 alliteration, magical function of —, 189 ff.
 alliteration as a means of achieving the unity of a verse, 185 f.
 alliteration, non-paronomastic, 250.
 alliteration, reinforced, 199.
 alliteration, serial, 185 ff.
 alliterative groups, 178; 186; 377.
 alliterative pāda, 287.
 alliterative terms, position of —, 184.
 alogische Gegensatzverbindung, 342.
 alternation, sense of —, 71.
 alternative combinations, 97.
 alternatives, 34 f.; 134; 138.
 ambiguity, 302 f.
 ambiguum, 260.
 amplification, XIX; 255; 306; 326; 345; 352; 388.
 amplification, epanaleptic, 314.
 āmreḍita yamaka, 227.
 analysis, 380.
 analysis (geographical), 343.
 analysis of twin thoughts, 68.
 analytical-complementary mode of expression, 340 f.
 analytical enumeration, 350.
 analytical expression of complementary thought, 362.
 analytical expression of thought, 130; 132; 158 f.; 257; 268; 272; 381; 388.

- anaphora, VI; 24; 46 f.; 65; 121; 122;
 123; 169; 179; 216; 217; 227; 247;
 290; 310; 326; 365; 367; 387; 388;
 398.
 anaphora, analytic character of -, 150.
 anaphora, causal, 133.
 anaphora, conclusive, 148.
 anaphora, emphatic, 151.
 anaphora, fourfold, 349.
 anaphora, frequent, 142.
 anaphora, interrupted, 154.
 anaphora, threefold, 158.
 anaphoric adnominatio, 152 f.
 anaphoric pronouns, 37; 311; 318 f.
 anaphoric repetition, 10; 314; 316.
 anaphoric tricola, 153.
 anisosyllabism, 254.
 Anschlussstellung, 119; 322.
 answer, 38; 158; 173.
 antecedent repeated in a relative clause,
 302 f.
 antistrophe, 362.
 antithesis, 10; 34 f.; 79; 107; 115; 117;
 122; 167; 168; 174; 194; 217; 220;
 233; 257; 271 f.; 344; 364; 392.
 antithetic expression of thought, 89 f.;
 98 f.; 124; 362.
 antithetic parallelism, 99.
anya-, 96 f.
anyathā, 107.
 aphorisms, 188.
 apodosis, 155.
 apodosis, double, 77.
 apposition, 358.
 appositions subjoined, 358.
 archaic style, 220; 221; 226; 247; 286;
 302; 311; 315; 316; 347; 363.
 archaisms, 43; 135; 151; 161 f.; 172;
 286; 366.
 argument, 119; 156; 160; 287; 294;
 310; 312; 379.
 arguments, ritualistic, philosophical etc.
 -, 77; 119; 310.
 arrangement of words, 169; 202; 230;
 254; 380; 384.
 art, archaic, 76; 84.
 art, conscious, 36; 129; 161; 223; 227.
 art, poetical, 382.
 artificial style, 227; 238; 257; 269; 326;
 332 f.; 349.
 artistic effects, 216.
 association of verb forms, 124.
 assonance, X; 10; 47; 131; 167; 170;
 180; 186; 202; 217; 219; 223; 225;
 227; 232; 247; 253 f.; 258 ff.; 268 f.;
 282; 340; 341; 367; 368; 375; 382 f.;
 384; 393 f.
 assonance, internal, 187; 195; 203.
 assonance, vertical, 230.
 assonant word group, 377; 383.
 assonant words, juxtaposition of -,
 190.
Āśvaghōṣa, 86.
 asymmetry, 208.
 asyndeton, 72; 292; 340; 386; 387; 388.
atha, 138; 151.
 Atharvaveda, style of -, 22 ff.; 92.
atiśayokti, 11.
 attention invited, 130 f.; 217; 233.
 'attraction', syntactic, 110; 120; 123.
 attributes occurring at the end of a
 sentence, 356 f.
 attributive adjective, 278 f.; 282.
 Auflösung, 132.
 Aufteilung, 342.
 aufzählende Variation, 361.
 Aufzählung, magische, 385.
αὔξησις, 255 f.
 Ausdrucksverstärkung, 205; 244; 245;
 251; 255; 260 f.; 274; 287 f.
 automatism, 45.
 auto-suggestion, 374.

 bahuvrīhi, 320.
 balanced structures, 33; 67; 72 f.; 109;
 117; 138; 156 f.; 166; 184; 203; 207;
 215; 217; 225; 229; 234; 253; 257;
 270; 276; 298; 300; 305 f.; 337; 342;
 346 ff.; 384 f.; 386; 394.
 balancements, 32; 65; 68.
 Behaghel effect, see magnitude, in-
 creasing -.
 binary expression extended, 346.
 binary structures, see balanced struc-
 tures.
 Binnenreim, 209 ff.
 bipartite assonant phrase, 340.
 bipartite compounds, 343.
 bipartite and non-bipartite structure,
 75 f.; 131; 180; 338.
 bipartite structure, increasing in length,
 346.
 bipartite structure, rhyming, 216.
 brāhmaṇas, style of -, 81 ff.; 155; 167;
 349.
 brahmodyas, 306.

- ca*, 367.
ca ... ca, 337; 339.
 cacophony, 223; 224; 227.
 caesura, 175 f.; 215 f.; 218 f.; 223; 249; 272.
 carelessness, 304.
 carmen style, 22; 27 ff.; 81; 363.
 carmina, 76; 172; 214; 229.
 case-forms, anaphoric repetition in different —, 152; 159 f.
 case-forms in paronomasia, 265 f.
 case-forms in polyptoton, 286 f.
 catena, 86; 300; 307 f.; 320.
 catenary repetition, 298 f.
 catenary structure of stanzas, 313 f.
 causal relative clauses, 303.
 causative verbs in figura etymologica, 280.
 cautious negations, 19.
 chain, see catena.
 chain of questions and answers, 306.
 change in the order of words, 111 f.; 115.
 chapters, successive, 315.
 charms, 189; 220.
 chiasmus, V; 80; 104; 134; 153; 154; 162; 168; 219; 220; 388.
 chiasmus, antithetical, 124; 126.
 chiasmus, complicated, 123.
 chiasmus at the end of a long sentence, 113.
 chiasmic repetition, 353.
 children's rhymes, 307.
 children's speech, 338.
 chimes, 160.
 classification, 360; 381; 387.
 clause parallelism, 85 f.
 clauses, pairs of, 396.
 clauses, structure of, 347.
 clearness, 92; 136; 169; 233; 302; 312; 316.
 climax, 69; 71; 80; 142 ff.; 176; 254 f.; 265; 295; 300; 364; 384.
 cohesion of the stanza, 216 f.; 219.
 colloquial language, 97; 150; 171; 172; 173; 181; 198; 204; 209; 244; 261; 263; 341.
 colon, first — longest, 153.
 colon, second — longest, 153.
 comparisons, 82; 84 f.; 108; 167 (see also *similes*).
 complementary connections, 77.
 complementary ideas, 80; 143; 153.
 complementary occurrences, 35; 124.
 complementary pairs split up, 73.
 complementary phrases or word groups, 337; 339 f.; 343; 348.
 complementary terms, 357 f.
 complementary word groups, XVII.
 complements, 337.
 complements, pairs of, 336 f.
 complete words, repeated, 217.
 completion, 107 f.
 complex communication, 355.
 complex conception, 388.
 complex phrases, 143.
 complex structures, 355.
 complex utterance, 133.
 complexity, aversion to —, 151; 159.
 complicated parallel structures, 82; 205 f.
 composition with different prefixes, 232.
 composition of texts, 154; 163 ff.
 compound, 243; 245; 247; 290; 303; 334; 336; 339 f.
 compound sentence, 80; 118; 315.
 compounds, alliterative, 198 f.
 compounds, combination of —, 227.
 compounds in connection with figura etymologica, 280 f.; 282.
 compounds, the former members of which are identical, 266 ff.
 compounds, grouped, 267; 270 ff.
 compounds, paronomastic, 248; 283; 339.
 compounds in paronomastic constructions, 260 f.; 266 f.; 269 ff.
 compounds, rhyming, 208 f.
 compounds, structure of —, 382.
 compounds, syntactically connected, 270.
 concatenating *pādas*, 314.
 concatenation, 269 ff.; 314; 316; 321 f.; 353 f.
 concatenation, chiasmic, 125.
 concatenation of thoughts, 80; 123.
 conciseness, 144.
 concreta, 338.
 condition, 363.
 conditional clauses, 135 f.
 conduplication, explicative, XIV.
 confirmation of power, 148.
 conformity, 289.
 conjunctions, 134 ff.; 367.
 conjunctions avoided, 155.
 conjuration, 374.
 connection, 297.
 connections between phenomena, 167; 374 f.; 377.

- connective element, 381.
 consecutive stanzas, likeness of, 351.
 continuation, continuity, 159; 216; 301;
 327 ff.; 330; 334.
 contracted phrases, 66 f.
 contraction, 67; 72; 155.
 contrasts, 79; 82; 110; 120; 158; 254;
 279; 337.
 contrasts, emphatic, 338.
 co-ordination, 133; 316.
 co-ordination, paronomastic, 254.
 correspondence, 73; 77; 131; 166 f.;
 168 ff.; 225 f.; 366; 374.
 correspondence, internal, 364.
 correspondence between question and
 answer, 306.
 corresponding units, end of -, 215.
 creation, 378.
 cries, 293.
 cryptic language, 221.
 culminating point of narrative, 212.
 cumulation, 328; 343; 345.
 curse, 217.
- daily practice, 334.
 dative, etymologically cognate, 242.
 definitions, 82 f.; 378.
 demonstrative pronouns repeated, 303.
 descriptive structure, 294.
 determinate attribute in figura etymo-
 logica, 278.
deva-, 148.
 deviation from parallelism, 80 f.
 dharma texts, 86; 338.
 dialogue hymn, 308.
 dialogues, 271.
 didactic device, 88; 102; 136; 151;
 171; 320 f.; 345.
 difference between reality and expecta-
 tion, 104.
 dignified style, 276; 286.
 dipaka, 66.
 direct speech, 155 f.; 172; 320.
 disjunctive anaphora, 135 f.
 disjunctive clauses, 135.
 distribution, 256.
 distribution of the elements of a formula,
 346 f.
 distribution of paired names, 388.
 distribution of word groups, 184.
 distributive plurality, 325; 327; 329.
 diversity in similarity, 122.
 divine powers, 371.
- dramatic character of the events, 118;
 157.
 duplicated substantives, 326.
 duplication, XVI; 245.
 duplication, intensive, 328.
 double meaning, 10.
 dvandvas, 339.
 dvandvas, alliterative, 198.
 dwelling upon a detail, 103.
- echoic words, 208.
 effective speech or language, 181; 303.
 effusions, poetical, 212.
 element of main schema doubled, 356.
 Elementarverwandschaft, 17 ff.
 ellipsis, 279.
 elucidation, 357.
 emotion, 44 f.; 45 f.; 70; 111; 129; 132;
 137; 143; 146 f.; 150; 157; 173; 178;
 181; 204; 207; 211; 212; 229; 232;
 253; 260; 269; 274; 276; 286; 290;
 292; 293; 299; 304; 328; 329 f.; 349;
 352; 362; 381.
 emotional duplication, 330 f.
 emotional passages, 297.
 emotional phrases, 341.
 emotional repetition, 141; 146; 297.
 emotional speech, 344.
 emotional superfluity, 343.
 emotional term, anaphora of -, 141.
 emphasis, 45 f.; 97; 102; 106; 110;
 113 f.; 115 f.; 121; 123; 124; 131;
 134 f.; 136; 137; 139 f.; 142; 149;
 153; 155; 157; 158; 168; 180; 183;
 190; 196; 207; 223; 233; 261; 263;
 267 f.; 274 f.; 280; 286; 287; 292 f.;
 297; 299; 304; 305; 312; 317; 327;
 329; 331; 352.
 emphasis, threefold, 185.
 emphatic duplications, 362 f.
 emphatic elements, 399.
 emphatic order, 178.
 emphatic speech, 344.
 enclitic pronoun, 304; 399.
 enclitics, position of -, 74.
 end of stanza or period marked, 200;
 207; 212.
 endearment, terms of -, 178.
 enumeration, XXIII; 79; 83; 114; 117;
 120 f.; 134; 145; 146; 151; 155; 158;
 159; 168; 175; 188; 190; 206; 212;
 214 f.; 220; 225; 247; 271; 337 f.;
 351; 361; 392.
 enumeration completed, 72.

- enumeration of synonyms, 190.
- enumerations, parallel, 349.
- enumerations, paratactic, 362.
- enumerative expression of thought, 381.
- epanalepsis, 352.
- epexegetis, 119; 340; 357; 358 f.
- epiphora, XXI; 154; 169; 303; 307; 398.
- epiphora in non-successive units, 364.
- epitaphs, 233.
- epithet added, 70; 143.
- epithets, 202; 314; 343; 351; 383; 391.
- epithets connected by alliteration, 185.
- etymologic paronomasia, 379.
- etymological arguments, 81; 372.
- etymological compounds, 280 f.
- etymological connections, 235; 247.
- etymological explications, 241; 253; 310; 368 ff.
- etymological sense, 244.
- etymological speculations of authors, 375.
- etymological word group, 377.
- etymologies, XXII; 396.
- eulogies, 384.
- eulogistic style, 265.
- euphony, 382.
- eurhythmy, 234.
- eva*, 356.
- evocation, 291.
- evolution process, 307.
- exactitude, 100 f.; 328; 380.
- exaggeration, 235; 269.
- examples, 145.
- excitement, 330.
- exclamation, 334; 343 f.
- exclamation, emphatical, 330.
- exclamations, 172; 292; 331; 335; 351.
- expansion, 66; 314.
- expatiation, 132.
- explanation, 102 f.; 312; 354; 356.
- explicative adjective, 358.
- explicative conduplication, XIV.
- explicative repetition, 295.
- expressiveness, 183; 194; 196 f.; 200; 208.
- extended repetition, 295.
- extension, 66 f.; 139.
- fairy-tales, 29.
- fait accompli, 174.
- familiar language, 328.
- figura etymologica, XII; 242; 249; 377.
- figura etymologica combining with third derivative of the same root, 280.
- figura etymologica, passive, 281; 283.
- figura etymologica: verb and adjective, 283.
- figures of speech, 66; 91 f.; 222; 226.
- final syllables of corresponding units, 215.
- fixed phrases, 180 ff.; 275; 276; 281; 336; 346.
- flection, 216; 229.
- Formelverlängerung, 346.
- formulaic elements, 42 f.
- formulas, 25; 27; 34; 42; 43; 65; 92; 111; 114; 116 ff.; 119; 122; 130; 135; 136, n. 27; 141; 167; 170; 189; 192; 202 ff.; 206; 220 f.; 233; 244; 252; 259; 265; 271; 275; 315; 327; 331; 334 f.; 342; 345; 347 ff.; 358; 360; 362 f.; 366; 378; 380 f.; 385 f.; 391.
- fourfold enumeration, 79.
- free construction, 147.
- frequency, 325.
- function, syntactic and stylistic, 340.
- gemination, 324 f.; 331 f.
- geneological signification of names, 395.
- generality, 277 f.
- genitive combinations, 243 f.
- genitive omitted, 397.
- genitive, in paronomasia, 265 ff.
- genitive and verb, 244.
- gerundive in figura etymologica, 275.
- gnomic poetry, 36.
- gradation (see also climax), 142 ff.; 256; 364.
- gradation, hyperbolic, 265.
- graphic character of phrases, 341.
- graphic enumeration of details, 338.
- greeting, 132 f.
- half-stanzas rhyming, 217.
- harmony of expression and phenomena, 385.
- hemistich, contents of – reduced, 314.
- hemistichic symmetry, 76.
- Herrechnen, 385.
- hi*, 157.
- high degree of a quality, 328; 332; 333.
- historical facts, 370.
- homoioteleuton, IX; 13; 25; 147; 153; 188; 250; 383 f.; 386; 393.
- homoioteleuton, flectional, 225.
- homophony, partial, 394; 396.
- humorous use of words, 234; 258.
- hyperbaton, 250; 251; 287; 290.

- hyperbole, 338.
hyperbolic affirmation, 106.
hyperbolic paronomasia, 265.
hypertrophy, 235.
hypotaxis, 134.
hypothetical conjunction, 134.
- identifications, XX; 155; 357; 362; 372.
identities, study of -, 85 f.
identity, 196; 297; 361; 364.
identity, magical, 189.
identity of names, 396.
identity, partial, 180 f.
identity of the vowel of the last syllables, 201.
identity of word groups, 162.
illogical element added, 344.
imitation of an ancient stylistic procedure, 186.
imitative words, 178; 208 f.; 221.
immediate succession of processes, 118; 124; 322.
imperative clauses, 142.
imperative repeated, 304 f.; 331.
impressive effects, 348.
improvisation, 41.
incantation, 28 ff.; 85; 92; 189; 203; 220; 221; 238; 254; 275; 335; 342; 362; 363; 365; 385.
increasing magnitude, 69; 126; 254.
indeclinable elements repeated, 136 ff.
indefinite subject, 345.
indefiniteness, 277 f.
inflected languages, 298.
initial assonance, see alliteration.
initial parallelism, 83.
initial position, 118.
initial position of verb, 311.
initial repetition; see anaphora.
insertion of a term in parallel word groups, 73; 139 f.
insistence, 150; 331.
instrumental and adjective, 240 f.
instrumental in paronomastic word groups, 239 ff.
instrumental and verb, 241.
instrumentalis agentis, 318.
intensification, gradual - of the utterance, 364.
intensification of verbal idea, 273.
intensity, 244; 328; 329.
intensive-adhortative force, 329 f.
intensive duplication, 328.
interjections, geminated, 331.
interjections, repeated, 203.
interjections, rhyming, 211; 222.
interpretation of cosmos, nature etc., 377 f.
interrogative pronoun, 303.
interrupted parallelism, 78; 154.
inversion, 117; 119; 172; 311; 353.
invocation, 244; 351 f.; 385.
isosyllabic words, 213.
isosyllabism, 43; 166; 194; 367; 381; 383 f.
iteration, 325; 327 f.; 331 f.
iterative compounds, 324.
iti clause, 313; 319.
- jāmi*, 266.
jingles, 202; 212; 229; 287.
juridical texts, 97; 169; 255.
juxtaposition of assonant words, 190.
juxtaposition of identical substantives, 295.
juxtaposition of word-stems, 234 f.; 249 ff.
- kāvya, 86; 160 f.; 171; 174; 179; 215; 217; 218; 219; 223; 226; 227; 231; 235; 250; 253.
Klangfreude, 225; 233; 234; 248; 253; 260.
knowledge means power, 371 f.
- labials, 178; 200.
last quarter of stanza, 97.
Lautmalerei, 11.
λέξις εἰρομένη, 316.
leonine rhyme, 209 ff.; 215 f.
limbs, substituted for body or person, 349.
line, unity of, 216.
linguistic feeling, 258.
litanies, 83; 202.
literary style of speaking, 204.
litotes, 93 ff.; 101, n. 43; 105.
liturgic formulas (see also formulas), 65; 138; 167; 168; 244.
liturgical texts, 349.
liveliness, 314.
locative, 325 f.
locative, absolute, 114; 309.
logical connections, 191; 233.
logical criteria in grouping words, 381.
'logical' order of words, 157; 381.

- mā* clause, 105.
 magic, magical texts, 85; 90; 144 ff.; 149; 153; 163; 166; 185; 189 ff.; 220; 221; 230; 238; 243; 257; 291; 301; 304; 327; 335; 338; 362; 363; 365 f.; 391.
 magical-religious sphere, 371.
 magnitude, increasing, 69; 102; 112; 115; 117; 143; 153; 194; 363; 381; 384; 388.
 manifestation of power or divine person, 237.
 mantras, 32 ff.; 120 ff.; 128; 184; 190 f.; 204; 209 f.; 215; 224 f.; 321; 335; 341; 347; 349; 375; 384 f.; 398.
 mantras, structure of —, 74 f.; 384 f.
 masculine and feminine words combining, 348.
 matter-of-fact style, 271.
 meaning, 114 f.
 meaning of a term imparting knowledge, 371.
 mechanical reproduction of a syntactic structure, 136; 316; 326; 329.
 melodiousness, 200.
 menaces, 349.
 mental structure, 324.
 mentality, 21.
 metaphor, 234.
 meteorologic phenomena, 237.
 metre, 24; 173; 269.
 metrical form, 26.
 metrical texts, 120 ff.
 metrical units, 127; 137; 161; 182 f.; 209 f.; 215; 220; 224.
 mnemonic value, 25; 188; 190; 233; 297; 351; 381; 382.
 modern elements, 67.
 modern style, 311 f.
 monosyllables, 224.
 monotony, 110; 169; 171; 212; 233; 298; 364.
 motivation, 363.
 multiple parallel groups, 83.
 musical effect, 179.
 mutuality, 123.
 mysteries of the cosmos, 85.
 mystic relations, 191; 224.
 mythical events of processes, 252; 353.
 mythical narratives, 385.
 mythical past and actuality, correspondence between —, 82; 84; 146.
 mythological figures, names of —, 390 ff.
 mythology, 390 ff.
 mythopoeic thought, 390.
 myths, 41.
na ati-, 95.
 Nachtragstil, XIX.
 naivety, 315; 356.
 nāmastotra, 384.
 name, XXIV; 147 f.; 155; 202; 222; 248; 369 ff.; 385; 387.
 names, distribution of, 388.
 names, rhyming or assonant, 202.
 narrative style, 99; 118; 119; 271; 294; 297; 316 f.; 320 f.; 363.
 natural speech, 306; 316; 345.
 negation, 137 f.; 151.
 negative adjective, 246.
 negative-affirmative, succession —, 89; 92.
 negative expression of thought, 99.
 negative particle, 71; 97 f.; 102; 137.
 negative phrases, 93.
 negative precedes, 104 ff.
 negative prefix, see a privativum.
 negative repetition, IV, esp. 93 ff.
 neologism, 257.
 nominal group, 214.
 nominal predicate repeated, 348.
 nominal stems, associated, 194.
 nominal stems, combining, 243.
 nominative and genitive, 243.
 non-inflected languages, 214 ff.; 220.
 non-paronomastic alliteration, 250.
 non-primitive style, 81.
 non-recapitulative absolute, 319.
 non-repetition, 269; 294; 334; 397 ff.
 noun and compound combined, 254.
 nouns, asyndetically coordinated, 340.
 numerals, 305.
 numerals, repeated, 329.
 object repeated, 318.
 object, second — added, 355.
 object and verb alliterate, 195.
 omission of an element, 66 f.
 onomatopoeia, 179; 208; 221.
 openings, similar, 162.
 opposites connected, 383.
 opposites, pairs of —, 82; 107; 116; 134; 339.
 opposites, semantic, 336.
 opposition, 110; 112; 115; 120; 122; 158; 181; 246.
 oral traditions, 380.
 order repeated, 38.

- origin of things, 377.
 ornament, poetical, 9; 12 f.; 327 f.
 "others", 350.
 oxymoron, 254; 282.
- pāda, beginning of, 286; 288.
 pāda, end of, 274.
 pāda repeated, with extension, 352.
 pādas connected, 270.
 pādas, identical, 298 f.
 pādas, successive, 272; 326.
 pādādi-yamaka, 227.
 pādānta-yamaka, 217; 227.
 pairs of opposites, 90; 343.
 paradox, 254; 279.
 parallel groups, irregular -, 139.
 parallel groups, multiple -, 83.
 parallel lines interrupted, 78 f.
 parallel processes, 68; 119; 122.
 parallel sentences, 97; 117; 132; 134; 138.
 parallel sequences, 363.
 parallel thought added, 306.
 parallel utterances, 361.
 parallel word groups, 65 f.; 134; 348.
 parallelism, 10; 24; 30; 33; 36; 38 ff.; 45; 65 ff.; 72 f.; 74 f.; 76 f.; 79 f.; 82; 83 f.; 109; 112; 123; 130; 131; 133 f.; 155; 168; 171; 179; 184; 192; 203; 216; 246; 297; 347; 354; 360 f.; 363; 365; 386; 388.
 parallelism, incomplete, 72.
 parallelism, initial, 83.
 parallelism interrupted, 83.
 parallelism between myth and ritual actuality, 315.
 parallelism, reduced, 117.
 parallelism of thoughts expressed, 68; 75; 77; 136; 159; 167 f.; 174.
 parallelistische Teilwiederholung, 347; 348 f.
 parallels in nature, in the cosmos etc., 85.
 Parallelverse, 46.
 parataxis, 129; 316.
 parataxis, anaphoric, 146; 164.
 parataxis, parallelistic, 145.
 parenthesis, 319.
 parenthetical clauses, 299.
 paronomasia (see also adnominatio), XI; 24; 181; 184; 186; 188; 194; 196 f.; 199; 226; 273; 282; 284; 286; 291; 341; 364; 368; 369; 371; 377 f.; 386; 388.
 paronomasia, complicated, 251.
 paronomasia, emphatical, 259.
 paronomasia, pleonastic, 260.
 paronomastic constructions, accumulations of -, 252.
 paronomastic definitions, 378.
 paronomastic triplication, 251.
 part instead of the whole, 349.
 partial identity of parallel groups, 168 ff.
 partial repetitions, 347.
 participles, 246; 317 f.
 particle added, 70.
 particle inserted, 66; 77.
 particles, 355 f.; 398; 399.
 particles, anaphora of -, 136.
 particles, responsio of -, 168.
 passive construction, 281.
 pathetic passages 69 f.; 143; 152; 157; 181; 276; 286; 304; 352.
 patronymics, 396.
 pause, 249; 313.
 Pausen, 219.
 peremptory speech, 101.
 periods, complex, 298; 316.
 periphrastic phrases, 143.
 perseveration, XVIII.
 personal pronoun, anaphora of -, 150.
 phantasy, 229.
 phenomena of nature, correspondence between -, 78.
 philosophers, prose of -, 225.
 philosophical arguments, 77.
 philosophy of Vedic authors, 360; 375; 377.
 phraseology, 128.
 play upon words, 372.
 pleonasm, 88; 91.
 plurality of entities co-ordinated, 382.
 poetical finery, 366.
 poetics, Indian, 9.
 poetry, 26; 41; 128.
 polar phrases, 346.
 polare Ausdrucksweise, 337 ff.; 343.
 polarity, 19; 364.
 polyptoton, XIII; 247; 254.
 polyptoton, complicated, 290.
 ponderous end, 382.
 popular etymology, 369.
 popular formulas, 385.
 popular literature, 135; 161 f.; 271; 302.
 popular phrase, 182; 341.
 popular poetry, 353.
 popular songs, 46 f.; 293; 335; 393.
 popular thought, 390.

- popular usage, 271; 274; 281.
 positive and comparative forms of adjectives combined, 256.
 positive and negative expression of thought, IV; 71; 121.
 positive and superlative combined, 256.
 power, 374.
 power imparted by knowledge, 371 f.
 power inherent in words, 43.
 power-substance, 244.
 praise, 130.
praśliṣṭa sandhi, 65.
 prayer, repeated, 299.
 prayers, 29; 90; 145; 189; 220; 229; 338; 384; 385; 391.
 preamble, 77; 129; 169; 316.
 predicate, position of —, 155.
 prefix, repeated, 340.
 prefixed element added, 142.
 prepositional group, 367.
 prepositions, function of —, 140.
 prepositions repeated, 136 f.; 329 f.
 pre-scientific style, 316.
 preverb repeated 144 ff.; 352.
 preverbs, 256 f.; 320; 367.
 preverbs, opposite, 257.
 'primitive' mentality or milieu, 25 ff.; 40 ff.; 43; 380; 393; 396.
 primitiveness, 324.
 primitive speech or style, I; 34; 36; 37 f.; 40 ff.; 81; 168; 315; 347; 349.
 primitive writing, 370.
 principal clause, 309.
 process, development of —, 321.
 process, unspecified, 278.
 progressive shortening, 67.
 prolixity, 158.
 pronominal forms combining, 289.
 pronoun, demonstrative, 312.
 pronoun, possessive, 309.
 pronouns, 81; 297; 309.
 pronouns, alliterative combinations of —, 197.
 pronouns, geminated, 329.
 pronouns, resumptive, 309.
 proper names, XXIV; see also: names.
 prose, 26.
 proverbs, 46 f.; 86; 102; 175; 181; 186; 191; 205; 210; 212; 213.
 pseudo-compound, 270.
 pseudo-etymological figure, 241; 258; 280.
 pseudo-etymology, 370; 375.
 pseudo-paronomasia, 179 f.; 189 f.; 226; 235; 239; 240; 242.
 psychical factors, 346.
 psychological point of view, 330.
 pun, 257 f.; 277; 369; 372; 374.
 Pūṣan, name and character of, 376.
 qualifications, occurring at the end of a sentence, 356 f.; 383.
 quarters of a stanza connected, 375.
 question, 308 f.
 question, anaphoric emotional, 330.
 question repeated, 39.
 quotation, 34; 305 f.; 313; 340; 357.
 rationalistic mentality, 396.
 recapitulation, 316 f.; 320; 352.
 recapitulative sentence connection, 316 ff.
 reciprocity, 275; 285 f.; 287; 289; 312.
 reciprocity expressed by repetition of schema, 80; 152.
 recitation in the reverse order, 335.
 recitation of Vedic texts, 92.
 recitations, 202 f.
 rectification, 293.
 recurrence of events or ideas, 233.
 recurrence of larger units, 315.
 redundancy, 247; 302.
 reduplication, 178; 324.
 reflection, 293.
 reflection of reality, 257.
 refrain, 46; 91; 163; 164 f.; 227; 244; 295; 299; 351; 353 f.; 362.
 refusal, 105.
 Reimprosa, 30.
 re-iterated presentation of something powerful, 372.
 reiteration, 81; 314.
 relations, 181.
 relations, syntactic, 191 f.
 relative clauses, 303.
 relative pronoun, 124.
 relative subordination, 359.
 relief, 183; 218.
 religion, 25; 42.
 religion, language of —, 43 ff.; 150 f.; 163 ff.; 189; 247; 269; 335; 384.
 repetition, XV; 13; 36 f.; 128; 156; 159; 163; 172; 178; 181; 211; 220; 222; 246; 268; 272; 289; 292; 297; 325 ff.; 328 f.; 332; 343; 348; 351; 380.
 repetition, adhortative, 295.
 repetition of an adjective, 305.

- repetition avoided, 72; 136 f.; 304.
 repetition at the beginning of the next sentence, 301; 307.
 repetition, catenary, 298 f.
 repetition of central idea, 252.
 repetition, chiasmic, 353.
 repetition of compound sentences, 83.
 repetition of elements of a preceding unit, 296.
 repetition, emotional, 380 f.
 repetition, emphatic, 297; 301.
 repetition, extended, 295.
 repetition, fourfold, 154; 248.
 repetition of general idea, 320.
 repetition, initial, 301.
 repetition of internal sounds, 188.
 repetition of last word, 210.
 repetition of lines, 307.
 repetition, negative, 353.
 repetition, non-identical, 312.
 repetition of noun after a so-called relative pronoun, 279.
 repetition in opening words, 315.
 repetition of a part of a sentence, 300.
 repetition of a large part of the words concerned, 81 f.
 repetition after a pause, 37.
 repetition of preverb, 185.
 repetition of schema, 73; 399.
 repetition in the same sentence, 304 f.
 repetition of sounds, 211; 268; 377.
 repetition, suggestive, 304; 332.
 repetition of two syllables, 223.
 repetition of terminations, 213.
 repetition of thought, 268.
 repetition, threefold, 141.
 repetition, varied, 299; 352.
 repetition, various, XV.
 repetition of verb, 309.
 repetition of words, 24; 39 f.; 45; 215; 217; 252; 300; 324 f.
 repetition of two words, initial -, 153 f.
 repetition of words occurring in quotations, 305 f.
 repetition of words spoken by the interlocutor, 308 f.
 repetition of a word in another syntactic function, 285.
 repetition of words (verbs), 366.
 repetitional figure, 232.
 responsio, VII; 24; 162; 217 f.; 307; 310; 312; 361; 362; 363; 365; 367; 388.
 resumption, 154; 297; 309; 317; 354.
 resumption, emotive, 301.
 resumption of a word after an interval, 353.
 resumptive pronouns, 309.
 retardation, 295; 321.
 rhetorical device, 297.
 rhetorical motives, 123; 130; 299.
 'rhetorical' question, 141.
 rhyme, IX; 10; 45 ff.; 79; 117; 124; 147; 153; 170; 192; 194; 229; 326; 384; 392.
 rhyme, appearing at regular intervals, 215.
 rhyme, associative force of -, 220.
 rhyme, complicated, 224.
 rhyme, continued, 218.
 rhyme, continuous, 201; 206 f.
 rhyme, corresponding, 213.
 rhyme, crosswise, 211; 218.
 rhyme, double, 213.
 rhyme, of first and last word, 219.
 rhyme, flexional, 193; 211 f.; 214.
 rhyme, fortuitous, 225.
 rhyme, fourfold, 218.
 rhyme, impressionistic, 221.
 rhyme, incomplete, 216.
 rhyme, internal, 215 f.
 rhyme, suggestive, 222.
 rhyme (übergehend), 219.
 rhyming names, 393.
 rhyming verb forms, 210 f.
 rhyming words, strings of -, 211.
 rhythm, 25; 44 f.; 71; 121; 173; 175; 326; 364; 382.
 rhythmic units, 65.
 rhythmical correspondence, 73.
 rhythmical factors, 346.
 rhythmical schemata, 25; 136.
 rhythmical variation, 122.
 riddles, 306.
 ring composition, 83 f.; 312; 322.
 rite, accompanying text, 354; 371 ff.; 387.
 ritual, vocabulary of -, 170 f.; 252; 271; 275; 328; 371.
 ritualistic arguments, 77.
 ritualists, prose of -, 225; 381.
 rūpaka, 11.
 sacral language, 45; 69; 143; 220; 354; see also: religion.
 same word occurring in principal and subordinate clauses, 302 ff.
 same word used at short intervals, 303.

- sandaṣṭa-yamaka, 227.
σχῆμα κατ' ἄρσιν καὶ θέσιν, 89.
 schema enlarged, 355.
 schema, influence of —, 351.
 schema, modification of —, 129.
 schema repeated, 73; 111; 113; 116;
 150; 171; 172.
 schema repeated in prose, 77.
 schemata, 25.
 schemata of parallel word groups coincide with metrical units, 75.
 schematic formulation of thoughts, 81.
 science, pre-scientific, 377 f.
 secondary words, position of —, 74.
 Segen, 30 f.
 semantic relations, 336.
 semantic specialization, 234.
 semantically related forms, 121; 180;
 193; 199; 213; 225.
 semantics, 19.
 semi-primitive speech, 129.
 sentence connection, 133; 184.
 sentence connection, recapitulative,
 316 ff.
 sentence contraction, XXV.
 sentence parallelism, 81 ff.
 sentence, short — repeated, 301 f.
 sentence structure, 347.
 sentence structure, antique —, 86.
 sentence structures, series of identical —,
 78.
 sequences of nouns, 383.
 serial repetition, 155.
 short clauses or sentences, 129; 155;
 157; 301.
 short words, 224.
 shortening, 67 f.; 144; 173.
 sibilants, 191.
 similarity, 196; 243; 246.
 similarity in sound, 190; 336; 377.
 similes, 10 f.; 84 f.; 108; 196; 205;
 363 f.; 365.
 similia similibus, 220.
 simplex and compound, 321.
 slogans, 133; 173; 188; 233.
 social linguistics, 338.
 socio-religious functions of texts, 25.
 solemn language, 69; 76; 153; 233; 302.
 solemn statement, 351.
Sondergötter, 237.
Sondersprache, 254; 302.
 sound combinations, 229; 235; 254.
 sound repetition, 178 ff.; 189 f.; 194;
 196 f.; 201; 203 ff.; 207 f.; 211; 213;
 217; 222; 223; 226; 227; 232; 254;
 326; 330; 332 f.
 sound-symbolism, 178; 208.
 sound variations, 218.
 soziale Rücksichtnahme, 94.
 specification, 357.
 spells, 362; 385; 387.
Spielerei, 352.
śravanaphalas, 41; 299.
śrīkhalāyamaka, 295.
 standard language, 339; 341.
 standing phrase, 346; 378.
 stanza, formation of —, 216.
 stanzas consisting of two parallel pādas
 followed by a double pāda containing
 a 3rd parallel thought, 71.
 stanzas, order of —, 296 f.
 stanzas, structure of —, 218; 386.
 stanzas, successive, 161 ff.
 stanzas, successive — linked, 160; 308.
 starting-point for new stage in communication, 301.
Steigerung, 330.
Steigerung, affektische, 264; 288.
 stereotypy, 289.
 stipulation, 363.
 string of symmetrical word groups,
 79.
 style of a passage, 20; 128; 250.
 stylistic factors, 118.
 stylistic figures, 368.
 stylistic qualities, 131.
 stylistic theory, 120; 128; 332 f.
 stylistic value, 315; 331; 340; 349; 374
 and *passim*.
 stylistics, study of —, 8 ff.; 15 f.; 45.
 subject and object alliterate, 195.
 subject and verb alliterate, 194 f.
 subject and verb deriving from the
 same root, 237 ff.
 subjects, different — connected with the
 same predicate, 388.
 subjects, plurality of, 334.
 subordinate clause, 116; 156; 167;
 302 ff.; 309; 312.
 subordinate and principal clause modelled on the same pattern, 84.
 subordination, virtual, 118.
 substantive and adjective, 192; 214.
 substantive and attributive adjective,
 244.
 substantive and dependent genitive,
 192.

- substantive, geminated, 332.
 substantive in genitive and another case, 262 f.
 substantive and predicate, 213 f.
 substantive and verb, 214.
 substantives, two co-ordinated, 193 f.
 succession of facts, 299 f.
 successive actions, 322.
 successive thinking, 292.
 successive units, 346; 397.
 suggestive force of adverb, 185.
 suggestive force of simile, 196.
 suggestiveness, 200; 233; 252; 254; 294; 304; 364; 374; 381.
 śukta, structure of —, 295.
 superfluity, emotional, 343 f.
 superfluous elements omitted, 398.
 superlative, 245; 265.
 suppletion, 280.
 suspense, 294.
 syllables, number of, 77; 166.
 syllables saved or suppressed, 72.
 symmetrical cola, 33.
 symmetrical repetition, 35 f.
 symmetrical structure, 65; 73.
 symmetrical system, 66.
 symmetrical word groups in prose, 79.
 symmetry, 33 f.; 66; 72 f.; 75 f.; 77; 107; 113; 121; 125; 163 ff.; 166; 169; 171 f.; 174; 175; 184; 212; 217; 220; 354; 388.
 sympleke, 168 ff.; 365 ff.; 381.
 sympleke, incomplete or imperfect, 169 f.
 synonyms, 123; 124; 180; 303; 336; 354; 398.
 synonyms, accumulation of —, 180; 190.
 synonyms, alliteration affecting —, 199 f.
 syntactic effects, 374.
 syntactic group and metrical unit co-extensive, 77.
 syntactic groups; 192; 234 f.; 239; 247; 251.
 syntactic groups repeated, 333 f.
 syntactic relations, 191 f.; 213.
 syntactic structures, 191.
 syntactic tendencies, 118.
 syntactic units, 215; 216; 279.
 syntax, study of —, 3 ff.
 synthetic expression of thought, 133; 341.
ta-, 148; 151; 157.
 taboo, 45; 94; 202; 299.
 tautology, 193; 205; 258; 354.
 technical argument, 289.
 technical literature, 112; 249; 271; 302; 315.
 technical meaning, 185; 241; 244; 275.
 technical term, 170 f.; 248; 275 f.; 280; 283.
 technique of poets, 313.
 tempo of speaking, 346.
 temporal clause, terminal sound repetition, 226.
 terminations, 214 f.
 terseness, 161.
 thema emphasized, 130.
 thoughts, connection of, 298.
 threefold emotional repetition, 331.
 threefold parallel structures, see: tricola.
 tmesis, 122.
 totality, 340; 345.
 traductio, 304.
 transition, 301.
 translations, adequate and inadequate, 131 f.
 transposition, 112.
 transposition of words, 110; 250.
 tricola, 68 f.; 70 f.; 72; 153; 181; 210.
 trigemination, 69; 331.
 tripartite expressions, 388.
 tripartite stanzas, 218.
 tripartite structure, 76; 80; 153; 210.
 triplication, 69; 251; 331.
 truth, expression of a —, 222.
 twin formula distributed, 346.
 twin formulas, 97 ff.; 180; 205.
 understatement, 94 f.
 units, syntactic — linked together, 233 f.
 unity of the pāda, 220.
 unsymmetrical structures, 210.
 untrained thought, 349.
 Urbild, mythical, 372.
uta, 138 f.
vā, vai, 156; 397.
vakrokti, 8.
 variation, 67; 83; 93; 105; 107; 108; 109 f.; 111; 113 f.; 116; 125 f.; 143; 166; 170 ff.; 269; 270; 272; 283; 312; 313; 320 f.; 322; 345; 356; 364; 388; 398.
 variation, complicated, 174; 320; 351.
 variation, conditioned by versification, 269.
 variation in grammatical forms, 127.

- variation in the negative repetition of a thought, 91 f.
- variation in the order of the elements, 76; 123; 127.
- Variationsbedürfnis, 335.
- variety, 214.
- Vedic literature, 32 ff.
- verb and adjective, 243.
- verb, anaphorically repeated, 148 f.
- verb, cognate to name of action, 276.
- verb, combining with a locative, 242.
- verb, element in an alliterative word group, 195 f.
- verb groups alliterate, 195 f.
- verb and instrumental etymologically related, 239.
- verb not repeated, 397.
- verb, position of -, 68; 155.
- verb provided with an object, 277.
- verb repeated, 76; 85; 303; 323; 328; 341; 352 f.; 374.
- verb repeated by a noun, 319.
- verba concepta, 43 f.
- verbal compounds combined, 255.
- verbal idea repeated, 302.
- verbose style, 276 f.
- verbosity, 101; 321; 354.
- verbs, complementary, 121.
- verbs, co-ordinated, 214.
- verbs used in magical texts, 373.
- verbs and preverbs alliterating, 197.
- verbs with special meanings, 277.
- verse, 26.
- versification, 76; 121; 122; 126; 173 f.; 183; 187 f.; 217; 304; 346 f.; 382; 398.
- vertical correspondence, 77; 79; 167 f.; 171; 174; 184; 217 f.; 222; 332; 365; 366.
- vertical parallelism, 306.
- vetative particle, 331.
- vi-*, 376.
- Viṣṇu, name and character of -, 375 f.
- vividness, 110; 111; 142.
- vocative, 197; 242 f.; 288; 300; 330 f.
- vocative, doubled, 330.
- vocative, initial, 330 f.
- vocative and verb, 242.
- Wackernagel's law, 74; 399.
- wish formulated, 147; 351.
- word correspondence, 225; 257.
- word duplication, XVI.
- word group, 6 f.; 207; 374 f.
- word order, V; 171; 195; 311; 384.
- word pairs, 182; 207; 336.
- word as power bearer, 189.
- word repetition, 183 f.; 227; 388.
- words connected, 375.
- words, etymologically related, 176.
- words grouped according to etymologic principles, 374 f.
- words of the same grammatical category combining, 336.
- words, semantically related, 123 f.; 126.
- words on either side of the caesura, 219.
- Wortspiel, 375.
- ya- ya-*, 334.
- ya*-clauses (see also relative pronoun), 132; 150; 164 f.; 256; 358 f.; 365.
- yad* clause 313.
- yamaka, 153; 199; 207; 217; 223; 224; 225 ff.; 235; 249; 269; 290; 333.
- yathā*-combinations, 268 f.
- yathā . . . eva(m)* similes, 365.
- Zusammengezogene Satzglieder, 66; 144.